THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

VOLUME XV.

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His Royal Highness
GEORGE
Prince of Wales

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE END OF THE AMERICAN WAR, AND PEACE OF VERSAILLES IN 1783.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

DESIGNED AS A CONTINUATION OF MR HUME'S HISTORY.

BY T. SMOLLETT, *M.D.* AND OTHERS.

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BRITAN
NICVM

CONTINUATION

OF THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

Recapitulation of the tranſactions of the Engliſh with the natives in the Eaſt Indies from the year 1756— The entire conqueſt of Bengal by the Engliſh.

CHAP. I. 1756.

THE importance of the tranſactions in the Eaſt Indies, and the many different accounts that from time to time have appeared, ſeem not only to juſtify, but even to render neceſſary, a recapitulation of many particulars already touched upon in the former volumes of this hiſtory. Thus will we be enabled to form a more juſt idea of the connection betwixt the various events, and of the motives by which our countrymen were influenced. This becomes the more neceſſary, when it is conſidered, that, in many caſes, the conduct of the Britiſh towards the natives

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has been ſet forth in ſuch a light as to be attended with no ſmall degree of national reproach. It ſhall be our endeavour, therefore, from accounts later than thoſe which could be had in the former parts of this work, to ſet forth the true ſtate of facts, that the reader may, from the evidence laid down, be enabled to form a juſt concluſion.

Surajah Dowlah ſucceeds to the nabobſhip of Bengal.

The year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-ſix, from which date we commence the preſent account, was marked by the death of the nabob of the three provinces, Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa. He was ſucceeded in his government by his grandſon Surajah Dowlah, who, before that time, had obliged his officers to pay him homage as ſoubah, or viceroy. As both the French and Engliſh had, before this time, found means to engage themſelves as auxiliaries to the natives in their quarrels with each other, they were already become ſo formidable, that their former allies were in fact their ſubjects; and it only remained to be known, whether the French or Engliſh were to be victorious, in order to aſcertain which were to be maſters of the country. In this ſituation, therefore, it is no wonder to find the Indians inconſtant and treacherous, or to find the Europeans often quarrelling with their allies, and ready to pull down to-day thoſe whom they had ſet up yeſterday. At this time, however, the French were much ſuperior in wealth and extent of territory to the Engliſh. By a conditional treaty, concluded in one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-five, between M. Godeheu and Mr Saunders, the French were to continue, until returns could be had from Europe, in the poſſeſſion of all the provinces they had acquired by their intrigues in the Decan and Carnatic, the revenues of which amounted to near a million Sterling; while thoſe belonging to the Engliſh ſcarce afforded a tenth part of the ſum. Thus inſured of the poſſeſſion of ſuch valuable territories for at leaſt eighteen months, they had an excellent opportunity of furniſhing themſelves with reſources for carrying on war, in caſe the

treaty

treaty ſhould not be ratified by their reſpective courts; and this advantage was undoubtedly more than ſufficient to balance the ſuperiority of number in the Britiſh troops, which exceeded thoſe of the French by a thouſand men. CHAP. I. 1756.

On the acceſſion of Surajah Dowlah to the nabobſhip, Mr Drake, preſident at Calcutta, ſent him a letter of congratulation, deſiring, at the ſame time, his favour and protection in behalf of his countrymen. This was readily promiſed, and even more favour than had been ſhewn by his grandfather; but in a ſhort time, either from ſome diſguſt at the Engliſh, or a jealouſy of the growing power of the Europeans in general, other meaſures were adopted. According to Mr Ives, this nabob "was a compound of temerity, cruelty, ambition and avarice: he was particularly incenſed at Mr Drake, on pretence of his having afforded protection to ſome of his offending ſubjects;" though it is more probable that his real motive was a deſire of plunder. Character of the nabob, and cauſe of his enmity to the Engliſh.

Surajah Dowlah having, under pretence of marching into the Puhumeea country, raiſed a great army, intimated his diſpleaſure to the governor of Calcutta, on account of his beginning to put the fortifications of that place in a proper ſtate of defence. Though this was no more than what was abſolutely neceſſary, on account of the great likelihood there was of a war betwixt France and England, the nabob threatened an attack in caſe the new works were not inſtantly deſtroyed. With this unreaſonable demand the governor and council promiſed to comply, though the event ſhewed that they meant nothing leſs; as they continued to exert themſelves to the utmoſt in order to ſtrengthen their fortifications, applying firſt to the French, and afterwards to the Dutch, for aſſiſtance, in caſe they ſhould be attacked by the nabob.

As neither of theſe powers choſe to give any aſſiſtance, Calcutta was attacked on the 18th of June, and ſurrendered at diſcretion in three days. The nabob aſſured Mr Holwell, the governor of Calcutta, He takes Calcutta, and ſuffocates the priſoners in the Black Hole.

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on the faith of a ſoldier, that no harm ſhould be done to the Engliſh. In the evening they were commanded to go to a place where the ſoldiers were confined for trivial faults in the ſtocks. Not knowing the meaning of this, it only afforded them diverſion for ſome time; but at laſt they were commanded by a party of the nabob's guard into the Black Hole, a priſon only eighteen feet long and fourteen wide, with only two holes, barricaded with iron bars, to admit the air or light. The effects of this confinement were pathetically deſcribed by Mr Holwell the governor, who was confined along with the reſt. And, as a detail of this kind, extracted from Mr Holwell's publication, has already been given, we ſhall here only obſerve, that out of one hundred and fifty people confined in this dungeon at eight in the evening, only twenty-two remained alive next morning.

War againſt him reſolved on.

By this horrid piece of cruelty, the vengeance of the Engliſh was thoroughly arouſed. A plan of operations was immediately concerted, the execution of which was committed to Admiral Watſon and Colonel Clive. By reaſon of the monſoon ſeaſon coming on, however, it was not till the 14th of December that they could arrive at Fulta, an inconſiderable village, to which the inhabitants of Calcutta had fled, and where they were reduced to the neceſſity of performing the moſt ſervile offices, or even depending on the benevolence of others, in order to preſerve their exiſtence. They were crowded together in the moſt wretched habitations, clad in the meaneſt apparel, and had been infeſted for five months with diſeaſes incident to the climate, from the intemperance of which they had not been able to ſecure themſelves. Three days after the admiral's arrival, he wrote a very ſpirited letter to the nabob, which was ſoon after followed by an attack upon a fort named Bougee Bougee, ſtrongly built, with a wet ditch round it. This fort was ſtormed by a ſingle ſailor, after a breach had been made, of which ſingular tranſac-

Curious anecdote of a ſailor.

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tion Mr Ives gives the following account: "During the tranquil ſtate of the camp, one Strahan, a common ſailor, having his ſpirits elevated with grog, ſtrayed by himſelf towards the fort, under the walls of which he imperceptibly got. Having proceeded thus far undiſcovered, he took it into his head to enter at a breach which had been made by the cannon of the ſhips; and having luckily got upon the baſtion, there diſcovered ſeveral Moor-men ſitting on the platform. Having flouriſhed his cutlaſs, and fired his piſtol, he cried out, "The place is mine," on which the ſoldiers inſtantly attacked him. Strahan, however, defended himſelf with aſtoniſhing reſolution; but his cutlaſs being cut off about a foot from the hilt, he muſt have ſoon been overpowered, had not two or three other ſtraggling ſailors come to his aſſiſtance. Their huzzas rouſed the whole detatchment who had been ſent aſhore to ſtorm the place in the morning; and the ſoldiers, ruſhing on to the attack, ſoon made themſelves maſters of the place, without any material loſs, excepting only Captain Dougal Campbell, who was unfortunately killed by a ball from one of his own party.—Strahan, the hero of this expedition, was threatened with chaſtiſement on account of his contempt of diſcipline; on which he replied, that "if he was flogged for this, he ſhould never take a fort again as long as he lived." Had he been capable of promotion, however, the admiral intended to have raiſed him to the rank of boatſwain; but his behaviour both before and after this action was ſo irregular, that this was found impoſſible. Some years after, Mr Ives accidentally met him, and was informed that he had been in every engagement with Admiral Pocock; that, in conſequence of a wound he had received, he was become a penſioner to the cheſt at Portſmouth. He then acted as ſailor in one of the guard ſhips at Portſmouth, and declared that his higheſt ambition was to become cook of one of his majeſty's capital ſhips."

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1757. Jan. 1. From Bougee Bougee, the Engliſh commanders directed their operations againſt two other forts, one of bricks, and the other of mud; which being likewiſe eaſily reduced, they next proceeded to Calcutta itſelf. This too ſubmitting almoſt without reſiſtance, they fixed upon Houghley as the next object of their military operations. This was a very large and opulent city belonging to the nabob, ſituated on the river about thirty miles above Calcutta. Setting ſail for this place on the 5th of January, they arrived before it on the 9th, and having cannonaded it till twelve at night, a practicable breach was made. Two attacks were then formed; fifty men went to the main gate, and kept a conſtant firing, while the principal force entered privately at the breach, and with very little reſiſtance took poſſeſſion of the city and fort, the enemy going to the place of the falſe attack, and then running away through one of the gates.

Great ſucceſſes of the Engliſh.

The reduction of Houghley was followed by the burning of ſeveral granaries and ſtorehouſes belonging to the nabob. Paſſing through the village which contained theſe, they received intelligence of a body of the enemy encamped behind it. Without being in the leaſt diſmayed, however, they marched into the village for about a mile and an half, and then returning, ſet fire to the houſes in their rear. A faint attack was made by about five thouſand of the enemy, but they were eaſily repulſed; and ſuch was the panic into which the Indians were thrown, that they allowed three ſailors, who had by chance been left behind, to ſet fire to a number of villages adjacent, and to join their companions on a raft, without cutting off their retreat.

Correſpondence between Admiral Watſon and the nabob.

The nabob now incenſed at the rapidity of the Engliſh conqueſts, determined to overwhelm their handful of forces at once by his innumerable multitudes. Previous to any act of hoſtility, however, he ſent a letter to Admiral Watſon, acquainting him that he had

had written an anſwer to his laſt, which had not been received: he complained of Mr Drake for receiving his ſubjects who had abſented themſelves from his court, and ſaid, that for continuing this practice he had expelled him his country; nevertheleſs, he ſtill profeſſed himſelf deſirous of peace, and aſſured him, that if the Engliſh would behave themſelves like merchants, they might depend on his favour and protection; but concluded with telling him, that "if he imagined that by carrying on a war he could eſtabliſh a trade in his dominions, he might do as he thought fit." In return to this, the admiral reproached him with the affair at Calcutta, and aſked, how he could reconcile with juſtice the deſtruction of ſo many innocent men for the ſake of one pretended guilty perſon? The nabob recriminated. "You have taken and plundered Houghley," ſays he, "and made war upon my ſubjects; theſe are not actions becoming merchants." Nevertheleſs, he ſtill profeſſed a deſire of treating, and promiſed to reſtore all the Company's factories, and to allow them to trade on the ſame footing as formerly. "If the Engliſh," ſays he, "who are ſettled in theſe provinces, will behave like merchants, obey my orders, and give me no offence, you may depend upon it, I will take their loſſes into conſideration, and adjuſt matters to their ſatisfaction. You know how difficult it is to prevent ſoldiers from plundering in war; therefore, if you will, on your parts, relinquiſh ſomething of the damages you have ſuſtained by being pillaged by my army, I will endeavour to give you ſatisfaction, even in that particular, in order to gain your friendſhip, and preſerve a good underſtanding for the future with your nation. You are a Chriſtian, and know how much better it is to accommodate a diſpute than to keep it alive; but, if you are determined to ſacrifice the intereſts of your company, and the good of private merchants to your inclinations for war, it is no

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fault of mine. To prevent the fatal conſequences of ſuch a ruinous war, I write this letter."

1757. The nabob having ſent off his letter, advanced immediately with his forces, without waiting for any anſwer. The whole number of perſons attending him were not fewer than eighty thouſand; while his opponents, including Aſiatics as well as Europeans, did not amount to two thouſand two hundred. Before any engagement took place, the nabob deſired a conference. Two gentlemen were accordingly ſent; but they, finding that his intention was only to amuſe and gain time, returned without effecting any thing. Colonel Clive then went aboard Admiral Watſon's ſhip, and was ſupplied from the fleet with four hundred ſeamen. They landed at one o'clock in the morning, and about four the army marched to attack the nabob's camp. The intention was to have ſeized his cannon, amounting to about forty pieces, and attacked his head-quarters; but when day-light appeared there aroſe ſo thick a fog, that they could not ſee three yards before them, ſo that they miſſed their way; however, they killed great numbers of the enemy, with the loſs of about fifty of their own, according to Mr Ives, though other accounts make the number loſt at this encounter amount to three times that number. Mr Groſe ſtates them at two captains of the company's forces, ſeventeen private ſoldiers, twelve ſeamen, and ten ſeapoys killed; with fifteen ſeamen, and fifty ſoldiers and ſeapoys, wounded. On the part of the enemy, he tells us, that there were one thouſand three hundred killed and wounded, among the former of which were twenty-one officers. The nabob alſo loſt four elephants, five hundred horſes, and three hundred draught-bullocks, which agrees pretty well with the account given by Mr Ives.

The nabob's camp ſtormed.

Though the Engliſh had not in this engagement been attended with all the ſucceſs they could wiſh, yet the nabob was ſo alarmed, that he inſtantly retired

tired about ten miles from his former ſituation; and, as the colonel ſeemed to threaten a ſecond attack, kept his troops under arms all night. Certain intelligence, however, being now received, that war had commenced betwixt the French and Engliſh, it was no longer the intereſt of the latter to be at variance with the natives. Immediately after ſtorming his camp, therefore, a letter was ſent by the admiral to the nabob, in which he offered him, for the laſt time, propoſals of peace. The nabob, equally weary of an unſucceſsful conteſt, ſent a letter incloſing the articles of a treaty, which was concluded on the 9th of February. Theſe were, 1. That the Engliſh Eaſt India Company ſhould enjoy, without any diſpute, the rights, privileges, and immunities allowed them by the king, or Great Mogul. 2. That all goods paſſing and repaſſing through the country by land or water, with Engliſh orders, ſhould be exempt from any tax, fee, or impoſition. 3. All the factories ſeized by the nabob ſhould be returned; and all monies, goods, and effects be reſtored or accounted for. 4. That the Engliſh ſhould have liberty to fortify Calcutta as they thought proper. 5. That they ſhould have liberty to coin their own imports of bullion and gold. 6. & 7. That this treaty ſhould be ratified with mutual oaths, ſigning and ſealing; and, on theſe conditions, that a mutual peace and good underſtanding ſhould take place.

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Peace concluded, Feb. 9.

The peace now concluded was, as uſual, of very ſhort duration. The reaſon aſſigned by the Engliſh for the ſubſequent quarrel, was, that the nabob began to aſſiſt the French with men and money. Immediately after the concluſion of the treaty, however, he ſet off with all expedition for his capital, perhaps a little ſhy of his new friends, from the dreadful report he had heard of Admiral Watſon's lower deck guns carrying balls of thirty-two pounds, which had been ſhewn to his ambaſſadors.

Cauſes of a new quarrel.

The Indian war being thus happily ended for the preſent, the next object which naturally preſented itſelf

Chandernagore taken by the Engliſh.

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ſelf to the view of the Engliſh commanders, was the reduction of the French power in that country. An attack upon Chandernagore would inſtantly have been reſolved upon, had not the French earneſtly requeſted that a neutrality might ſtill be obſerved betwixt the two nations in India. But this pacific proſpect ſoon vaniſhed, on its being ſuggeſted that the government at Chandernagore, as ſubordinate to that of Pondicherry, had not power to conclude a treaty without the conſent of their principals. The fort and ſettlement at Chandernagore was therefore attacked and carried, notwithſtanding the nabob's endeavour to prevent it. The arguments he made uſe of were conveyed in the following words: "You have ſent me an agreement not to diſturb the tranquillity of my dominions; but it now appears that you have a deſign to beſiege the French factory near Houghley, and to commence hoſtilities againſt that nation. It is contrary to all rule and cuſtom, that you ſhould bring your animoſities and differences into my country; for, it has never been known ſince the days of Timur, that the Europeans made war upon one another within the king's dominions. If you are determined to beſiege the French factories, I ſhall be neceſſitated, in honour and duty to my king (the Mogul) to aſſiſt them with my troops, as you ſeem inclined to break the treaty ſo lately concluded betwixt us. Formerly the Mahrattas infeſted theſe dominions, and for many years harraſſed the country with war; but, when the diſpute was accommodated, and a treaty of peace concluded, they never broke, nor will ever deviate from the terms of the ſaid treaty. It is a wrong and wicked practice, to break through, and pay no regard to treaties made in the moſt ſolemn manner. You are certainly bound to abide by your part of the treaty ſtrictly, and never to attempt to be the occaſion of any troubles or diſturbances in future within the provinces under my juriſdiction."

Complaints of the nabob againſt the Engliſh.

To this the admiral replied in the following terms: "Had I imagined that it would have given you any umbrage,

umbrage, I ſhould never have entertained the leaſt thoughts of diſturbing the tranquillity of your country, by acting againſt that nation within the Ganges; and am now ready to deſiſt from attacking their factory, or committing other hoſtilities againſt them in theſe provinces, if they will conſent and agree to a ſolid treaty of neutrality; and if you, as Soubahdar (Viceroy) of Bengal, will, under your hand, guarantee this treaty, and promiſe to protect the Engliſh from any attempts made by that nation againſt our ſettlements during my abſence. I am perſuaded, you have heard of no people in the world who pay a ſtricter regard to their word, and to the faith of treaties, than the Engliſh. I have ratified the late treaty between you and the Engliſh with my hand and ſeal; and I now repeat my aſſurances, made in the preſence of God and of Jeſus Chriſt," &c. CHAP. I. 1757.

Notwithſtanding all this ſolemnity on both ſides, however, it was not long before a quarrel took place. The nabob, influenced, it is ſaid, by the French, charged the admiral with a deſign of attacking his dominions, as ſoon as he ſhould have driven out the former. The admiral denied the charge, and the nabob ſeemed ſatisfied, and determined to give the French no aſſiſtance; only he told him, that as the van of the king of Delhi's army was advancing towards his dominions, he would march to Patna to meet them, promiſing at the ſame time, that if the admiral would ſend him aſſiſtance, he would pay the troops a lack of rupees monthly while they remained with him. To this the admiral returned for anſwer, that he would moſt readily give him aſſiſtance, provided he would allow him to take Chandernagore, that he might not leave his enemies behind him; as, before that was done, he had no ſecurity of the Engliſh factories being in ſafety. The end of their correſpondence, and what encouraged the Engliſh commanders to attack the French ſettlement, was the following paſſage of a letter from the nabob: "My forbidding

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forbidding war on my borders was becauſe the French were my tenants, and upon this affair deſired my protection; on this I wrote to you to make peace; and no intention had I of aſſiſting or favouring them. You have underſtanding and generoſity; if your enemy, with an upright heart, claims your protection, give him his life; but then you muſt be well ſatisfied of the innocence of his intentions; if not, whatever you think right, that do."

As this paragraph ſeemed to imply a conſent that Chandernagore ſhould be attacked, the Britiſh commanders immediately proceeded to the execution of their enterpriſe; and having met with their uſual good ſucceſs, they diſpatched a letter to the nabob, acquainting him with what they had done, and requeſting that there might be a continuance of friendſhip and good correſpondence with him. To this, and ſeveral other letters, the admiral was not able to obtain any anſwer, until at laſt he received a complaint, that the Engliſh had plundered ſome of his territories, and that a demand had been made to deliver up Colligant, as belonging to one of the diſtricts of Calcutta. This was replied to by the admiral: the nabob promiſed fair, but was always complained of for not putting his promiſes in execution; and, in the mean time, both parties prepared for coming to extremities. On the 13th of June, the nabob ſent the following, which was his laſt letter to the admiral: "According to my promiſes, and the agreement made between us, I have duly rendered every thing to Mr Watts, except a very ſmall remainder. Notwithſtanding all this, Mr Watts, and the reſt of the council at Caſſimbuzer, under pretence of going to take the air in their gardens, fled away in the night. This is an evident mark of deceit, and of an intention to break the treaty. I am convinced, that it could not have happened without your knowledge, nor without your advice. I all along expected ſomething of this kind, and

June 13.

and therefore did not recall my troops from Plaſſey, expecting ſome treachery. I praiſe God that the breach of the treaty hath not been on my part," &c. CHAP. I. 1757.

In excuſe for what happened afterwards, Mr Ives makes the following obſervations on the nabob's conduct: "By the letters, as well as by a multiplicity of facts, it is evident that Surajah Dowlah, from the time of his ſigning the treaty with us, had ſhewn himſelf but little inclined to abide by any of its articles. It was indeed intended by him to lull us into fatal ſecurity. He was very liberal in his promiſes, but always took care to put off the performance of them, and that upon ſuch trifling pretences as demonſtrated his ill intention towards us. His poſitive orders at firſt, that we ſhould not beſiege Chandernagore, ſtrongly indicated his attachment to our enemies; though, after we had taken that place, he put the beſt face upon it he could, and pretended that he was not diſpleaſed with our ſucceſs. We were not ignorant, however, that he had ordered a body of near two thouſand men to the aſſiſtance of that garriſon, who might have greatly obſtructed, if not defeated, the ſucceſs of our enterprize, if we had not found means to prevent their acting. It is certain, that a French corps under the command of M. Law, was protected by him, and even in his pay; and that he had invited M. Buſſey, with the French army, to enter Bengal againſt us. Beſides theſe inſtances of his ill diſpoſition towards us, it is to be remarked, that although four months were elapſed, the material points of the treaty were not fulfilled; and even his ſolemn engagement to reſtore to the company the villages which of right belonged to them was evaded, without framing any excuſe for ſuch an atrocious breach of faith. The Engliſh, in this ſituation, ſaw no other remedy for their preſent grievances, nor any other method to prevent the fatal blow of extirpation, which was to be expected on the arrival of the French army, than by oppoſing openly

Obſervations on the nabob's conduct.

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openly the man who was thus planning the ruin of the company's affairs, and only waited the return of the ſquadron to the coaſt of Coromandel to effect it."

For theſe reaſons it was reſolved, that the Engliſh ſhould aſſume the character of abſolute maſters of the country, and manifeſt their power by dethroning the lawful ſovereign, and ſetting up an uſurper. This, however, would not have been eaſily effected, had not ſeveral of his grandees already entered into a confederacy to depoſe him. This conſpiracy is excuſed by Mr Ives on the footing, "that he had diſplayed the ſeverity of his nature in ſo many inſtances as to ſtrike an univerſal terror; and his inconſtancy and fickleneſs was ſuch, that no perſon could think himſelf ſafe while near him and in his power." The neceſſity of a revolution is ſaid to have been ſuggeſted by Colonel Clive, and the execution of it was left to him and Mr Watts, who had been the company's agent at Muxadabad. The perſon who aſpired to the nabobſhip at this time, was Meer Jaffier Ally Cawn, who had married the ſiſter of Aliverdy Cawn, Surajah's grandfather and predeceſſor; and him it was now determined, by the Engliſh council, to ſupport. It being neceſſary, however, that Mr Watts ſhould not be obſerved to have any frequent correſpondence with Meer Jaffier, he employed Omichund, a black merchant, to negociate the matter. This agent being inſatiably avaricious, inſiſted, that he ſhould have five per cent. of all the nabob's treaſures, eſtimated at about eighty millions Sterling, and could not be prevailed on to accept of a leſs reward for his treachery than thirty lacks of rupees, otherwiſe he threatened to reveal the whole to the nabob. The principals, unwilling to loſe the benefit of his negociations, and at the ſame time determined not to comply with ſuch an exorbitant demand, framed two treaties, in one of which it was ſtipulated, that Omichund ſhould receive the reward he demanded; but the other, and which was the real one intended

Treaty with Meer Jaffier concluded.

intended to be kept, did not even mention his name. Both theſe treaties were ſigned by all the parties concerned, Admiral Watſon alone excepted, who could not be prevailed upon to put his name to an engagement he did not intend to keep. The moſt material articles of this treaty were, 1. That no more French ſhould be allowed to ſettle in Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa; and all the factories and effects of thoſe already there ſhould belong to the Engliſh. 2. In conſideration of the loſſes ſuſtained by the capture of Calcutta, he agreed to pay to them one crore of rupees, amounting to one million two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. 3. For the effects plundered from the Engliſh inhabitants at Calcutta, he agreed to pay fifty lacks of rupees, amounting to ſix hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds. 4. For the effects plundered from the Gentoos, Moors, and other inhabitants of Calcutta, twenty lacks of rupees, or two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. 5. To the Armenian inhabitants on the ſame account, ſeven lacks of rupees, or eighty-ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds. 6. The diſtribution of all theſe ſums, amounting to two millions two hundred and twelve thouſand five hundred pounds, ſhould be left to Admiral Watſon, Colonel Clive, Roger Drake, William Watts, James Kilpatrick, and Richard Becher, Eſquires, to be diſpoſed of by them to whom they think proper. CHAP. I. 1757.

Every thing being now in readineſs, Colonel Clive marched againſt the unfortunate nabob with all the troops that could be collected, without forgeting, however, the ceremony of writing, to reproach him with his bad conduct, for which he was about to take ample vengeance. The nabob collected an army of about ſixty thouſand men for his defence; but ſcarce any ſuperiority of number could have been ſufficient to make up for their inferiority in diſcipline to the Europeans; and, beſides, part of the troops being under the command of Meer Jaffier, who,

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who, according to agreement, ſtood neuter, the victory was rendered ſtill more eaſy than it would otherwiſe have been. This deciſive engagement was fought at Plaſſey on the 23d of June 1757. Only five hundred of the nabob's men were killed; but all his cannon, amounting to fifty-three pieces, were taken, together with his camp, elephants, &c. The miſerable prince fled to his capital, which he reached in a few hours, being only twenty miles diſtant; but, not knowing whom to truſt, left it the following evening, diſguiſed as a Faquir, and took the road to Patna with one or two attendants. Theſe appear alſo to have forſaken, and probably robbed him; for, on the 3d of July, he was found wandering in a forlorn condition, and almoſt naked. In this ſituation he was brought back to Muxadabad, and a few hours afterwards privately put to death by the eldeſt ſon of Meer Jaffier, to whoſe cuſtody he was committed.

Battle of Plaſſey, June 23.

Surajah Dowlah put to death.

In the mean time, Meer Jaffier was complimented by his new allies with the title of Nabob. The inhabitants of Muxadabad were pacified with aſſurances of friendſhip and protection; and Colonel Clive in perſon handed the Muſſuid, or carpet and throne of ſtate, to the thoughtleſs Meer Jaffier, who accepted theſe enſigns of dignity, without recollecting, that thoſe who had conferred on him this power, could likewiſe take it away at their pleaſure.

By this revolution the French were entirely driven out of Bengal. The glory of this atchievement has been ſaid to excel that of Alexander, who invaded India with an army of one hundred and twenty thouſand men, notwithſtanding which his troops could not be prevailed upon to follow him acroſs the Ganges, while Colonel Clive's army would have followed him to the extremities of the earth. If our modern conquerors, however, had the proweſs, they certainly had not the generoſity of Alexander; for though he fought with Porius, and conquered his kingdom,

Extravagant encomiums paſſed by ſome authors on the conduct of the Engliſh.

kingdom, he reſtored it to himſelf; while they put the crown on the head of a rebellious ſubject, whom they ſoon after depoſed in favour of another uſurper, and that third uſurper in favour of the ſecond, &c. Be this as it will, we cannot help acknowledging the truth of Mr Groſe's obſervation, that by this tranſaction more ſolid profit was reaped by the Engliſh Eaſt India Company than had been done by crowned heads and powerful armies in theſe bloody wars, which at this time drained the veins of Europe to the laſt ebb. The new nabob punctually fulfilled his engagements, though the treaſures of which he took poſſeſſion were far ſhort of expectation. Of the ſums he agreed to pay, amounting, according to Mr Groſe, to 2,962,500 l. Colonel Clive ſent down immediately 737,500 l. to Calcutta; as much more was ſoon to follow as would make this laſt ſum up to one half of the whole money to be paid; the other half was to be made up at three annual and equal payments. He had not, however, been long inveſted with the ſovereignty, when he found himſelf in a very diſagreeable ſituation. His mind was filled with continual dread of the reſentment of Surajah Dowlah's relations; he had no confidence in his great men who ſurrounded him; nor could he, with any juſtice, put confidence in the Engliſh, farther than he knew himſelf to be ſubſervient to their intereſt. But this was ſoon out of his power, his treaſury having been exhauſted, and his beſt revenues mortgaged, to ſupply the vaſt ſums he had obliged himſelf to pay. Beſides this, he had granted his new allies ſo many advantages in trade, to the detriment of his own cuſtoms, that he was almoſt entirely deprived of the few reſources formerly left him. Hence was he driven to methods of raiſing money which rendered him odious to his ſubjects, without relieving his neceſſities; his troops became mutinous; the rajahs, or tributary princes, rebelled; and he was threatened, on one hand, with an invaſion from

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Diſagreeable ſituation of Meer Jaffier.

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Shah-adah, the ſon of the Mogul; and on the other, from the Mahrattas.

1757. His ſuppoſed cruelty and treachery.

In this dreadful ſituation, Meer Jaffier, according to the cruel maxims of eaſtern policy, is ſaid to have wreaked his vengeance on the family of his predeceſſor, and the moſt factious of his courtiers. His jealouſy of the Engliſh prompted him to enter into various negociations with the Indian powers, and even with the Dutch, againſt them; while the evident bad effect which ſome of the privileges granted to the former had upon his own intereſt, in a manner obliged him to infringe them; and, to complete his misfortunes, he loſt his ſon by a ſtroke of lightning, the only one of his children who had arrived at the years of maturity. At this juncture it was *generouſly* reſolved in 1760, in the council at Calcutta, to depoſe him; though the only plauſible reaſon that could be ſuggeſted for ſo doing was, that he had already manifeſted ſuch incapacity in his government, that whatever advantages they might expect from it, he muſt in a ſhort time ruin himſelf, unleſs he was aſſiſted, or even controlled, by ſome perſon of ability; and poſſibly the intereſt of the company in Bengal might be ruined along with him.

The Council of Calcutta reſolve to depoſe him.

Sept. 15. 1760.

For theſe reaſons, the council thought proper to conclude a new treaty with Mir Coſſim Ali Cawn, ſon-in-law to Meer Jaffier, by which it was agreed to veſt him with the ſole power, leaving to Meer Jaffier only the empty title of ſovereign. Of this revolution we have the two following accounts from the reports concerning Eaſt India affairs laid before a committee of the Houſe of Commons. "We reſolved," ſays the governor, "to give the nabob the next day, 19th October, to reflect upon the letters I had delivered him, propoſing ſome meaſures for regulating theſe abuſes *. I heard nothing from him

Accounts of his depoſition. Oct. 19.

* Theſe were, in general, his cruelty, avarice, and extortion; partly perhaps natural, but undoubtedly occaſioned in ſome degree by the circumſtances already mentioned.

him all that day, but found by my intelligence, that he had been in council with his former adviſers, whoſe advice I was ſure would be contrary to the welfare of the country, and of the company. I therefore determined to act immediately on the nabob's fears. There could not be a better opportunity than that which the night of the 19th offered, it being the concluſion of the Gentoo feaſt, when all the people of that caſt would be pretty well fatigued with their ceremonies. Accordingly, I agreed with Colonel Caillaud, that he ſhould croſs the river with the detachment, between three and four in the morning; and, having joined Coſſim Ali Cawn and his people, march to the nabob's palace, and ſurround it juſt at day-break. Being extremely deſirous to prevent any diſturbance or bloodſhed, I wrote a letter to the nabob, telling him I had been waiting all the day, in expectation that he would have ſettled the urgent affairs upon which I conferred with him yeſterday; but, by his having favoured me with no anſwer, it plainly appeared, that all I could repreſent to him for the good of his country would have no effect, as long as the evil counſellors were about his perſon, who would in the end deprive him of his government, and ruin the company's affairs. For this reaſon, I had ſent Colonel Caillaud, with forces, to wait upon him, to expel thoſe bad counſellors, and to place his affairs in a proper ſtate, and I would ſhortly follow. This letter I gave to the colonel to ſend to the nabob at ſuch a time as he ſhould think moſt expedient. Meaſures were taken at the ſame time for ſeizing his three unworthy miniſters, and to place Coſſim Ali Cawn in the full management of all affairs, in quality of deputy and ſucceſſor to the nabob.

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"The neceſſary preparations being made, with all the care and ſecrecy poſſible, the colonel embarked with the troops, joined Coſſim Ali Cawn without the leaſt alarm, and marched into the court-yard of the

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palace juſt at the proper inſtant. The gates of the inner court being ſhut, the colonel formed his men without, and ſent the letter to the nabob, who was at firſt in a great rage, and threatened to make what reſiſtance he could, and take his fate. In about two hours, however, his reſolution failed, and therefore he ſent a meſſage to Coſſim Ali Cawn, informing him, that he was ready to ſend the ſeals, and all the enſigns of dignity, provided he would agree to take the whole charge of the government upon him; to diſcharge all arrears due to the troops; to pay the uſual revenues to the king; to ſave his life and honour, and give him an allowance ſufficient for his maintenance. All theſe conditions being agreed to, Coſſim Ali Cawn was proclaimed; upon which the old nabob ſent notice to the colonel, that he depended on him for his life. The troops then took poſſeſſion of all the gates, when the old nabob coming out of his palace, aſked if his perſon was ſafe, which ſeemed now to be all his concern. It was told him, that not only his perſon was ſafe, but his government too, if he pleaſed, of which it had never been intended to deprive him. To this, however, Meer Jaffier replied, "That he had now no buſineſs in the "city, where he would be in continual danger from "Coſſim Ali Cawn; and if he was permitted to go "and live at Calcutta, he ſhould be contented."—He did not even think himſelf ſafe for one night in the city. He was therefore ſupplied with boats by Coſſim Ali, and permitted to take away about ſixty of his family, with a certain quantity of jewels. He begged that he might be permitted to ſleep that night in his boat, which was allowed. On the morning of the 22d of October, he ſet out for Calcutta, where he arrived on the 29th, being met by a deputation from the council, and treated with all the reſpect due to his former dignity."—This account was taken from a memorial drawn up at Fort William on the 10th of November, the ſame year, in preſence

1760.

Oct. 22.

preſence of Governor Vanſittart and five other gentlemen. CHAP. I.

Another account, taken March 11th 1762, ſigned by Colonel Coote, and a like number of gentlemen, is to the following purpoſe.—"In September 1760, when there was not the leaſt appearance of a rupture or diſguſt between us and the nabob Jaffier Ali Cawn, but friendſhip and harmony ſubſiſting, Mir Coſſim Cawn, his ſon-in-law, came down to Calcutta, and, having ſtaid a ſhort time, returned to Moorſhedabad. A few days after, Mr Vanſittart, went up to that city, on the pretence of a viſit to the nabob Meer Jaffier. Colonel Caillaud, with two hundred Europeans and ſome ſeapoys, attended him; who, it was pretended, were going to join the army at Patna. When Mr Vanſittart arrived at Moradbaug, the nabob paid him two viſits, at the laſt of which, Mr Vanſittart gave him three letters, propoſing the reformation of the abuſes in his government; inſiſted on his naming ſome perſon among his relations to take care of the ſoubahſhip, and particularly recommended Coſſim Ali Cawn, who was ſent for, and the nabob deſired to ſtay till he came; but, being greatly fatigued, was at laſt ſuffered to depart to his palace. The night and following day, paſſed in concerting meaſures with Coſſim Ali Cawn, how to put in execution the plan before agreed on in Calcutta, where a treaty was ſigned for this purpoſe. In conſequence of theſe deliberations, our troops croſſed the river the next night; and being joined by Coſſim and his party, ſurrounded the nabob's palace. A letter was ſent into the nabob, demanding his compliance with what had been propoſed to him. To this the nabob returned for anſwer, "That ſuch uſage was what he never expected from the Engliſh; that, while a force was at his gates, he would enter into no terms." A meſſage was then ſent in, that if he did not directly comply, they ſhould be obliged to ſtorm the palace. Aſtoniſhed and terrified at this menace, he opened 1760.

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the gates, exclaiming, "That he was betrayed; that the Engliſh were guilty of perjury and breach of faith; that he perceived their deſigns againſt his government; that he had friends enough to ſtand at leaſt one battle in his defence; but although no oaths were ſacred enough to bind the Engliſh, yet, as he had ſworn to be their faithful friend, he would never ſwerve from his engagement to them, and rather ſuffer death than draw his ſword againſt them." He further deſired to know, "What ſum of money Coſſim Ali Cawn was to give for the ſoubahſhip, and he would give half as much more to be continued. He hoped, however, if they intended to dethrone him, they would not leave him to the mercy of his ſon-in-law, from whom he feared the worſt; but wiſhed they would carry him from the city, and give him a place of ſafety in Calcutta."

"This laſt requeſt was conſidered in the light of a voluntary reſignation. Our troops took poſſeſſion of the palace; Mir Coſſim was raiſed to the Muſnud, and the old nabob hurried into a boat with a few of his domeſtics and neceſſaries, and ſent away to Calcutta in a manner wholly unworthy of the high rank he ſo lately held; as was alſo the ſcanty ſubſiſtence allowed him for his maintenance at Calcutta by his ſon-in-law.—Thus was Jaffier Ali Cawn depoſed, in breach of a treaty founded on the moſt ſolemn oaths, and in violation of the national faith."

According to the ſame account, the company's ſervants, who were the projectors of the revolution, made no ſecret that there was a preſent promiſed them of twenty lacks of rupees from Coſſim; who, it ſeems, was deſirous of making the aſſaſſination of Meer Jaffier the firſt act of his power, and was very much diſpleaſed when he found that the Engliſh intended to give him protection at Calcutta.

It was ſcarcely to be ſuppoſed that Coſſim, raiſed to the ſupreme power by ſuch unfair means, would continue faithful to thoſe to whom he owed his elevation.

tion. At the commencement of the treaty, indeed, he had promiſed whatever his allies, or rather maſters, required; but no ſooner was he inveſted with an authority which he imagined would render him independent, than he began to guard againſt the overgrown power of the Engliſh by every method he could deviſe. For this purpoſe, he increaſed the number of his troops, diſciplined them in the European manner; and ſuppoſing Muxadabad his capital to be too near the Engliſh ſettlements, he ſet about erecting a ſtrong fort at Rajahmaul, that the place of his reſidence might be at a greater diſtance from thoſe whom he could at beſt but look upon as his pretended friends. Senſible, however, that the Engliſh would ſoon become jealous of his proceedings, he applied to the Mogul, inſinuating to him that he was in danger from the Engliſh; hoping thereby to prevent his return to a ſtate of dependency on the Mogul, and being obliged to pay the royal revenues to him. But though he ſucceeded in this ſo far, that the Mogul neither received any aſſiſtance from the Engliſh, nor was paid any part of the royal revenue, the monarch became at laſt ſo incenſed at his conduct, that he declared he would ſuffer him to remain no longer in the ſoubahſhip than he could prevent it; and, in the mean time, made an offer to the Engliſh of the dewanny, or collection of the revenues of Bengal. This office, as well as that of ſubdarree, or command of the troops and juriſdiction in the provinces, the expences of which are paid out of the revenues by the dewan, had, for ſome time paſt, been aſſumed by the nabobs of Bengal; and the preſent offer of the king would have been worth to the company fifteen lack of rupees, or 187,500 l. annually. But, beſides this, the king offered to confirm to them the lands of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, and to eſtabliſh the influence of the Engliſh not only in theſe provinces, but as far as Delhi itſelf. In return for this, the king required their aſſiſtance to ſet-

1760. Mir Coſſim reſolves to reduce the power of the Engliſh.

Offers of the Mogul to them.

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1760. tle him on the throne, and to recover ſuch parts of his territories as were in the hands of rebels. For this purpoſe, Sujah Dowlah, one of the moſt powerful men in the empire, offered to join the Engliſh with all his forces, in order to eſtabliſh the king, who was then in the field near Patna, and unable, by reaſon of the diſputes prevailing at that time, to proſecute his journey to Delhi.

The ſervants of the company were at this time, in all probability, equally indifferent either to the mogul or nabob. The only queſtion with them was, whether, by aſſiſting the one or the other, they might more eaſily accompliſh the ends they had in view for their own intereſt. At laſt, however, the committee at Calcutta, unanimouſly conſidering it as their intereſt to ſide with the mogul, a treaty was propoſed, and letters ſent to Sujah Dowlah for the purpoſe. The nabob, in the mean time, as has already been obſerved, had taken care to uſe proper methods for withſtanding the power of the Engliſh. At his acceſſion, he had ceded to the company a track of land worth no leſs than 700,000 l. a-year, together with 70,000 l. annually for the zemindaries of Calcutta, and of the 24th purgunnah. Having known, however, by experience, the diſtreſs incurred by his predeceſſor, by reaſon of the Engliſh privilege of carrying on the inland trade without being ſubjected to any duties, he had probably determined, from the time of his acceſſion, to deprive them of immunities ſo contrary to his own intereſt. But as this could not be done without a quarrel, he had uſed the means already mentioned for his ſecurity; and, among the reſt, had, in the true ſpirit of an eaſtern monarch, cut off or impriſoned every nobleman in his dominions who had ſhown any warm affection to the Engliſh.

A treaty with the Mogul reſolved on.

1762.

Though it is ſcarce poſſible that matters could have remained long in this ſtate, without very ſtrong ſuſpicions and jealouſies on each ſide, neither complaint

plaint nor remonſtrance had been made on the part of the Engliſh; on the contrary, by diſbanding moſt of their ſeapoys before the end of the year 1762, they had weakened their force ſo much, that Mir Coſſim imagined he might ſafely act openly againſt them. His revenue at this time was indeed on a much better footing than that of his predeceſſor; but ſtill it fell vaſtly ſhort of its former limits. The free trade, which had been allowed to ſuch an extent by reaſon of the exigencies of Meer Jaffier, and augmented in conſequence of his own, now threatened to annihilate his cuſtoms entirely, by drawing all the interior as well as foreign commerce of Bengal from his own ſubjects into foreign channels. He, therefore, began every where to exact from the private Engliſh traders the payment of equal and regular duties; requiring, at the ſame time, that their diſputes, if beyond their own limits, ſhould be ſettled by his magiſtrates. This ſtep produced ſuch an alarm, that, in November this year, the governor himſelf, Mr Vanſittart, thought proper to go along with Mr Haſtings to Mongheer, his place of reſidence, in order to have a conference with Mir Coſſim.

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1762. Mir Coſſim reſolves on a war with the Engliſh.

Conference between the nabob and Mr Vanſittart.

On hearing their complaints, the nabob replied in the following terms: "If the ſervants of the Engliſh company were permitted to trade in all ports, and in all commodities, cuſtom-free, as many of them now pretend, they muſt, of courſe, draw all the trade into their own hands, and my cuſtoms would be of ſo little value, that it would be much more for my intereſt to lay the trade entirely open, and to collect no cuſtom from any perſon whatever, upon any kind of merchandize. This would draw a number of merchants into the country, and increaſe my revenues, by encouraging the cultivation and manufacture of a large quantity of goods for ſale; at the ſame time that it would effectually cut off the principal ſubject of diſputes which have diſturbed the good underſtanding

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understanding between us, an object I have more than any other at heart."

1762. This reply to the remonstrances of the English governor reduced him to a very mortifying dilemma. It was impossible to avoid being struck with the force of the nabob's reasoning: he proposed nothing but what was certainly in his power to do, and which, if he had done, could have afforded no just matter of complaint; though it would effectually have cut off the private trade carried on by the gentlemen of the factory, and even, as they said, prejudiced that of the company itself. Mr Vansittart, therefore, thought proper to submit to certain regulations and restrictions to be put upon the trade of the English in general, which, as the Indian magistrates began immediately to put them exactly in execution, produced complaints of partiality and rigour on the part of the English. The consequence was, that the council of Calcutta disavowed the treaty made by their governor, affirming, that he had assumed a power to which he had no right; that the regulations proposed by him were dishonourable to them as Englishmen, and tended to the ruin of all public and private trade. They affirmed, that the president's issuing out regulations, independent of the council, was an absolute breach of their privileges, and therefore sent orders to all the factories to pay no regard to any of the new regulations. Mir Cossim was again applied to for a third treaty; but he not only refused to treat with their deputies, but caused them to be murdered on their return, of which barbarous action the following account was sent home to England to the court of directors. "Messf. Amyatt and Hay, two gentlemen of the council, being furnished with proper instructions, were deputed to wait upon the nabob, in order to adjust the differences in an amicable manner. They accordingly arrived at Mongheer on the 12th of May 1763, and had many conferences with him, in which he

A treaty concluded by Mr Vansittart, and disavowed by the council of Calcutta.

1763. Jan. 17.

Murder of the deputies sent by the council to the nabob.

he ſhewed a great averſeneſs to an accommodation, upon the terms offered to him. About this time, a ſupply of five hundred ſtands of arms, going to Patna, was ſtopped by the nabob's orders, and other acts of hoſtility committed; and affairs being come to an extremity, a war with Coſſim Ali was unavoidable. Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay were recalled, and meaſures were taken at the preſidency to carry it on in the moſt effectual manner. Mr Amyatt having taken leave of the nabob on the 24th of June, and received the uſual paſſports, ſet out in boats for Calcutta, accompanied with Meſſ. Amphlett, Wollaſton, and Hutchinſon, Lieutenants Jones, Gordon, and Cooper, (Dr Crooke, Mr Hay and Gulſton remaining with the nabob as hoſtages). As the boats were paſſing the city of Moorſhedabad, they were attacked, on the 3d of July, by a number of troops aſſembled for that purpoſe on both ſides the river, and ſome of the gentlemen were killed in the boats. Mr Amyatt immediately landed with a few ſeapoys, whom he forbid to fire, and endeavoured to make the enemy's troops underſtand, that he was furniſhed with the nabob's paſſports, and had no deſign of committing any hoſtilities: But the enemy's horſe advancing, ſome of the ſeapoys fired, notwithſtanding of Mr Amyatt's orders; and, a general confuſion enſuing, that gentleman, and moſt of the ſmall party who were with him, were cut to pieces.

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July 3.

This inhuman and treacherous behaviour having cut off all hopes of accommodation, war was formally declared againſt Mir Coſſim, and his predeceſſor, Meer Jaffier, once more proclaimed Nabob of Bengal in the beginning of July. Hoſtilities had indeed commenced before this time. About 300 miles from Calcutta, up the Ganges, ſtands the city of Patna, a place of very conſiderable extent and great trade, where the Engliſh Eaſt India Company had a factory, with ſome Indian and European ſoldiers. Theſe ſuddenly attacked and carried this great city on

Meer Jaffier proclaimed Nabob.

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on the 25th of June, though defended by a ſtrong garriſon, with fortifications newly repaired. On the very firſt attack, however, the governor and garriſon fled; but the Engliſh, with the utmoſt imprudence, having diſperſed themſelves in order to plunder, the Indian commander ſuddenly returned with a reinforcement from the country, and either cut them in pieces, or obliged them to take refuge in their fort. In the latter, however, they did not now imagine themſelves ſecure, and therefore reſolved to abandon it, in order to fly into the territories of a neighbouring nabob. With this view, they croſſed the Ganges; and, during the firſt three days of their march, met with no oppoſition; but being at length overtaken and attacked by a ſuperior force, they were forced to come to an engagement. In the firſt encounter, they had the advantage, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of the enemy in numbers; but in a ſecond they were totally routed, and all of them either cut in pieces on the ſpot, or taken priſoners.

Patna ſuddenly attacked and taken by the Engliſh, but inſtantly retaken, June 5.

Major Adams marches againſt the nabob.

The forces which took the field under Major Adams, conſiſted at firſt of no more than one regiment of the king's troops, a few of the company's two troops of European cavalry, ten companies of ſeapoys, with twelve pieces of cannon. By routing the enemy in two encounters, on the 11th and 14th of July, they cleared their way to Moorſhedabad, the capital of the province. The Indians, however, having drawn up their forces, to the number of ten thouſand, on the oppoſite ſide of the river, a third engagement enſued, in which the Engliſh gained a complete victory; after which, as the rainy ſeaſon began to ſet in, the major puſhed his way directly to the capital. He found the Indians again diſpoſed to obſtruct his paſſage, having ſtrongly fortified themſelves betwixt him and the city, with intrenchments fifteen feet high, defended by a numerous artillery. It being impoſſible, with his ſmall number of troops, to force a place of this kind, the major made a feint with

July.

The Indians defeated.

July 23.

with a ſmall body, againſt that part where the Indians had collected their principal ſtrength; and, while the enemy were amuſed with this appearance, the main force of the army marched round their fortifications in the night, appearing by day-break at the oppoſite quarter, where they had but a ſlight guard. This ſtruck the Indians with ſuch terror, that they abandoned their fortreſs and the city, without further reſiſtance. CHAP. I. 1763.

Encouraged by ſuch great ſucceſs in the beginning of his enterpriſe, the major puſhed on to ſeek Mir Coſſim, who had indeed been very active in his own defence. Notwithſtanding all his care, however, he had not been able to complete his ſoldiers in the European diſcipline in ſuch a manner as to make them in any reſpect a match for thoſe under the Engliſh commander, though the latter now found them oppoſe him in a manner very different from what they had done formerly. The two armies met on the banks of a river called Nunas Nullas. The Indian commander had choſen his poſt with great judgment; his army was divided into brigades, with a good train of artillery well ſerved, the ſame accoutrements, arms, and clothing, and even much of the ſame order and ſpirit with the Engliſh. Yet, notwithſtanding this ſuperiority to what they were formerly, and their vaſt numbers in compariſon with thoſe of the Engliſh, the Indian army, conſiſting of 20,000 horſe and 8000 foot, were entirely defeated, with the loſs of all their cannon. Aug. 6. Mir Coſſim entirely defeated.

After this engagement, the Indians never choſe to venture a pitched battle with the Engliſh, but contented themſelves with fortifying and defending ſtrong poſts in the beſt manner they could. At a place called Auda Nulla, protected in the front by a conſiderable ſwamp, on one ſide by the mountains, and on the other by the river Ganges, they had thrown up a great fortification, on which were planted 100 pieces of cannon, having in their front a deep ditch

of

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of 54 feet in breadth, and full of water in every part but that which was next the mountains; ſo that no place remained for the Engliſh to carry on their approaches, excepting a ſpace of about 200 yards, lying between the ſwamp and the river. A formal ſiege of this place therefore commenced, and was continued, without any ſenſible progreſs, from the 21ſt of Auguſt to the 4th of September, when the Indians again, ſuffering their attention to be drawn to the ſide of the Ganges, where the principal force of the attack had hitherto been directed, were totally routed, and their intrenchments forced with prodigious ſlaughter; vaſt numbers alſo being drowned by their throwing themſelves into the Ganges.

After this defeat, the Indians ſeem to have abandoned themſelves to deſpair, making no ſtand at any other place of defence, though they had ſeveral others betwixt Auda Nulla and Mongheer. Even this city, the reſidence of Mir Coſſim himſelf, and which he had been at the utmoſt pains to fortify, held out
Oct. 11. no longer than nine days, ſo that now the only reſource of the nabob was the city of Patna.

In the mean time, Mir Coſſim, exaſperated at the progreſs made by the Engliſh arms, which he was unable to prevent, according to the barbarity uſual among Aſiatics, determined to revenge himſelf on the priſoners he had taken at Patna. Theſe he cauſed to be murdered in the moſt inhuman manner; one Somers, or, as the Indians called him, *Soomeroo*, a German deſerter from the company's ſervice, being the perpetrator of the villainy. The account of this execrable affair, ſent by Major Adams to the ſecretary of ſtate, is as follows: "Soomeroo, having invited our gentlemen to ſup with him, took that opportunity to borrow their knives and forks, to entertain them in the Engliſh manner. At night, when he arrived, he ſtood at ſome diſtance in the cook-room, to give his orders; and, as ſoon as Meſſ. Ellis and Luſhington entered, the former was ſeized by

Engliſh priſoners cruelly murdered by Mir Coſſim.

by the hair, and pulling his head backward, another cut his throat; on which Mr Luſhington immediately knocked down the murderer with his fiſt, ſeized his ſword, with which he wounded one, and killed two more, before he was cut down himſelf. After this, the gentlemen, being alarmed by Mr Smith, ſtood upon their defence, and repulſed the ſeapoys with plates and bottles. Soomeroo then ordered them to the top of the houſe, to fire down on the priſoners, which they obeyed with reluctance, alledging that they could not think of murdering them in that manner; but that if they would give them arms, they would fight with them; on which he knocked down ſeveral of them with bamboos. The conſequence was, that all the gentlemen were either ſhot, or had their throats cut. In this, or ſome other equally inhuman manner, periſhed, in one houſe, forty-nine gentlemen, of whom twenty-five were in irons, with about fifty ſoldiers in irons; nine gentlemen, with the remaining part of the Engliſh who were priſoners, being put to death in other parts of the country, the whole number amounting to between two and three hundred. Dr Fullerton was the only perſon who eſcaped, having received a pardon from the tyrant a few days before this maſſacre."

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Such monſtrous cruelty did not long go unrevenged. Major Adams inſtantly ſet out from Mongheer to Patna, in order to drive the nabob from his laſt reſource. The event was conformable to the ſucceſs which had all along attended the Engliſh arms. Though the Indians behaved with much greater ſpirit than could have been expected from them, the place was taken by ſtorm after a ſiege of eight days; the nabob, having loſt all his fortified places, was obliged to fly for refuge to Sujah Dowlah, grand vizier to the Great Mogul, and nabob of a neighbouring province. By him he was kindly received, and protection granted to his perſon; but he refuſed

Nov. 6. Mir Coſſim flies to Sujah Dowlah

to

CHAP. I. 1763. to admit his army, or to take any ſtep by which his own country might be rendered a ſeat of war. Thus was Mir Coſſim entirely deprived of his dominions, and the Engliſh rendered unconditionally maſters of Bengal, an extent of territory not inferior to the moſt celebrated European kingdoms. Major Adams, however, did not long live to enjoy the honour he had acquired, dying of a diſorder in his bowels ſoon after the taking of Patna; but before that time he Dec. 9. had reſigned the command of the army to Major Carnac, with a deſign to return to Europe himſelf.

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CHAP. II.

The Mogul eſpouſes the cauſe of Mir Coſſim——Correſpondence with Sujah Dowlah——Renewal of the war, and ſucceſſes of the Engliſh——Sujah Dowlah ſurrenders himſelf——Death of Meer Jaffier, and tranſactions with the young nabob——Diſſentions among the company's ſervants ended, and a treaty concluded with the Mogul and Sujah Dowlah by Lord Clive.

ON the flight of Mir Coſſim, a deputation was ſent from the governor and council of Calcutta, to propoſe an alliance with Sujah Dowlah, with promiſes of aſſiſting him againſt Mir Coſſim, or any other invader; in return for which, it was expected, that he would do his utmoſt to ſeize and deliver up the fugitive nabob with his effects. This deſign was communicated to Major Adams on the 8th of December; but as he was to reſign the command on the day following to Major Carnac, it was recommended to the latter to watch the motions of Mir Coſſim, and if he ſhould be joined by Sujah Dowlah, or the Mogul himſelf, to advance with the army towards the banks of the river Carumnaſſa, and oppoſe any enemy that might attempt to enter the country.

It could ſcarcely be ſuppoſed that the embaſſy above mentioned would be favourably received; and accordingly, in the month of February, Major Carnac received advice, that Sujah Dowlah had reſolved to aſſiſt Mir Coſſim in the recovery of his government. The preſident and council on this thought proper to write to Sujah Dowlah, the purport of which letter was, "That they could not give credit to the report, conſidering the former connections ſubſiſting between him and the chiefs of the company, and

February.

Correſpondence with Sujah Dowlah.

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were perſuaded that he would not act in ſuch an inequitable manner; but, if he really intended to take Mir Coſſim into his friendſhip, they were reſolved to keep Bengal free from troubles, by carrying the war into his own dominions."

In anſwer to this, Major Carnac ſoon after received the following anſwer:—"Former kings of Indoſtan, by exempting the Engliſh company from duties, granting them different ſettlements and factories, and aſſiſting them in all their affairs, beſtowed greater kindneſs and honour upon them than either upon the country merchants or any other Europeans; moreover, of late, his majeſty has graciouſly conferred upon you higher titles and dignities than was proper, and jagheers and other favours ſince; notwithſtanding theſe various favours which have been ſhewn you, you have interfered in the king's country, poſſeſſed yourſelves of diſtricts belonging to the government, ſuch as Burdwan, Chittagong, &c. and turned out and eſtabliſhed nabobs at pleaſure, without the conſent of the Imperial court. Since you have impriſoned dependents upon the court, and expoſed the government of the king of kings to contempt and diſhonour; ſince you have ruined the trade of the merchants of the country, granted protection to the kings ſervants, injured the revenues of the Imperial court, and cruſhed the inhabitants by your acts of violence; and ſince you are continually ſending freſh people from Calcutta, and invading different parts of the royal dominions, and have even plundered ſeveral villages and purgunnahs belonging to the province of Illahabad;—to what can theſe wrong proceedings be attributed, but to an abſolute diſregard to the court, and a wicked deſign of ſeizing the country to yourſelves? If you have behaved in this manner in conſequence of your king's commands, or the company's directions, be pleaſed to acquaint me of the particulars thereof, that I may ſhew a ſuitable reſentment. But if theſe diſturbances have ariſen

ariſen from your own improper deſires, deſiſt from ſuch behaviour in future; interfere not in the affairs of the government; withdraw your people from every part, and ſend them to their own country; carry on the company's trade as uſual, and confine yourſelves to commercial affairs. In this caſe, the Imperial court will more than ever aſſiſt you in your buſineſs, and confer its favours upon you. Send hither ſome perſon of diſtinction to inform me properly of all circumſtances, that I may act accordingly. If (which God forbid!) you are haughty and diſobedient, the heads of the diſturbers ſhall be devoured by the ſword of juſtice, and you will feel the weight of his majeſty's diſpleaſure, which is a type of the wrath of God; nor will any ſubmiſſions or acknowledgments hereafter avail you, as your company have of old been ſupported by the royal favours. I have therefore wrote to you, you will act as you think adviſeable, and ſpeedily ſend me an anſwer."

War with him reſolved on.

Along with this letter, which was directed to the preſident and council of Calcutta, Major Carnac received another for himſelf, much to the ſame purport. The reſolutions of the council upon theſe remonſtrances of Sujah Dowlah were, not to hearken to any of his arguments, but inſtantly to begin an offenſive war; "it being," ſay they, in their inſtructions to Major Carnac, "beyond all doubt, that our ſucceſſes againſt the powers of this empire, have been owing to acting offenſively, and always puſhing the attack; and this appears the more neceſſary at this time, as the ill diſpoſition of our troops is likely to be increaſed by nothing ſo much as inaction."

Bad ſituation of the Engliſh affairs.

At this time, indeed, the affairs of the Engliſh appear to have worn but a very indifferent aſpect, as well on account of the ſtrength of the enemies forces, as of the mutinous and diſobedient ſpirit of the troops of the company themſelves. The activity and ſpirit of the Indians was no doubt augmented

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by the death of Major Adams, whoſe name had been for a long time ſo formidable in that part of the world. While he lived, therefore, the princes who ſecretly were in the intereſts of Mir Coſſim thought it prudent to keep themſelves quiet; but now, being no longer under any ſuch reſtraint, they openly eſpouſed his cauſe by taking the field. The ſtate of affairs at that time will be beſt underſtood from the report of Colonel Munro to the Houſe of Commons. In the month of April 1764, he had orders to return to Europe with ſuch of his majeſty's troops as did not chuſe to inliſt in the ſervice of the company, but was prevented from embarking, by two expreſſes from Bengal, which brought intelligence that Sujah Dowlah and Mir Coſſim had entered the province with an army of ſixty thouſand men; that Major Adams was dead, and the company's affairs in the utmoſt danger; for which reaſons it was requeſted, that he would take upon him the command of as many troops as could be ſpared from the preſidency of Bombay, and with them join the army at Patna, where he ſhould take the command of the whole; Major Carnac, to whom the command had been reſigned by Major Adams, being obliged to act on the defenſive by the numerons forces of Sujah Dowlah, who had invaded the province.

"I found," ſays the colonel, "the army, Europeans as well as ſeapoys, mutinous, deſerting to the enemy, threatening to carry off their officers, demanding an augmentation of pay, and large ſums of money, which they ſaid the nabob had promiſed, and diſobedient to all order. Four hundred Europeans had gone off to the enemy, in a body, ſome time before. It being neceſſary, in the firſt place, to conquer this mutinous diſpoſition, I went with a detachment of the king's and company's Europeans from Patna, with four field pieces of artillery, to Chippera, one of the cantonments. The very day, or the day after I arrived, a whole battalion

talion of ſeapoys went away to join the enemy. I immediately diſpatched an hundred Europeans, and a battalion of ſeapoys, to bring them back to me. The detachment came up with them in the night-time, and brought them back to Chippera. I deſired the officers to pick me out fifty men of the worſt characters, and who, they thought, might have enticed the battalion to deſert to the enemy; and out of theſe fifty to chuſe out twenty-four. Theſe laſt being tried by a court-martial, and found guilty of mutiny and deſertion, were ſentenced to death, the manner being left to me. I immediately ordered four of the twenty-four to be tied to the guns, and the artillery officers to prepare to blow them away. A remarkable circumſtance occurred: four grenadiers repreſented, that, as they always had the poſt of honour, they thought they were intitled to be firſt blown away: the four battalion men were untied from the guns, and the four grenadiers tied and blown away; upon which the European officers of the battalions of ſeapoys, who were then in the field, came and told me, that the ſeapoys would not ſuffer any more men to be blown away. I ordered the artillery officers to load the four field pieces with grape ſhot, and draw up the Europeans with their guns in the intervals; deſired the officers to return at the heads of their battalions; ordered them immediately to ground their arms, and if one of them attempted to move, I would give orders to fire upon them, and treat them the ſame as if they were Sujah Dowlah's army. They did ground their arms, and did not attempt to take them up again, upon which I ordered ſixteen more of the twenty-four men to be tied to the guns by force, and blown away the ſame as at firſt, which was done. I ordered the other four to be carried to a cantonment, where there had been a deſertion of the ſeapoys ſome time before, with poſitive orders to the commanding officer to

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Twenty-four deſerters blown away from the mouths of cannon.

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blow them away in the ſame manner as before which was accordingly done."

This dreadful execution having put an end to the mutiny and deſertion prevalent in the army, the colonel was enabled to take the field againſt the enemy with ſome hopes of ſucceſs. His forces, indeed, conſiſted of but a few thouſand men, of whom ſcarce a ſeventh part were Europeans, which ſmall number was probably deſpiſed by his enemies, whom no experience had yet taught to avoid a pitched battle with European commanders. A long ſeries of wars, indeed, which to them were only a continuation of loſſes and defeats, had at laſt taught the Indians ſomething of the European manner of fighting, and poſting themſelves in proper ſituations to prevent their being attacked at a diſadvantage. Owing to this, and ſome inſtructions they had received from certain Europeans, the Britiſh commander found his enemies ſo advantageouſly poſted, that he did not chuſe to make an immediate attack. The Indian army at this time lay at Buxard, about one hundred miles above Patna, with a moraſs well lined with cannon in front; their troops alſo ſtretched out to ſuch a length as muſt neceſſarily out-flank the Britiſh forces, let them be extended as wide as poſſible. At one end of the moraſs was a ſmall wood, which the Indians had taken care to occupy with a ſufficient number of men, who would not fail to annoy the Britiſh army very much, ſhould they make any attempt on that ſide, as the cannon in front threatened the moſt dreadful deſtruction, ſhould they march directly up.

Battle of Buxard, Oct. 22.

Major Munro having encamped juſt without the reach of the cannon ſhot of the enemy, and taken proper meaſures for having his line of battle formed, in caſe of any ſudden emergency, found them in motion to attack him about eight o'clock in the morning of the ſecond day of his encampment. The action began about nine, with a diſcharge of the Indian cannon on the Britiſh troops; and, as one of their batteries played upon his flank, Major Munro detached

tached a battalion of ſeapoys, with one gun, to endeavour to ſilence it, which was effected by this and another battalion afterwards ſent to ſupport it. Having then made proper diſpoſitions for avoiding the moraſs, and clearing the ſmall wood already mentioned, the two armies came to cloſe action. The diſpute was now ſoon decided; the Indians were totally routed before twelve, and moving ſlowly off, the major ordered the line to break into the columns and purſue.

The Indians defeated.

In his account of this battle, the major informs us, that, about two miles from the ſcene of action, there was a rivulet, where the enemy had a bridge of boats, which they pierced and ſunk before the rear of their army got over. Thus about two thouſand of them were drowned or ſtuck in the mud; nevertheleſs, it was the beſt piece of generalſhip Sujah Dowlah ſhewed that day; for, had Major Munro croſſed the rivulet, which he might have done by means of the boats, the whole of Sujah Dowlah's army would either have been taken, or drowned in the carnaſſa. The jewels alſo belonging to him and Mir Coſſim would alſo have been taken, the value of which was computed at upwards of two millions ſterling.

The Engliſh army conſiſted of little more than four thouſand men, of which not above a thouſand were Europeans. The nabob's army was not leſs than forty thouſand men. The killed and wounded of the Engliſh army, amounted to eight hundred and forty ſeven; of the nabob's, two thouſand were killed in the field of battle, excluſive of thoſe that were drowned. The major had not ſurgeons to dreſs his own wounded, and could not give the wounded of the enemy any aſſiſtance; but he went five days together to give rice and water to ſuch of them as would take it.

The day after the battle, the Mogul himſelf, who had been kept a ſtate priſoner in the camp of Sujah Dowlah, wrote a letter to Major Munro, felicitating him on his victory, and deſiring to be taken under the protection of the Engliſh; on which condition he promiſed to give them Sujah Dowlah's country,

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or any thing elſe they pleaſed. This requeſt was complied with, after permiſſion had been obtained from the Governor and Council of Calcutta; and the Mogul, who had left Sujah Dowlah's camp the night before the battle, was taken under the protection of the Engliſh commander.

Sujah Dowlah, not diſheartned by his bad ſucceſs, ſent his miniſter to Major Munro with overtures of peace; but this was refuſed, unleſs under the condition of delivering up Mir Coſſim, and the aſſaſſin Somers, or Soomeroo. The latter was by birth a German, and a general officer in the nabob's ſervice. He had before been a ſerjeant in that of France, from whence he had deſerted to the Engliſh, and from them to Mir Coſſim. Sujah Dowlah, however, refuſed to give up either the one or the other; on which the major declared, that he would not make peace with him otherwiſe, even though he ſhould offer him all the treaſures he poſſeſſed. On this, the nabob ſent another meſſage, informing the major, that if he would make peace with him, he would put him on a way of getting into his power both Mir Coſſim and Soomeroo. The miniſter then deſired him to let Captain Stables go with him to the nabob's camp, as he perfectly underſtood the language. The captain conſented to riſque himſelf in this expedition, but returned with an anſwer, that Sujah Dowlah would not by any means conſent to give up either Mir Coſſim or Soomeroo; but if the major would ſend two or three Engliſh gentlemen, who knew Soomeroo, the nabob promiſed to ſend for him to an entertainment, and in preſence of thoſe gentlemen, he would order him to be put to death. At the ſame time, a ſum of money was offered to Captain Stables, to prevail with the major to agree to his terms of peace: "But, ſays Major Munro, in his account, as I never would do this, the next thing to be conſidered was the driving Sujah Dowlah entirely out of his country, and the manner of ſettling it."

The expulſion of the nabob ſeemed now indeed to be

be a matter of no great difficulty: The battle of Buxard had proved ſo deciſive, that the enemy now loſt all their poſſeſſions on this ſide the river, except a ſingle fort named Chanda Geer; but it was exceedingly ſtrong by nature, and commanded by an Indian unuſually valiant and faithful. It ſtood on the top of a rocky hill, on the very brink of the river Ganges, by which it might eaſily be ſupplied with proviſions, while the hill itſelf afforded ſuch numbers of ſtones that no other weapon ſeemed neceſſary for its defence. Notwithſtanding the difficulty of the enterpriſe, however, the Britiſh commander, after battering the walls and making a breach, ordered an attack in the night time, hoping to find the enemy aſleep, and off their guard as uſual.* But their intercourſe with the Europeans had now taught them better; they were not only awake, but well prepared for the reception of their enemies: Such vollies of ſtones were diſcharged by the garriſon, who made uſe of both hands and feet on the occaſion, that the aſſailants found themſelves obliged to abandon the enterprize, after loſing a conſiderable number of men, and though they renewed the attack next night, they were attended with no better ſucceſs than before. Colonel Munro therefore thinking it improper to waſte his ſtrength on a place ſo well defended, withdrew his forces, and encamped under the walls of Baneras. Shortly after he was recalled to England, and the command of the troops devolv upon Sir Robert Fletcher.

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The Britiſh repulſed at Chanda Geer.

In the mean time, Sujah Dowlah raiſed a new army; but, after ſome ſkimiſhes, was attacked on the 14th of January 1765, and driven off the field by the new commander, who next reſolved to make another attempt on Fort Chanda Geer. The method he followed was preciſely the ſame with that adopted by Colonel Munro, and his ſucceſs would in all probability have been no better, had not the garriſon mutinied

Jan. 14.

Chanda Geer ſurrendered

* At the cloſe of the evening, it is uſual for every Indian ſoldier to eat an inconceiveable quantity of rice, and many take after it ſome kind of drugs; ſo that about midnight the whole army is often in a dead ſleep. *Cambridge's Hiſt.*

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nied for want of pay, and obliged the governor to ſurrender. On delivering up the keys to Sir Robert, he regretted, with tears, his not being able to make a better defence, and that the mutinous diſpoſition of his garriſon had obliged him to throw himſelf on the mercy of the enemy. "I have endeavoured," ſays he, "to act like a ſoldier; but deſerted, by my prince, and left with a mutinous gariſon, what could I do?" Then, laying his hand on the koran, and pointing to the ſoldiers, "God and you," adds he, "are witneſſes, that to the faith of the Engliſh I now "truſt my life and fortune."

Eliabad taken.

The reduction of Chanda Geer, was followed by that of Eliabad, the enemies capital, a ſtrong city ſituated between ſixty and ſeventy miles above Chanda Geer, near a point of land formed by the junction of the rivers Ganges and Yumna. This was the laſt exploit of Sir Robert Fletcher, who was now ſuperſeded by General Carnac, whom the company had appointed to the command of the army. Having no enemy to face him in the field, he diſpoſed of his troops in ſuch a manner as ſeemed moſt advantageous for the ſecuring of his new conqueſts, and keeping the country quiet: Sujah Dowlah, however, though apparently in a deſperate ſituation, was reſolved not to yield to his hard fate. Finding his own troops unable to face thoſe of the company, he applied to the Mahrattas, the moſt warlike of all the Indians, who inhabit the mountains to the ſouth-weſt of his territory. Theſe new enemies, however, though formidable to their neighbours, were utterly unable to cope with the Engliſh forces.

May 20.

On the 20th of May this year they were defeated, and obliged to retire with precipitation into their own country; which ſo depreſſed the unhappy nabob, that he ſurrendered himſelf to General Carnac, without making any other ſtipulation in his own favour than that the general ſhould await the deciſion of Lord Clive concerning him.

Sujah Dowlah ſurrenders himſelf.

In

1764. Meer Jaffier dies.

In the beginning of February, died Meer Jaffier the nabob of Bengal. The ſucceſſion was diſputed betwixt his ſon Najem il Dowlah, a prince about eighteen years of age, and a grandſon by Miran, his deceaſed eldeſt ſon, at that time only about ſeven. According to the Engliſh laws of ſucceſſion the title was in favour of the latter, but as the Mahometan cuſtom ſupported the former, and he was looked upon to be of a moderate temper, and poſſeſſed of little ambition, it was determined in a council at Calcutta to ſupport the pretenſions of Najem. A debate aroſe concerning the terms on which he ſhould be admitted to his new dignity. The late nabob had, by treaty, been obliged to ſupport an army of twelve thouſand horſe, and as many foot, but it was now thought proper to accept of a pecuniary compenſation inſtead of this army; a reſolution was therefore paſſed, that he ſhould ſettle on the Eaſt India Company, a part of his revenue, amounting to more than 800,000 l. ſterling annually; that he ſhould diſcard his favourite and prime miniſter Nuncomar, receiving in his room a perſon appointed by the council, who was likewiſe to act in the capacity of governor to the nabob himſelf; the council was alſo to have a negative on the nomination of all the ſuperintendants or collectors of his revenues; he was to take their advice, receive their complaints, and in ſhort to act in an entire ſubſerviency to their will and pleaſure in all things.

The young nabob of Bengal harſhly treated by the Company's ſervants.

The young prince had diſcernment enough to perceive the thraldom intended for him, and oppoſed the treaty to the utmoſt of his power. His remonſtrances were in vain; he was obliged to ſign it without the ſmalleſt abatement or relaxation of terms; nay, to add to his mortification, he was not only compelled to part with his great favourite Nuncomar, but to ſend him to Calcutta to be tried for a treaſonable correſpondence with Sujah Dowlah. The unhappy prince uſed every method in his power to prevent

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vent the deſtruction of one ſo dear to him, but to no purpoſe; though he at laſt declared, that he would in perſon attend him in his journey, in order to be preſent at the trial; and Nuncomar himſelf offered 140,000 l. ſterling to avoid the danger; at laſt, however, he was ſet at liberty even without a trial.

Arrival of Lord Clive.

By this time Lord Clive was arrived at Bengal, with unlimited powers from the company, lodged in himſelf as commander in chief, preſident and governor. His lordſhip was accompanied with four other gentlemen, viz. Mr Summer, Brigadier-general Carnac, Mr Varelt, and Mr Sykes, who, along with him, were denominated a ſelect committee, and were authorized to act entirely independent of the council. The other ſervants of the Company were not a little ſurprized and incenſed at ſuch a complication of powers in the perſon of one man, eſpecially when they found he had brought along with him *covenants*, to be ſigned by themſelves, engaging to accept of no more preſents from the natives on any acconut whatever. This was the more mortifying, as the cuſtom of making preſents to thoſe from whom even the adminiſtration of juſtice is expected, prevails univerſally over the eaſt, and it was by the preſents made to them that the company's ſervants had been enabled to acquire their fortunes, or indeed even to live comfortably; the ſcanty allowance of their maſters being inſufficient to maintain them with any decency.

Diſſentions among the Company's ſervants.

Before theſe orders of the company were made public, the late treaty had been ſigned, and large preſents as uſual made to the deputies. It was not imagined, that the promulgation of the new orders could be attended with any retroſpect: nevertheleſs, as theſe orders had been in the country, though not publiſhed, before the ſigning of the treaty, a rigorous enquiry was inſtituted into all the tranſactions from the time Lord Clive landed, and ſeveral reſolutions were formed by the ſelect committee, reflecting ſeverely

ſeverely on the conduct of thoſe who had received the preſents. CHAP. II.

By this laſt proceeding, the diſſention which had already begun to take place, was inflamed to a very great degree, and the moſt violent diſputes took place between the partiſans of the ſelect committee, and thoſe of the council. On the part of the former it was urged, that by the cuſtom of accepting preſents, all kind of juſtice and virtue had been loſt among the ſervants of the company. Luxury, corruption, and venality, had been introduced to an extreme degree; and every thing had given way to the deſire of accummulating immenſe fortunes in a ſhort time; and of this, ſeveral ſtriking inſtances were produced; particularly of ſome who, in the ſpace of two years, had acquired one hundred thouſand pounds, and others who had amaſſed a million and an half in no very long time. On the other hand, it was anſwered, that the gentlemen in queſtion had been of the greateſt ſervice to the company, and that to them alone was owing the preſent happy eſtabliſhment of the company's affairs; that not a ſingle point had been given up in conſequence of theſe preſents, nor indeed had they been accepted until the treaty was fully concluded; nay, though offers had been made to a larger amount than that of the preſents themſelves, on the part of the nabob, they had been uniformly rejected; not to mention, that ſuch rigorous enquiries came with a very bad grace from thoſe who had already acquired princely fortunes by the very means which they now ſo much condemned; the allowance of the company was too ſmall even to afford ſubſiſtence in the country; nor could it be ſuppoſed, that gentlemen would undergo the multitude of dangers to which they were expoſed in the Eaſt Indies for ſuch trifling ſalaries, unleſs the company allowed them to make their fortune in ſome other way. 1765.

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The diſſentions were ſtill farther increaſed by an arbitrary exertion of power in the committee, with regard to filling up the vacancies in the council of Calcutta. Inſtead of nominating thoſe gentlemen whoſe ſeniority in ſervice entitled them to the ſucceſſion, they ſent for others of a much ſhorter ſtanding from Madras. This, it is ſaid, produced a memorial to the directors at home, and a very ſevere ſcrutiny into the powers by which the ſelect committee had been authoriſed to take ſo much upon them; but the latter, regardleſs of every ſtep of this kind, proceeded in the full exerciſe of the unlimited authority with which they had been inveſted; ſometimes making the council acquainted with their tranſactions, but never allowing them to give an advice or opinion with reſpect to them.

Sujah Dowlah reſtored.

Lord Clive having thus ſettled the company's affairs, in relation to the management of their ſervants, next proceeded to Eliabad, with full power to conclude a treaty with Sujah Dowlah. The fate of that unfortunate prince now turned out much better than he expected. Lord Clive perceived, that by depriving him of his poſſeſſions, the territories of the company lay expoſed to perpetual incurſions from the Mahrattas, Afghans, and other barbarous nations, who, for a long time, had ſpread ruin and deſolation through the northern parts. He therefore reſolved to reſtore him to his kingdom, as he alone was capable of defending it; the Mogul family, ever ſince the fatal invaſion of Kouli Khan, having been utterly unable to retain the diſtant nabobs in ſubjection, much leſs to defend their extenſive dominions againſt foreign enemies. Thus was Sujah Dowlah converted at once from an implacable enemy to a ſtedfaſt friend. He regained poſſeſſion of all his dominions, excepting a ſmall territory aſſigned to the Mogul, the revenue of which amounted to about two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; the company were conſtituted the Mogul's perpetual *dewans*, or

receivers

receivers of his revenues from the provinces of Bengal, for which they were to pay an annual ſum of three hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds, beſides another revenue of ſix hundred and ſixty-two thouſand five hundred pounds to the nabob of Bengal, for defraying the expences of civil government, and the ſupport of his dignity; while the remaining part of the revenue, belonging to the company, was calculated by Lord Clive at no leſs than one million ſeven hundred thouſand pounds per annum.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Diſturbances in the American colonies on account of the ſtamp act——Change of miniſtry——Death and character of the Duke of Cumberland——Parliamentary debates on taxing the colonies——Stamp act repealed——Declaratory and other bills paſſed——New change of miniſtry.

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1765. Violent commotions in America on account of the ſtamp act.

WHILE the affairs of Britain thus flouriſhed in the Eaſt, the moſt fatal diſſentions had taken place between the American coloniſts and the mother country; and which, even at this time, ſeemed ready to come to the ultimate deciſion of all human diſputes. The very firſt accounts of the ſtamp-act being propoſed, had occaſioned great diſturbances, which were further encreaſed on hearing that it had paſſed both houſes; but when certain intelligence arrived, that it was to take place in its full extent by the beginning of November, the popular fury broke out in the moſt outrageous manner, eſpecially at Boſton. All the ſhips in the harbour were put in mourning, the bells were rung muffled, the act was printed with a death's-head affixed to it, and hawked about the ſtreets, under the title of "The folly of England, and ruin of America." It was reprobated by numberleſs eſſays in newſpapers and others, one of which, intitled "The Conſtitutional Courant, containing matters intereſting to liberty, and noway repugnant to loyalty," had, for a device, a ſnake cut into thirteen pieces, each marked with the initials of one of the colonies, with the motto *Join or die*, in large letters above. Such were the methods by which the lower claſſes expreſſed their reſentment, and which were undoubtedly countenanced by thoſe of higher rank. The reſentment of the latter, indeed,

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deed, though leſs openly expreſſed, was no leſs determined. The arguments they uſed, conſiſted moſtly of thoſe which were ſo warmly agitated on this ſide of the water; but two obſervations ſeemed peculiar to the American continent. One was, that, by this act, any perſon had it in his power to bring an action originating at one end of the continent to the other, at the diſtance of two thouſand miles, without the aggrieved party being able to bring an action of damages, even though the judge ſhould certify that there was no probable cauſe for the proſecution. The other was, that judges were intereſted in giving a decree in favour of the party ſuing for the penalties of the act, being allowed, by way of commiſſion, a large ſhare of theſe penalties. CHAP. III. 1764.

In this manner things proceeded from bad to worſe. The act, as printed at the king's printing houſe, and ſent to America, was publicly burnt, along with the effigies of thoſe who were ſuppoſed to have had the moſt active hand in promoting it; while the higheſt honours were paid to ſuch members of parliament as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their oppoſition. The news of theſe violent proceedings intimidated many maſters of ſhips from taking any ſtamps on board, while thoſe who did ſuffered ſeverely for their temerity, being obliged to ſurrender their cargoes into the hands of the enraged multitude, who treated the ſtamps in the ſame manner as they had done the act itſelf. In ſhort, to ſuch an extremity did the oppoſition to this act ariſe, that by the time it ſhould have taken place, there was not a ſheet of ſtamped paper to be found throughout the continent, excepting ſuch as had been protected either by the ſhips of war, or depoſited in ſome fortreſſes on land. In Canada, the news-printers who, in terms of the act, printed on ſtamped paper, could find no ſale for their works; but in other parts of the continent this buſineſs went on as uſual without ſtamps, the printers alledging, and no doubt very

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juſtly, that they durſt do no otherwiſe for fear of the popular fury.

The fate of thoſe unfortunate perſons who had come from Britain as Commiſſioners of the ſtamp-duties may eaſily be conjectured. Some were fain to return from whence they came; others obliged to renounce, in the moſt public and ſolemn manner, all connection with their intended office; and thoſe who had reſolution to hold out in defiance of all danger, had their houſes plundered and burnt, or otherwiſe deſtroyed. No rank or quality was ſufficient to protect from theſe outrages. The governor of New York was obliged to deliver up a ſmall quantity of ſtamped paper he had preſerved, and to promiſe that he ſhould never require its being uſed, merely to prevent it from being deſtroyed. Other governors and chief juſtices, on whom this diſagreeable ſervice had devolved, were every where treated in ſuch a manner, as ſhowed that all reſpect and deference for the authority of the mother country was inſtantly to ceaſe. Many of the higher claſſes now mixed with the populace; provincial aſſemblies refuſed to concur with their governors in attempting to ſuppreſs thoſe diſturbances; nay, when the rioters happened to be apprehended and brought before them, the ſlighteſt puniſhment that could with decency be contrived was inflicted upon the delinquents; and, inſtead of calling in the military to quell the mobs which happened almoſt every day, the cannon belonging to the forts and ſhip-yards were ſpiked up, leaſt ſome hoſtile uſe ſhould have been made of them by the ſervants of government.

The provincial aſſemblies, finding themſelves ſeconded by innumerable meetings of people of all ranks, proceeded to avow their independence in the moſt explicit terms. The juſtices of the peace in a diſtrict of Virginia reſigned their commiſſion, and lawyers choſe rather to decline buſineſs than carry it on with ſtamped paper. The oppoſition was rendered complete,

plete, by an aſſociation among the merchants, to import no more goods from Britain after the firſt of January 1766, and to recall thoſe orders they had already given, if not anſwered before that time, until the ſtamp-act, as well as thoſe relating to ſugar and paper-money ſhould be repealed; while the colonies of Virginia and South Carolina threatened to put a ſtop to the exportation of tobacco, an article of immenſe value to government, on account of the vaſt ſum annually produced by the duty on its importation into Britain. CHAP. III. 1765.

In the mean time the Britiſh miniſtry, whom the diſcontents in America, and the violent clamours of oppoſition at home, had rendered very unpopular, fell alſo under the diſpleaſure of his majeſty, the cauſe of which is ſaid to have been the little reſpect ſhewn to the Princeſs Dowager of Wales in the framing of the regency bill; for, in its original ſtate, her name was not mentioned among thoſe who in the event of the crown devolving upon a minor, were to have any ſhare in the government. The new adminiſtration was formed on the recommendation of his Royal Highneſs the late Duke of Cumberland. It conſiſted of the Marquis of Rockingham, firſt Lord of the Treaſury; the Duke of Grafton, and the Right Honourable Mr Conway, brother to the Earl of Hertford, Secretaries of State, and the Duke of Newcaſtle, Lord Privy Seal. During the ſhort time this new miniſtry continued in office, many popular acts were paſſed. Nothing, indeed, could be more unfavourable than the aſpect of affairs when they firſt took the lead. The colonies, by applying to Ireland for ſuch commodities as they could not poſſibly want, had greatly benefited that kingdom, while Britain was depreſſed in the ſame proportion; our manufactures were at a ſtand, proviſions extremely dear, and a miſerable populace unemployed, and in a ſtarving condition; the colonies in the utmoſt ſtate of anarchy and confuſion, as has already been related, and Change of Miniſtry. July.

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popular licentiouſneſs carried to ſuch an height as could be exceeded only by an actual rebellion. It cannot, indeed, be ſuppoſed, that the Americans were totally free of inconvenience from the effects of their non-importation agreement; but their warehouſes were full of Britiſh goods as yet unpaid, while their country affording moſt of the neceſſaries of life in great abundance, prevented the inhabitants from being equally affected with thoſe of Britain. There was a neceſſity, therefore, of inſtantly enforcing the ſtamp-act by the extremes of war, or of repealing it altogether. In this ſituation, the miniſtry loſt their illuſtrious patron, William Duke of Cumberland, who died the 31ſt of October 1765. He had felt ſome ſymptoms of illneſs the preceding night, which, however, were ſo ſlight, that they did not prevent him from preparing to aſſiſt at one of the councils frequently held to bring matters forward for the conſideration of the Privy Council. Here he was ſuddenly taken ill again, and almoſt inſtantly fell ſenſeleſs into the arms of the Earl of Albemarle.

Death and character of the Duke of Cumberland.

The death of his Royal Highneſs was univerſally lamented, with the moſt ſincere marks of affliction. He poſſeſſed every quality requiſite to adorn the high ſtation in which he was placed. To the knowledge of letters he added a conſummate experience in the art of war, ſo that he was univerſally allowed to be one of the beſt ſoldiers in Europe; nor was he leſs verſant in the arts of peace, at the ſame time that his extenſive benevolence, and which diſplayed itſelf in his countenance, rendered him a bleſſing to all around him. He laid out the greateſt part of the revenue ſettled upon him for his ſervices, in improving Windſor Park, which, by the free acceſs to it, was rendered in ſome meaſure almoſt as much the property of the ſubject as of the ſovereign.

By the death of this illuſtrious perſonage, the miniſtry found themſelves obliged to encounter a moſt formidable oppoſition, compoſed not only of thoſe who

who had been active in framing the ſtamp-act, but alſo of many who at firſt had oppoſed it. The former contended, that it was ſtill proper, as it had originally been, to enforce the ſtamp-act; and the latter, that though the act was in itſelf improper, the enforcement of it now became abſolutely neceſſary, that the authority of the mother country over her colonies might be preſerved inviolate. CHAP. III. 1765.

On the meeting of parliament, December 17th 1765, a conſideration of the American affairs, and of the moſt proper methods for reſtoring tranquillity to the colonies was recommended from the throne, and a recommendation of the ſame kind was given in the ſpeech which followed the receſs on the Chriſtmas holidays. In taking theſe matters into conſideration, the parliamentary right of taxing the colonies was debated in the moſt full and ample manner, and, at the ſame time, with a moderation of temper ſeldom or never to be met with in any of the ſubſequent debates, either public or private, which were carried on during this unhappy conteſt. Debates in parliament on the American affairs.

On the part of the Americans, it was argued, from the natural rights of mankind, the original deſign of government, which was the good of ſociety, as well as from Magna Charta, that no Britiſh ſubject can be legally taxed but with his own conſent, or that of his repreſentatives; and, as the Americans were not repreſented in Parliament, they could not of conſequence be legally taxed. Examples were brought from the counties palatine of Cheſter, Durham, and Lancaſter, the marches of Wales, and from the clergy; none of all theſe being for a long time ſubject to parliamentary taxation. It was not, however, denied, that Parliament had a right to tax the colonies externally, by laying duties on their ports, or thoſe injoined by the navigation-act; but thoſe complained of were the internal taxes, which could be levied only by the body of the people.

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To this it was replied, That the conſtitution of the country was already fixed, and conſequently, that no arguments drawn from the natural rights of mankind or the original inſtitution of government, could now be of any ſignification. The examples adduced were alledged not to be fair, or to the purpoſe. The marches of Wales, or the borderers, were privileged for a ſhort time, on account of their having aſſiſted King Edward in his wars. One of the counties palatine was taxed fifty years before it ſent members to Parliament; and, as for the clergy, they never ſeem to have been free from parliamentary taxation. Arguments were likewiſe drawn from the violent diſputes, and even civil wars, that had formerly taken place among the colonies, by which their incapacity to govern themſelves was plainly ſhown; and it was alledged, that they muſt, in a ſhort time, fall under the juriſdiction of ſome foreign power, if they did not continue in ſubjection to Britain. Laſtly, The diſtinction betwixt external and internal taxation was ſaid to be fallacious, as a tax laid on any particular place neceſſarily affects the whole empire. The obligation betwixt the mother country and the colonies muſt be natural and reciprocal, *viz.* defence on the one part, and obedience on the other; and, if the colonies were to be obedient in one point, they muſt be ſo in every other, or not at all.

The queſtion, however, was not now to be decided by argumentation. The whole empire, on this as well as the other ſide of the Atlantic, was in a ferment. Petitions had been received from the merchants of London, Briſtol, and ſeveral other large trading towns of England and Scotland, ſetting forth, that, by the new laws and regulations relating to America, trade was greatly decayed; many thouſand manufacturers, ſeamen, and labourers, who had formerly been employed in various departments relative to the American trade, were now not only unemployed,

ed, but, that the total ſtagnation of that trade had occaſioned many bankruptcies, and was likely to occaſion many more. The petitioners were therefore under a neceſſity of applying to the Houſe, in order to ſecure themſelves and families from ruin, to prevent a multitude of manufacturers from becoming a burden to the community, or emigrating, in order to ſeek bread in foreign countries, &c.

A petition, to the ſame purpoſe, was ſent from the iſland of Jamaica, and others from the colonies of Virginia and Georgia, ſetting forth the utter inability of theſe provinces to pay the ſtamp-duty. But neither the number of petitions, nor the arguments of miniſtry, had any effect upon the oppoſite party. On the contrary, they affected to conſider the petitions themſelves as the effects of miniſterial artifice; but, even granting them to be genuine, they contended, that it was better to ſubmit to a temporary inconvenience, than totally to give up the dependence of the colonies on the mother-country, which muſt infallibly be the conſequence, were the ſtamp-act at this time to be repealed.

The general voice of the nation, however, was ſo ſtrong for the repeal of the ſtamp-act, that the miniſtry at laſt carried their point, though, when the bill for this purpoſe was ſent to the upper houſe, no fewer than thirty-three lords entered a proteſt againſt it at the ſecond reading, and twenty-eight at the third. But the news of the repeal was received with univerſal demonſtrations of joy, both in Great Britain and America. Repeal of the Stamp Act.

That the miniſtry might not ſeem to be wanting in their endeavours to preſerve the authority of the parent ſtate, at the ſame time that they repealed the ſtamp-act, another was paſſed to indemnify ſuch as had incurred penalties on account of it; and a requiſition was alſo made to the provinces of North America, to make proper compenſation to ſuch as had ſuffered on account of their adherence to government during Declaratory and other bills paſſed.

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the late exertions of popular violence. An act was likewiſe paſſed, at the ſame time, by which the dependency of the colonies on Great Britain was declared in the moſt explicit terms; all votes, reſolutions, or orders, which had been paſſed by any of the general aſſemblies in America, by which they aſſumed to themſelves the ſole and excluſive privilege of taxing his Majeſty's ſubjects in the colonies, were annulled, and declared contrary to law, derogatory to the legiſlative authority of parliament, and inconſiſtent with their dependency upon the Crown.

By this expedient, of framing the declaratory bill, it was thought, that the honour of the mother-country would be ſufficiently ſafe, and that the Americans, having obtained what they ſo much deſired, would now, with one conſent, return to their duty. At the ſame time, to ſhew that their deſire was equally great to redreſs the grievances of their own countrymen, the miniſtry procured a repeal of the cyder-act, the news of which was received with almoſt as much joy in the cyder counties as the repeal of the ſtamp-act had been in America. In foreign affairs alſo, they interfered with ſucceſs. They concluded an advantageous treaty with the Empreſs of Ruſſia, and ſettled the long-conteſted affair of the Canada bills and Manilla ranſom. By theſe proceedings they had become extremely agreeable to the people; but when it was generally imagined, that they had thus thoroughly fixed themſelves in office, a ſudden change took place.

Change of Miniſtry.

On the 30th of July 1766, the Duke of Grafton was appointed firſt Lord of the Treaſury, the Earl of Shelburne Secretary of State, Lord Camden Lord High Chancellor, Right Honourable Charles Townſend Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Earl of Chatham (raiſed to the dignity of Peerage a few days before) Lord Privy Seal; and a great number of other changes were made in the various departments of ſtate.

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Great expectations formed from the new Miniſtry—— their imprudent conduct——Eaſt India affairs brought before Parliament, againſt the inclination of the Company——War with Hyder Ally——Reſtrictions impoſed on the India Company——Conteſt with the Miniſtry, and temporary accommodation of matters with them.

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THE acceſſion of Lord Chatham (formerly the celebrated Mr Pitt) to the new miniſtry, gave the moſt favourable hopes of their wiſe and vigorous conduct; but the acceptance of a peerage had not only diminiſhed his popular influence, but placed him in a diſadvantageous ſituation, as he had no longer an opportunity of exerting that powerful eloquence, which in the Houſe of Commons had often produced ſuch wonderful effects. Many people, however, ſtill continued to expect great things; but their hopes were finally overthrown by his lordſhip's bad ſtate of health, which after an unſucceſsful trial of the Bath waters, obliged him to relinquiſh all attention to buſineſs, ſo that the other miniſters were left to act as they thought proper.

Great expectations from the new miniſtry.

The conduct of the preſent adminiſteration was not attended with any eclat. The firſt affair of any conſequence which engaged their attention was the high price of proviſions. This had excited great complaints, as well as tumults, through many parts of the kingdom, ſo that, in not a few inſtances, the magiſtrates had been obliged to call in the military to ſuppreſs them. As the parliament was not then ſitting, two proclamations were iſſued, of date 11th and 26th September 1766; the former for putting in force the laws againſt foreſtallers, &c. the latter

Imprudent conduct of the new miniſtry.

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latter to prevent the exportation of corn. As this laſt prohibition, however neceſſary at the time, could not have been legally impoſed without an act of parliament, wheat being ſtill below the price at which it might, according to law, have been exported, the miniſtry not only ſubjected themſelves to the popular odium, by encroaching on the privileges of parliament, but were afterwards obliged to bring in a bill of indemnity to ſecure the framers of their new law from puniſhment. On this occaſion alſo, the firſt ſymptoms appeared, of that jealouſy and diſaffection among themſelves, which afterwards weakened their hands, and occaſioned an univerſal langour throughout their proceedings.

East India Company's affairs brought before parliament

The great ſucceſs of the Eaſt India Company in their treaties with the Mogul and princes of Bengal has been already related. The proprietors, however, having known of all this wealth as yet only by report, and ſeen their ſervants return wallowing in riches, while their maſters received little or nothing, began to inſiſt for an increaſe of dividend, which at this time ſtood at ſix per cent, the loweſt at which it had ever been, even in the moſt diſtreſſed ſituation of the Company's affairs. The directors, who conſidered nothing but the debts of the Company, were of a quite different opinion; in conſequence of which, two factions immediately aroſe, whoſe diſputes produced ſuch conſequences as neither party at the time had dreamed of. A report aroſe, that government deſigned to interfere in the affairs of India, and, though this for ſome time gained little credit, all parties were fully convinced of its truth by a written meſſage from the firſt lord of the treaſury, dated September 24th 1766, in which it was ſet forth, that, "As the affairs of the Eaſt India Company had been mentioned in parliament laſt ſeſſion, it was very probable that they might be taken into conſideration again; therefore, from regard to the Company, and that they might have time to prepare their papers for

for the occaſion, notice was given, that the parliament would meet ſome time in November."

1766.

The tranſactions in parliament relative to India affairs, commenced with the appointment of a committee for regulating them, and inquiring into the ſtate of the Company. Their charters, treaties with different powers, letters of correſpondence, the ſtate of their revenues, &c. were called for, with an account of all the expences of government on the Company's affairs, whether in the military or any other department. As the intention of miniſtry by entering into this vigorous ſcrutiny was plainly to attempt ſome relief of the diſtreſſes of government, by ſeizing part of the vaſt revenue of the Company, the greateſt part of the ſeſſion was conſumed in violent and fruitleſs debates. On the part of the Crown it was urged, that the Company could have no right to the vaſt conqueſts it had made in the eaſt; their charters did not give any title to acquiſitions by conqueſt; it was dangerous to truſt ſo much power in the hands of a trading company; and, even granting it to be, in every reſpect, expedient to do ſo, yet, the vaſt expence of government, in protecting the Company, gave it a juſt title to all the revenues ariſing from the conqueſts. On the other hand it was anſwered, that the Crown had made no reſervation of any right to conqueſts made by the Company; the charter had been fairly purchaſed, and confirmed by act of parliament; and it was a dangerous infringement of public faith, as well as an invaſion of private property, to queſtion them. Beſides, if the Crown could pretend any juſt title either to the poſſeſſions themſelves, or their revenues, the matter ought to be tried in a court of common law, and not before the Houſe of Commons, which, according to the conſtitution of Britain, was neither the interpreter of laws, nor the decider of legal rights.

An accommodation with miniſtry propoſed.

Whatever might have been the iſſue of the matter, had a more full diſcuſſion of it taken place, the moſt judicious

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judicious part of the Company's friends thought it better to propoſe terms of accomodation with the miniſtry, than to carry things to extremities. Propoſals were accordingly made; but the miniſters were now ſo much divided, and at variance, that they could put no confidence in one another. The Company were therefore once more obliged to have recourſe to parliament. An accomodation was in conſequence effected, by which the Company was to enjoy its former privileges, on condition of paying the ſum of 400,000 l. annually for three years. A dividend of ſix and a quarter per cent. was allowed; but they were reſtricted from exceeding ten per cent. until the next meeting of parliament.

This laſt reſtriction, which took place in conſequence of a bill brought into parliament for regulating the making of dividends by the Eaſt India Company, proved extremely diſagreeable. The former debates were renewed with more acrimony than ever; and the Company perceiving that it ſtruck directly at their privileges, offered to bind themſelves, in caſe it could be laid aſide, from any farther increaſe of dividend during the time of the temporary agreement. The propoſal, however, was rejected; the advocates for the bill pretended, that it was neceſſary to prevent any further increaſe of dividends, leaſt the credit of the Company ſhould be affected. A regulation was likewiſe neceſſary to prevent the fluctuation of India ſtock, which, if allowed to go on, not only tended to introduce a pernicious ſpirit of gaming, but likewiſe to keep down the other ſtocks, whoſe riſe had a great effect in reducing the intereſt of the national debt; and that no encroachment might be made, by any dividend of the Company, upon the revenue of its late territorial acquiſitions.

By the oppoſers of the bill it was ſhewn, that the Company was certainly in a ſituation to divide 80,000 l. among themſelves, even after their agreement to pay 400,000 l. annnally to government. The fluctuation

fluctuation of India ſtock could be as effectually prevented by reſtraining the dividend to twelve and a half as to ten per cent.; and the Company were not averſe to this reſtriction. Finally, it was urged, that the arguments uſed againſt the territorial right of the Company to their acquiſitions in the country was a precedent of the moſt dangerous nature, and extremely unbecoming the juſtice as well as dignity of parliament; and that ſuch a legiſlative interference with the rights of a trading Company, whoſe effects were well known to be adequate to every neceſſary purpoſe, was altogether without example. CHAP. IV. 1767.

War with Hyder Ally.

While government ſeemed thus intent on curbing the Company's power at home, a new and very troubleſome enemy had ariſen in the eaſt. This was Hyder Ally, or Hyder Naig, who, from a common ſeapoy, had made himſelf maſter of a conſiderable part of the Malabar coaſt, and become one of the moſt formidable princes of India. Having long ſerved in the European armies, he was well acquainted with their diſcipline and manner of fighting; and of this knowledge he now endeavoured to avail himſelf, by introducing it among his own troops. He alſo procured ſome renigadoes to aſſiſt in managing his artillery.

The conqueſts he had as yet made were by no means ſufficient to ſatisfy the ambition of this new prince. He was ſenſible, that the forces of the Eaſt India company were by far the moſt formidable enemies he would have to contend with, and therefore attempted to ſtrengthen himſelf by alliance. Having prevailed on the Nizam of Dean to renounce the the friendſhip of the Company, he took the field in conjunction with his ally, at the head of a formidable army, to which the Company oppoſed another under Colonel Smith, inferior indeed, as uſual, in numbers, but much more to be dreaded on account of the military ſkill of the officers and bravery of the ſoldiers. The two armies met on the 26th of September, at a Sept. 26.

place

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place called *Errour* near Trinomallee. The event was ſimilar to what had happened in former battles of this kind; the Indians were overthrown with the loſs of a great number of men and ſeventy pieces of cannon. The purſuit laſted two days. The Nizam was happy to renew his alliance with the Company at a very conſiderable expence; and Hyder Ally himſelf was obliged to transfer the ſeat of war to a mountainous country, where he could not again be forced to a deciſive action.

1767. The Indians defeated.

An enterprize was next projected at Bombay againſt Mangalore, one of Hyder Ally's principal ſeaports, where all his ſhips lay. Four hundred Europeans, and eight hundred ſeapoys were employed in the execution, and the event was conformable to their wiſhes. The place was reduced with very little loſs, 25th February 1768; nine veſſels of conſiderable ſize, and ſeveral ſmaller ones, were taken; but, as a garriſon too ſmall for the defence of the place, was injudiciouſly left. Hyder Ally quickly retook it, making priſoners of all who had been left for its defence.

Feb. 25. 1768.

Encouraged by this ſucceſs, he proceeded vigorouſly in the proſecution of the war; while, on the part of the Britiſh it was managed in a more diſgraceful manner than had ever been known in that country. In order to promote the intereſt of ſome particular perſons, *field deputies* had been appointed to ſuperintend and direct the motions of the commander in chief; and, as theſe were deeply concerned in contracts for the army, they took care to direct its motions in ſuch a manner as beſt ſuited their own intereſt. The effects of this appointment may be eaſily imagined. The officers finding themſelves overruled in thoſe operations of which they and they only were judges, quitted the ſervice in diſguſt, or became careleſs in the execution of their duty; nay, ſome were even known to deſert the cauſe of their country, and enter into the ſervice of the barbarous prince who oppoſed them;

Fatal conſequences of appointing field deputies in the Britiſh Army.

a

a thing hitherto unknown in the annals of Britain; while forts, eaſily tenable, were given up in ſuch a ſhameful manner as to afford but too juſt reaſon to ſuſpect that they had been betrayed to the enemy. CHAP. IV. 1768.

In the mean time Colonel Smith, now raiſed to the rank of General, was penetrating, with the ſucceſs uſually attending the Britiſh arms, into the heart of the enemy's country, and would, undoubtedly have made himſelf maſter of their capital, had he not been prevented by the diſſenſions ariſing from the unhappy project of appointing field-deputies. Hyder Ally was too diſcerning not to improve the advantage given him by the langour which inſtantly appeared in the operations of his enemy. By the celerity of his troops, conſiſting principally of horſe, he got between the Britiſh forces and the Carnatic, rendering it inſtantly neceſſary, by the ravages he committed, for General Smith to return to the defence of the Company's territories. Thus were the Britiſh at once deprived of all the advantages they had gained; every town and fort they had conquered in the enemy's territories was abandoned: Hyder Ally's reputation was augmented to an incredible degree, and allies poured in to him from all quarters. Hyder Ally ravages the Carnatic.

The abſence of General Smith was ſeverely felt by the Company's allies. The nabob of Arcot againſt whom Hyder Ally had a particular enmity, on account of his long and faithful attachment to the Britiſh cauſe, had his territories ravaged without mercy; and even when the Engliſh army returned, it was found inſufficient to make an effectual defence. Hyder Ally by his attack on the dominions of Arcot, had deprived them of one of their principal reſources; he now fully underſtood the great ſuperiority of the enemy in cloſe engagements, and for that reaſon avoided encounters of this kind with the utmoſt care; inſtead of this he harraſſed them by continual attacks on their detached parties, wearied them out by endleſs marches and purſuits, and ravaged the country

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country in ſuch a manner as effectually to complete its ruin; while, by the continual acceſſion of new adventurers, his army, in autumn 1768, was augmented to ninty thouſand men; the Mahratta princes courted his alliance, and he now threatened to become the moſt formidable enemy the Britiſh had ever encountered in theſe parts.

Battle of Mulwaggle, Oct. 4.

As the urgency of affairs inſtantly required ſome vigorous exertions, Colonel Wood was detached with a conſiderable body of troops to reduce one of the enemy's forts named Mulwaggle. Being repulſed in the firſt attempt, Hyder Ally thought he might ſafely venture to attack them, as their whole number conſiſted only of four hundred and ſixty Europeans, and two thouſand three hundred ſeapoys. The force he employed on this occaſion amounted to no leſs than fourteen thouſand horſe, twelve thouſand men armed with match-lock guns, and ſix battalions of ſeapoys. Even ſuch armies as theſe would formerly have been eaſily defeated by the force which now oppoſed them; but here the caſe was found very different; the field of battle was loſt and won five or ſix times; and, on the part of the Britiſh three hundred were killed and wounded, among whom were ſeveral brave officers; many were taken priſoners, and two pieces of cannon loſt. On the part of the enemy the loſs was immenſe; but where numbers could be ſo eaſily replaced, the loſs of men was ſcarcely felt; ſo that if any conſequence attended the battle, it was only to give Hyder Ally an additional leſſon, not to come to a cloſe engagement with the Europeans, whatever his ſuperiority in numbers might be.

This victory, if it may be ſo called, made no difference in the manner of conducting the war. The devaſtations of Hyder Ally went on as uſual, and diſſenſion continued to rage among the Britiſh troops. The expences of the campaign now became ſo high, that the eſtabliſhment of Madraſs was found inſufficient to ſupport

ſupport them; it was therefore neceſſary to make application to Bengal; and as the remittances from thence were made in a baſe kind of gold coin, the Company are ſaid to have loſt 40,000 l. by the exchange. CHAP. IV. 1768.

Hyder Ally, in the mean time, having given the ſlip to the army in the Carnatic, advanced within a few miles of Madras, which occaſioned ſuch an alarm, that the council thought proper to enter into a negociation with him; but, though the Indian prince ſhewed himſelf ſufficiently willing to enter into a definitive treaty, he abſolutely refuſed a truce of fifty days, which the council had required, leſt they ſhould make uſe of this interval in making freſh preparations for war. A treaty was therefore concluded on the 3d of April 1769, the terms of which ſimply were, that each party ſhould reſtore the places taken during the war, and ſit down contented with the expences they had been at. A perpetual league, offenſive and defenſive, was entered into, and a free trade allowed betwixt the Carnatic and the dominions of Hyder Ally. Peace concluded.

In the mean time, however, the ſucceſs with which Hyder Ally had carried on the war, not only threatened to raiſe up a new enemy in Sujah Dowlah, who had greatly encreaſed his army, but ſpread a general alarm at home, where meaſures were inſtantly reſolved upon for the reformation of thoſe abuſes which had occaſioned ſo much loſs and diſgrace, not only in India, but in Britain, as the value of India ſtock was already ſunk upwards of ſixty per cent.—It was now determined to ſend three gentlemen, well verſed in the company's affairs, to India, under the title of *ſupervisors*, with full power to examine the conduct of thoſe who were already there, and regulate every thing according to the beſt of their judgment. Meaſures taken by the Company to retrieve their affairs.

This new ſcheme gave the greateſt alarm to the friends of thoſe gentlemen already in the eaſt; a

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1769.

ſtrong party was formed againſt the appointment of ſuperviſors; and, while both parties waſted their time in fruitleſs debates, the miniſtry once more interfered, by demanding, that a ſervant of the crown ſhould have a principal ſhare in the direction of the company's affairs.

Interference of the miniſtry.

Superviſors appointed, June 14.

By this time, Mr Vanſittart, Mr Scrafton, and Colonel Ford, had been choſen ſuperviſors, and their commiſſions actually made out; but as the Company well knew the importance of being ſupported by a naval power in their tranſactions with the Indian princes, application was made to government for two ſhips of the line and ſome frigates. To this no direct anſwer was given at that time, though by the appointment of Sir John Lindſay to the command of the ſquadron, it was thought to imply a tacit conſent. As the requeſt, however, had hitherto been made only by the directors, it was thought neceſſary, in order to add greater weight to it, that government ſhould be addreſſed on the ſubject by a general court of the proprietors. This was accordingly done

July 27.

on the 27th of July, and another court appointed to be held the 11th of Auguſt following, in order to receive the anſwer. At this laſt, a letter was read from Lord Weymouth, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, ſetting forth, that, "the commiſſion appointing the preſent ſuperviſors had been taken into conſideration by his majeſty's ſervants, and that it was their opinion that it was in ſome reſpects illegal: That he was ſorry to find, in an anſwer he had received from the direction, with regard to the appointment of a naval officer with full powers to adjuſt all maritime affairs in India, that they had not fully acceded to it. He now, therefore, begged of the directors, that they would reconſider the commiſſion in general, and that the particular article of granting unlimited powers to a naval officer, might be laid before the proprietary at large."

In

In conſequence of this letter, a long correſpon- CHAP. IV.
dence enſued between the directors and the miniſtry, 1769.
during the courſe of which, the deſigns of the latter became more apparent. It was now perceived, that the naval officer above mentioned, was deſigned, in fact, to ſuperintend the ſupervifors; and that in all affairs, whether naval, military, or political. To this the directors replied, that though they were willing to allow the naval officer a certain ſhare in the government, along with the council of Bengal, it was yet thought improper to confer ſuch extraordinary powers on a ſingle perſon, which could not but produce the greateſt confuſion, by the continual interference conſequent upon it. In anſwer to this, another letter from his lordſhip was read in a court, held Auguſt fifteenth, in which he acquainted the pro- Aug. 15.
prietors, that "by the anſwer given to his laſt, he was of opinion, that he had been in ſome degree miſunderſtood; his idea never was to inveſt any naval officer with plenipotentiary powers; and that to prevent any future miſunderſtanding, he would only recommend the diſcuſſion of two points: 1ſt, The reconſideration of the commiſſion; and, 2dly, The degree of power proper to be veſted in the naval officer.—With regard to the former, he would not pretend to ſpeak on it; but with regard to the ſecond, as government had, by the eleventh article of the definitive treaty, in one thouſand ſeventeen hundred and ſixty-three, made conditions, at the requeſt of the Company, with ſeveral Indian princes, it highly reſpected their honour, that an officer of the Crown ſhould be at the head of all matters offenſive and defenſive."

It now became evident, that the intention of miniſtry was to deprive the Company of all power over their territorial acquiſitions in the eaſt; and as the matter was certainly of the greateſt importance, the court was adjourned to the 30th of the ſame month, in order to give ſufficient time to the members to

CHAP. IV.

form their opinions; and, when the time came, violent debates, as uſual, took place.

1769. On the part of the Company, it was urged, that if the king's officers were once allowed to interfere with the affairs of Indian government, the power of the Company was from that moment at an end. An application to Government for aſſiſtance, at the ſame time that the ſervants of the Crown were inveſted with independent powers, was at once to give up the territorial acquiſitions in the eaſt; as the conſequences might eaſily be foreſeen whenever any diſpute ſhould ariſe betwixt the Company's ſervants and thoſe of the Crown; and if the Company was unable, by itſelf, to defend its territorial acquiſitions, it would be much better to ſurrender them at once, than to be conſtantly at the mercy of a miniſter. The interference of Government in commercial affairs, it was contended, had uniformly proved detrimental, and even ruinous, as might eaſily be demonſtrated by a compariſon of the French and Dutch Eaſt-India Companies. It was evident alſo, that the demands of the Britiſh miniſtry had riſen in proportion to the ill-judged conceſſions which the Company had already been prevailed on to make. They had granted Government an annual ſum, much larger than what they propoſed to divide among themſelves, without any renewal of their charter, or ſtipulation in their favour; and this ought to have been a ſufficient gratification to miniſtry, without immediately making a new requiſition which ſtruck at the Company's very exiſtence.

To all this the miniſterial party replied, That the king's commiſſion would add dignity to the negociations carried on with the Indian princes, who, being ſovereigns themſelves, would much more readily treat with the officers of a ſovereign prince, than the ſervants of a company of merchants, whoſe rapacity they had already experienced, and whoſe miſconduct, unleſs ſpeedily counteracted by a vigorous interpoſi-

tion

tion of Government, would not fail to occaſion the total extermination of the Britiſh in that part of the world. It was likewiſe evident that nothing could, for the future, ſo effectually prevent theſe enormities, as an appointment by his majeſty of ſome perſon of rank, honour, and integrity, who might be a ſufficient check on the rapacity of their ſervants, at the ſame time that he would not only be anſwerable for his own conduct to his majeſty, but alſo to the nation in general.

Theſe arguments being urged at great length by their reſpective partiſans, the queſtion was at laſt put, "That this Court will give the officer of the Crown, commanding ſhips of the line, a ſhare in the deliberations and reſolutions of the Company, merely with regard to the two objects of making peace and declaring war, when his majeſty's forces are employed." Every thing, however, was thrown into confuſion by the rejection of this queſtion, as miniſtry had already taken care that the commiſſion for the naval commander ſhould be made out. It became neceſſary, therefore, that a compromiſe ſhould be made; and for this, the ſituation of affairs on the Gulph of Perſia offered a fair opportunity. The chiefs on that coaſt, taking advantage of the troubles in which the Perſian empire was involved, had declared themſelves independent, and throwing off all regard to order, had embroiled the affairs of the Company. With regard to the Gulph of Perſia, therefore, the naval commander was allowed to have power to make peace or war, but beyond this his juriſdiction was not to extend. The demand for ſhips of the line for the bay of Bengal was now withdrawn, though two frigates were appointed for that ſervice, and to carry the ſupervifors, whoſe powers were at laſt fully adjuſted, and a final ſtop put to this formidable conteſt.

Differences between the Company and Miniſtry accommodated.

CHAP. V.

Extreme jealouſy and diſobedience of the American colonies——New diſturbances on account of the impoſition of certain taxes——Violent diſputes betwixt the governors and their aſſemblies——New office of ſecretary of ſtate for the colonies——People of Boſton aſſemble under the name of a Convention——Progreſs of the diſcontents in Maſſachuſett's Bay.

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IT cannot be denied, that the attempt of the miniſtry on the Eaſt India Company, carried along
1766. with it the idea of deſpotiſm, and a wiſh to veſt the Crown with an abſolute right over the property of the ſubject. From this, among many other cauſes, we may partly derive the extreme jealouſy of the American colonies, their irreconcileable averſion to the Britiſh miniſtry, and their perpetual and utter abhorrence of any conciliatory meaſures. The repeal of
1766. the ſtamp-act in 1766 had not produced that complacency which might reaſonably have been expected. The declaratory bill, ſetting forth the ſupremacy of Great Britain in ſuch explicit terms, had produced an inclination to reſiſt in every thing, whether of any conſequence or not. An act of parliament had been paſſed the ſame ſeſſion, with regard to the accommodation of the troops at New York; but the aſſembly of that province, without the leaſt regard to this act, thought proper to ſettle them according to a method of their own. However, as miniſtry did not incline to uſe any violent meaſure at preſent, no farther puniſhment was inflicted, than ſuſpending the legiſlative power of the aſſembly of that province, until they ſhould fully comply with the terms of the act. But when ſome other acts were paſſed in the parliament of 1767, impoſing duties on glaſs, painters co-
1767.

Diſobedience of the aſſembly of New York.

lours,

lours, and tea, imported into the colonies, their former fury revived with all its violence. On this occaſion, the diſturbances, as before, began at Boſton. In the month of October, ſeveral reſolutions were paſſed at a meeting of the inhabitants, for the encouragement of American manufactures, reſtraining the uſe of ſuperfluities, and promoting oeconomy. A long liſt of articles imported from this country was produced at the meeting, which it was determined either not to uſe at all, or in as little quantity as poſſible. It was particularly recommended, to encourage the making of paper, glaſs, and all thoſe articles on which the duties had been laid. At this meeting alſo, ſeveral regulations were made with regard to the article of dreſs and funerals; every method, in ſhort, being tried to make the American colonies as independent as poſſible of the mother country.

CHAP. V. 1767. October.

This meaſure being readily adopted by all the other colonies, gave encouragement to the Boſtonians to proceed ſtill farther. A circular letter was ſent, of date February 11. 1768, from the ſpeaker of the aſſembly of Maſſachuſett's Bay, to all the other aſſemblies of the colonies, ſetting forth the bad tendency of the late acts of parliament, repreſenting them as unconſtitutional, and an infringement of the rights of Engliſhmen; exhorting the other colonies, at the ſame time, to enter into an union with them, that ſo all their proceedings in the common cauſe might harmonize together.

Feb 11. 1768.

Similar reſolutions were quickly taken throughout all the reſt of the colonies; and, in the mean time, the moſt inveterate enmity took place between the governors of the provinces and their aſſemblies. It was eaſily perceived by the former, that the final purpoſe propoſed by the people of North America, was a total independency on the mother country; while, on the other hand, the aſſemblies, conſcious that this was their real aim, affected to conſider thoſe ſteps which their governors were indiſpenſibly obli-

Diſſention between the governors and their aſſemblies.

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ged to take, in order to preſerve even a ſhadow of the royal authority, as ſo many encroachments on their liberty. All good agreement was therefore entirely at an end; the correſpondence betwixt the governors and their aſſemblies was nothing but a continued courſe of altercation and mutual accuſation, each party watching how they might find faults in the conduct of the other, ſufficient to juſtify to the world the ſyſtem they had already eſtabliſhed in their own minds. In this diſtracted ſtate, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that the correſpondence between the governors of the American colonies and the Britiſh miniſtry, could be calculated to impreſs the latter with any favourable opinion of the people there; and, indeed, ſome unfortunate diſcoveries of this kind tended to drive matters to extremities ſooner than perhaps would otherwiſe have been the caſe. A letter from Lord Shelburne to Governor Bernard of Maſſachuſett's Bay, was, by his order, read before the aſſembly of that province. It contained very ſevere cenſures on the conduct of the aſſembly, and was heard with great indignation. The aſſembly inſtantly charged their governor with having miſrepreſented, and ſet them in an unfavourable light to his lordſhip; and, therefore, required him to lay before them copies of ſuch letters as he had written to his lordſhip concerning them; which being refuſed, they wrote letters not only to Lord Shelburne, but the reſt of the miniſtry, recriminating on their governor, and aſſerting that, to his bad conduct and miſrepreſentation it was, that ſuch a bad opinion had been formed of them at home. Theſe letters, at the ſame time, contained the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of loyalty, but were filled with the moſt ſevere invectives againſt the late act of parliament, which they ſtiled unconſtitutional, and ſubverſive of their liberties. The governor, finding himſelf at a loſs what to do, adjourned the aſſembly, though, at their next meeting, he found them in better humour.

Mar. 4.

In

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1768. Secretary of ſtate appointed for the colonies.

In the mean time, the miniſtry finding the American affairs ſo full of perplexity, appointed a ſecretary of ſtate for the department of the colonies alone. Lord Hillſborough who was appointed to this new office, inſtantly ſet about writing a circular letter, dated April 22d, to the governors of the provinces, with a view to counteract that of the aſſemblies already mentioned. In this, he condemned the aſſembly's letter without reſerve; ſetting it forth as of a moſt dangerous and factious nature, calculated to inflame the minds of the people, ſubverſive of the true principles of the conſtitution, and of the authority of parliament; and concluding, that his majeſty expected, from the known affection of the reſpective aſſemblies, that they would treat it with the contempt it merited, by taking no notice of it. By another letter to Governor Bernard, that of the aſſemby was reprobated in much the ſame terms, with this addition, that it had been carried through a thin houſe, and in the end of a ſeſſion, from whence his majeſty concluded, that it had been carried by ſurprize through the houſe of repreſentatives.

In conſequence of this repreſentation of the matter, the governor, willing to try every peaceable method in his power, propoſed that the aſſembly ſhould reſcind the reſolutions of the former concerning the circular letter, and for this purpoſe, he laid before them the laſt part of Lord Hillſborough's letter, which indeed contained a requiſition from his majeſty, that theſe reſolutions ſhould be reſcinded. By this unexpected requiſition, the aſſembly were for ſome time not pleaſed; however, they at laſt requeſted, that he would lay before them his full inſtructions on the ſubject. The governor then laid before them the whole letter, by which they perceived, that in caſe they did not comply with the demand made upon them, the governor was required to diſſolve them, and tranſmit a copy of their proceedings to be laid before the parliament. To all this, the aſſembly gave no anſwer

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ſwer for about a week; but at laſt, on being urged to it by the governor, the queſtion was put for reſcinding the reſolution of the laſt houſe, and carried in the negative by 92 to 17.

Diſturbance at Boſton, June 10.

During the time of theſe diſputes between the aſſembly and their governor, the licentious diſpoſition of the people of Boſton continued to increaſe. A violent uproar took place on the 10th of June, in conſequence of ſome officers of the revenue having ſeized a ſloop, laden with wine, belonging to one of the principal merchants of the place. The officers, on their firſt ſeizure, had made a ſignal to the Romney man of war, by the aſſiſtance of which they were enabled to ſecure their prize. This did not, however, ſecure the perſons of the commiſſioners and revenue officers. The populace enraged to find that they could not recover the ſloop, pelted the commiſſioners with ſtones, attacked their houſes, and burnt a boat belonging to the collector, committing ſuch other acts of violence, that the revenue officers found themſelves obliged to take refuge firſt aboard the Romney man of war, and then in Fort William, ſituated on a ſmall iſland in Boſton harbour. This licentious behaviour was by no means diſcouraged by the aſſembly as it ought to have been; on the contrary, as though nothing had happened, after their poſitive refuſal to reſcind the reſolutions concerning the circular letter, they ſet about framing a letter to Lord Hillſborough, as well as anſwers to the meſſages of the governor; in all of which they laboured to vindicate the proceedings of the laſt aſſembly as well as their own, and to prove that nothing had been done but what became dutiful ſubjects, ſtruggling againſt an unjuſt invaſion of their rights and privileges. They denied in the moſt poſitive terms, that the circular letter had been paſſed in a thin houſe, or carried on by any kind of ſurprize; they maintained that it was perfectly legal in itſelf, being only deſigned as the foundation of a petition to his majeſty for a redreſs of grievances. To reſcind the

the reſolutions, by which the circular letter had been paſſed, would be to no purpoſe, unleſs the letter itſelf could alſo be reſcinded, which was impoſſible, as it had already been circulated, and operated its full effect. They commented very freely on the requiſition itſelf, repreſenting to his lordſhip, that it was unconſtitutional, and without a precedent, to command a free aſſembly, under pain of diſſolution, to reſcind any reſolves, eſpecially thoſe of a former houſe. They complained greatly of baſe and wicked miſrepreſentations, by which his majeſty had been influenced againſt them; though they ſtill continued to poſſeſs the greateſt reſpect and loyalty.

All this, however, had no weight with their governor; he diſſolved the aſſembly while they were preparing a petition to remove him from the government, and thus increaſed the diſcontent already too prevalent. The general ill humour was alſo further augmented by the arrival of intelligence, that a petition, formerly addreſſed to the king, had been refuſed from the colony agent, on pretence that he was not properly authoriſed to deliver it, having been appointed by the aſſembly without conſent of the governor. They were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation by the news of two regiments being embarked from Ireland, and ſeveral detachments rendezvouſed at Halifax for the ſupport of the civil government at Boſton. A meeting of the inhabitants was held at Faneuil hall, and a committee appointed to wait on the governor, in order to know what reaſons he had for intimating the approach of his majeſty's forces, and at the ſame time to petition him to call another general aſſembly as ſoon as poſſible; to this the governor replied, that he had no authority to aſſert any thing concerning the arrival of the forces, his information having been only of a private nature; and, with regard to the calling of another aſſembly, he could do nothing, being required by his inſtructions to wait the pleaſure of his majeſty in this reſpect.

Aſſembly of Maſſachuſett's Bay diſſolved.

Sept. 12.

In conſequence of which the people aſſemble under the name of a Convention.

The

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The committee having received this anſwer, entered into a full conſideration of the preſent ſtate of affairs; this ended in a tedious detail of their rights, and the late infractions of them. Several reſolutions were formed againſt the legality of introducing the troops, founded on an act of William III. by which it was declared to be unlawful to keep a ſtanding army in time of peace without the conſent of parliament. Another reſolution of greater conſequence was alſo paſſed; and this was the holding of a new aſſembly under the title of a *Convention*, the powers of which appear not to have been exactly determined, but its legal exiſtence they pretended to derive from a clauſe of an act of King William, concerning the frequency of parliaments. The vote for this aſſembly was inſtantly followed by another, founded likewiſe on an act of parliament, by which the ſubjects were authorized to keep arms. In conſequence of this, the inhabitants of Boſton were deſired, ſuch as had no arms, to furniſh themſelves with them; and thoſe who had to put them into thorough repair, in caſe of any ſudden emergency. A day of public faſting and prayer was then appointed, after which the meeting diſſolved.

Sept. 14. In conſequence of the votes paſſed at this general meeting, the ſelect men of Boſton ſent a circular letter to thoſe of the other towns in the province; and though nothing could be more ſlender than the pretences of this tranſaction, to any ſanction from acts of parliament, only one town (Hatfield) out of ninety ſeven in the province, had the courage to refuſe their aſſent. The ſtile of this circular letter ſo much reſembled that of the Americans on all other occaſions of complaint, that we ſhall here inſert the moſt remarkable paſſages: "Taxes," ſay they, "equally detrimental to the commercial intereſts of the parent-country and the colonies, are impoſed upon the people without their conſent; as alſo for the maintenance of a large ſtanding army, not for the defence of

of the newly acquired territories, but for the old colonies, and in time of peace. The decent, humble, and truly loyal applications and petitions from the repreſentatives of this province, for the redreſs of theſe heavy and very threatening grievances, have hitherto been ineffectual, being aſſured from authentic intelligence, that they have not yet reached the royal ear; the only effect of tranſmitting theſe applications hitherto perceivable, has been a mandate from one of his majeſty's ſecretaries of ſtate, to the governor of this province, to diſſolve the general aſſembly, merely becauſe the late houſe of repreſentatives refuſed to reſcind a reſolution of a former houſe, which implied nothing more, than a right in the American ſubjects to write an humble and dutiful petition to their gracious ſovereign, when they found themſelves aggrieved. CHAP. V. 1765.

"The concern and perplexity into which theſe things have thrown the people, have been greatly aggravated by a late declaration of the governor, that one or more regiments may ſoon be expected in the province. The deſign of theſe troops is, in every one's apprehenſion, nothing ſhort of enforcing, by military power, the execution of acts of parliament, in the forming of which the colonies have not, and cannot have, any conſtitutional influence. This is one of the greateſt diſtreſſes to which a free people can be reduced."

As favourable anſwers to this letter were received from all the towns of Maſſachuſet's Bay, Hatfield alone excepted, the oppoſition of the inhabitants of this place only ſerved to expoſe them to the ridicule of the reſt of the province; the convention met, and ſent a meſſage to the governor, diſclaiming all legiſlative authority. But this he refuſed to accept, leſt he ſhould, by ſo doing, give his ſanction to it as a legal aſſembly. He then ſent a meſſage to them, requiring, but in very mild terms, that they ſhould immediately diſperſe themſelves without doing any buſineſs, at the ſame time threatening worſe conſequences

if

CHAP. V. 1768.

if they proceeded. The convention framed a remonſtrance in anſwer to this meſſage; but the governor refuſing to accept of that, or any other meſſage from them, they began to be ſeriouſly afraid they had proceeded too far; and therefore, after appointing a committee to draw up a report, in which they aſſigned the cauſes of their meeting, diſclaimed all pretences to authority, and recommended the greateſt deference to government. After this, having prepared a proper repreſentation of their tranſactions to be tranſmitted to the agent for the colony at London, they broke up the aſſembly, September 29. 1768.

The convention diſſolved.

Sept. 29.

Thus peace ſeemed to be in ſome meaſure reſtored at Boſton, to which the arrival of the fleet from Halifax, having on board two regiments, the very day the convention broke up, undoubtedly contributed not a little, as did alſo the arrival of General Gage with other two regiments from Ireland a little time after. The ſeeds of diſſention, however, were not now to be eradicated. Reſolutions ſimilar to thoſe taken at Boſton had been entered into by almoſt all the other colonies. They had expreſſed the higheſt approbation of the conduct of the Boſtonians, and the moſt determined reſolution to coincide with their meaſures. They did not even ſcruple to avow their approbation of theſe meaſures to the ſecretary of ſtate; animadverting with great freedom on the requiſition, as well as ſeveral other parts of his letter; while moſt of them entered into reſolutions not to import any more goods from Britain after the beginning of January 1769, until ſuch time as the obnoxious acts of parliament were repealed.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Death of the Duke of York——Parliament meets——Debates on the Nullum Tempus *bill——Mr Wilkes choſen member for Middleſex——Diſturbances on his account——Increaſed by his ſentence——Proceedings in parliament with regard to him——His expulſion, re-election, and final incapacitation as member of parliament——Election of Colonel Luttrel——Violent commotions, debates, and petitions, on this ſubject——The patriots at laſt wearied out——Preferment of Mr Wilkes.*

CHAP. VI. 1767.

DURING theſe diſturbances in the colonies, affairs had been in no very agreeable ſituation at home. In the month of Auguſt 1767, the nation was deprived of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, who died at Monaco, having ſome time before undertaken another tour through Europe. His death was occaſioned by a fever, ariſing originally from too violent exerciſe in dancing, and afterwards neglected. Immediately after the ball, he gave orders for his carriage to convey him to Toulon, from whence he was diſtant three or four leagues. The gentlemen who attended him, perceiving his Royal Highneſs greatly fatigued, repreſented to him, that there was a neceſſity for his remaining where he was, if not to go to bed, at leaſt to cool and ſhift himſelf. This ſalutary advice, however, was rejected; his Royal Highneſs declaring, that there was no occaſion for ſuch precaution, as he would wrap himſelf up in his cloak, which he accordingly did, and ſtepped into his carriage. This happened on the 9th of Auguſt. Next day, he complained of a chilneſs and ſhivering. The diſorder, however, appearing

Death of the Duke of York, Auguſt 17. 1767.

CHAP. VI. 1767.

pearing to be ſlight, it did not prevent him from going to a comedy the ſame night; but there his Highneſs found himſelf ſo much worſe, that he was obliged to leave it, being manifeſtly feveriſh. By drinking plentifully of diluting liquors, and proper care being taken in other reſpects, he was greatly better in the morning; on which he again took the unhappy reſolution of ſetting forward to Monaco. In his journey thither, his Royal Highneſs was greatly incommoded by the heat of the weather, and next day was obliged to confine himſelf to his bed. Every poſſible advice and aſſiſtance was given, but in vain; the fever was unconquerable; and his Royal Highneſs, now fully ſenſible of his danger, prepared for the event with becoming fortitude. He retained his ſenſes to the laſt moment, took an affectionate leave of all his attendants, and expired with the piety and reſignation of a Chriſtian.

Death of Mr Charles Townſhend, September 4.

During the receſs of parliament this year, alſo died Mr Charles Townſhend, chancellor of the exchequer, the loſs of whom proved a great detriment to the miniſtry, already divided and weak-handed.

Miniſterial changes.

About this time, ſeveral changes took place among the great officers of ſtate. Lord Mansfield was appointed chancellor of the exchequer on the 12th of September, and Lord North on 1ſt December, Mr T. Townſhend paymaſter of the forces, in room of Lord North, Earl Gower lord preſident of the council, Earl Hillſborough and Lord Weymouth ſecretaries of ſtate, the former, as already related, being appointed to a new department for the colonies.

Parliament meets, Nov. 24.

At the meeting of parliament, November 24. 1767, the ſpeech from the throne recommended an attention to the diſtreſſes of the people, occaſioned by the dearneſs of proviſions, and the reduction of the national debt. The city of London preſented a petition, containing a complaint on the high price of proviſions, and containing ſeveral propoſals for removing it. No better expedient, however, could

could be found at this time, than the importation of wheat and flour from America.

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The next object of this parliament was the East India Company. Their agreement to pay four hundred thouſand pounds to government was to laſt another year; but as the bill for reſtraining the dividends to ten per cent. was now about to expire, another was introduced to reſtrain them in the ſame manner for another year. This apparent reſolution to perſevere in ſuch an arbitrary meaſure, greatly alarmed the Company, who therefore ſtrongly petitioned againſt it. The moſt violent debates alſo took place in the houſe concerning it; but though it was evident, that the former bill had encreaſed the very miſchiefs it was intended to remedy, the miniſtry carried their point a ſecond time by a great majority.

Remarkable caſe of the Duke of Portland.

The moſt remarkable tranſaction during this ſeſſion, however, was the introduction of a bill for quieting the poſſeſſions of the ſubject, and for amending and rendering more effectual an act of the twenty-firſt of James I. for the general quiet of the ſubject againſt all pretences of concealment whatever. The circumſtances which led to the introduction of this famous bill were as follow:—The family of the Duke of Portland had, for ſeventy years, poſſeſſed a large eſtate in the north of England, conſiſting of the honour of Penrith in Cumberland, with the appurtenances. The grant of this eſtate had been obtained from William III. and the foreſt of Inglewood, with the manor and caſtle of Carliſle, had been conſidered as parts of it, and enjoyed by the family in common with the reſt; though it is probable they had not been particularly ſpecified in the grant, being, perhaps, thought to be expreſſed with ſufficient perſpicuity as parts of the whole; and it is poſſible that King William, on account of his frequent diſſention and altercation with his parliaments, might not chuſe to be very particular in the ſpecification of what he granted to his favourite.

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After ſo long poſſeſſion of the ſubject, it was ſcarce to be imagined that any diſpute concerning it could ariſe; however, on the 9th of July 1767, Sir James Lowther, who poſſeſſes a very large eſtate in the ſame county, preſented a memorial to the lords of the treaſury, ſhewing, that he was informed, that the foreſt of Inglewood, and the ſoccage of Carliſle, had been long withheld from the Crown, without its receiving any benefit from them; for which reaſon, he prayed for a leaſe of his majeſty's intereſt thereon for three lives, upon ſuch terms as ſhould ſeem proper to their lordſhips. The matter being referred to the ſurveyor-general of the crown-lands, he gave it as his opinion, that the lands in queſtion had not been conveyed by King William's grant, but were ſtill veſted in the Crown; he therefore recommended to their lordſhips to grant the leaſe. This report was returned without any opinion of the gentlemen of the law being taken; the ſurveyor was no lawyer; nor was any notice of the tranſaction ſent to the duke. The latter, however, having at laſt obtained information, he preſented a memorial, praying to be heard before any important ſtep was taken in conſequence of Sir James Lowther's application. His memorial was anſwered by a letter from the ſecretary of the treaſury, deſiring him to lay before the board a ſtate of his claim and title to the foreſt of Inglewood, which they promiſed to refer to the ſurveyor-general; and, at the ſame time, ſend him back his report on Sir James Lowther's memorial; promiſing likewiſe, that no ſtep ſhould be taken for the deciſion of the matter in queſtion, until every thing relating to the duke's title ſhould be fairly diſcuſſed.

1767. July 9.

Oct. 10.

In conſequence of theſe promiſes, the duke entered into a moſt tedious and difficult inveſtigation, during the courſe of which it became neceſſary to examine whether the facts delivered in the ſurveyor's report were faithfully ſtated or not; but when application was made at the ſurveyor's office for this purpoſe,

purpoſe, permiſſion to examine his authorities was abſolutely refuſed. On this, the duke preſented another memorial to the board, ſetting forth, that "as all public records ought, and by all courts of judicature are directed, to be inſpected for the benefit of the parties intereſted, an order might be iſſued to the ſurveyor's office for liberty to inſpect ſuch ſurveys, court-rolls, &c. as related to the affair in queſtion." To this it was anſwered by the ſecretary to the board, that an order for the purpoſe mentioned in the memorial ſhould be given, not as a matter of right, but of candour and civility. CHAP. VI. 1767. Dec. 2.

Notwithſtanding theſe promiſes, however, and though the clerks received the uſual fees for making out the order, it could never be obtained. At laſt, it was ſaid to have been ſent to the ſurveyor's office; but, on enquiry, the receipt of any ſuch order was denied; though it afterwards appeared, that it had not only been ſent, but an anſwer returned to it, two days before the application on the part of the Duke of Portland. The anſwer made by the ſurveyor was a remonſtrance againſt the inſpection of any papers by thoſe who litigate the rights of the Crown.

But, while the agents of the Duke of Portland were thus ſhamefully trifled with, the grants of Sir James Lowther were actually made out, and had paſſed through all the offices, excepting that of the exchequer; and this without the duke knowing any thing of the matter. At laſt, he was informed by a letter from the ſecretary of the treaſury, that the grant was paſſed, and the leaſes already ſigned. The duke had then no reſource but to attempt to ſtop it before the court of exchequer; and even here he was diſappointed. The chancellor informed him, that he was preſſed to affix the ſeals inſtantly; and, in virtue of his office, was obliged to comply with every order from the board of treaſury. 1768.

The affair now became very ſerious. The ſubject in diſpute was not indeed of much value in itſelf,

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but of vaſt importance in its conſequences. The foundation on which the miniſtry founded this extraordinary procedure, was the abſolute law and maxim of the royal prerogative, "*Nullum tempus occurrit Regi*," by which the claims of the Crown could not be invalidated by poſſeſſion for any length of time whatever. To revive this law in the preſent age muſt have been attended with the moſt pernicious conſequences that can be imagined; for, as moſt of the lands of the kingdom have been formerly in the hands of the Crown, it would now be extremely difficult, if not altogether impoſſible, to ſhew that great part of them did not ſtill belong to it. As the landed intereſt, therefore, were ſo generally affected by the conſequences of this act, the tranſaction excited not only a very great popular clamour, but a general diſcontent throughout the whole kingdom.

In the courſe of the debates on this ſubject it was made evident, that the *nullum tempus* act had been enforced only by the worſt and moſt arbitrary princes, and even by them with the utmoſt caution; that it had been reprobated by the moſt learned writers on the law, and conſtantly held by them as ſubverſive of all natural equity, and the maxims of free government: That, in the reign of James I. a law was paſſed to reſtrain its bad conſequences; and as the conſtitution became better eſtabliſhed, this law was only made retroſpective, as it could never be ſuppoſed, that a law would be revived in more enlightened ages, which had been held in abhorrence in thoſe of barbarity and ignorance. The revival of it could only anſwer the moſt arbitrary purpoſes; and, in the preſent caſe, it was evidently to produce an undue influence at the next general election, as the different principles of the parties ſufficiently evinced.

On the part of the Crown it was urged, That the ſubjects in queſtion were not any part of the honour of Penrith, as they were neither ſpecified nor underſtood in the grant: That the right being certain, it was

was no more a fault in the Crown, than in any private perſon, to aſſert it: That it would be happy for the people if many ſuch reſumptions were made, as by this means a revenue would be procured by the Crown without laying any burden upon them, with other arguments ſo totally void of any colour of reaſon, that, notwithſtanding the great influence of adminiſtration, they were obliged to change their mode of defence; and, pretending that it was too late in the ſeaſon, put off the matter to the next. Even this was not done without the utmoſt difficulty; the meaſure was ſo univerſally odious, that a majority of no more than twenty could be procured on the occaſion.

The miniſtry is obliged to put off the deciſion of the Duke of Portland's caſe.

Such arbitrary and unfair proceedings of the miniſtry, could not but have a very conſiderable effect in rivetting in the minds of the people thoſe prejudices which now produced ſuch diſturbances, not only throughout the whole continent of America, but in the iſland of Britain itſelf. A new and unexpected object of contention now appeared. Mr Wilkes, who had formerly been perſecuted and outlawed, having ſpent ſeveral years in very diſtreſſed circumſtances abroad, ſuddenly made his appearance, and as the parliament was at the end of this ſeſſion diſſolved by proclamation, boldly offered himſelf a candidate for repreſenting the city of London. He was received by the populace with the loudeſt acclamations, and encouraged by many reſpectable citizens, ſome of whom entered into an aſſociation for his ſupport, and the payment of his debts. He was, however, foiled in his attempt to repreſent the city of London; but, though he miſcarried in this, his next enterprize was attended with better ſucceſs, and he was choſen member for Middleſex by a great majority. It now became neceſſary to take ſome ſteps to diſengage himſelf from the ſeverity of the ſentence under which he lay; for which purpoſe, he appeared voluntarily before the court of King's Bench; and though it was

Mr Wilkes appears, and is choſen member for Middleſex.

March 28.

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contrary to law that he ſhould be committed to priſon upon his voluntary appearance, he was ſoon after apprehended on a writ of *capias ut lagatum*, and ſent to the Marſhalſea priſon. As he proceeded along the ſtreet, the populace aſſembled, took the horſes from the carriage, and drew it themſelves to the door of a tavern, where they ſet the priſoner at liberty; but ſoon after he again voluntarily ſurrendered himſelf, and was committed.

During this period of Mr Wilkes's impriſonment, the populace demonſtrated the moſt extravagant attachment to him, which produced many diſagreeable tranſactions. The moſt remarkable, was the death of a young man named Allan, who was ſhot by ſome ſoldiers as being concerned in a mob, though he really was not. The particulars of this unhappy affair were as follow:—On the 10th of May 1768, the populace having taken it into their heads that Mr Wilkes was to be conveyed from the priſon to the parliament houſe, aſſembled with a deſign to ſhew their uſual mark of affection, viz. that of drawing his carriage thither. Having demanded him at the priſon, they became very riotous on being refuſed; ſo that it was found neceſſary to read the act. But, while this was doing, ſtones and brick-bats were thrown about with ſuch violence, that it could not be accompliſhed; on which the ſoldiers fired, and one of them unhappily miſtaking young Allan for one of the ringleaders, though it afterwards appeared that he was not at all concerned, purſued him for a conſiderable way into a cow-houſe, and there ſhot him dead. After this the riot encreaſed; more ſoldiers were ſent for, who having fired on the mob, five or ſix people were killed on the ſpot, and about fifteen wounded.

Young Allan killed by a ſoldier.

May 10.

The purſuit and ſlaughter of a ſingle perſon, even though active in the mob, could not but appear exceſſively cruel; but when it was conſidered, that the unhappy victim was entirely innocent, we can ſcarce wonder

wonder at the univerſal flame occaſioned by this tranſaction, eſpecially when the trial of the perſon ſuppoſed to have killed him was concealed. Government interpoſed its authority to prevent any publication, and no enquiry was made after the real author, (though the perſon accuſed declared that he knew him,) notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the public, and the petitions of the father of the young man himſelf. CHAP. VI. 1768.

In the mean time, Mr Wilkes carried every thing before him. Already the idol of the people, their adoration was encreaſed almoſt to madneſs by the imprudence of the miniſtry in ſtill continuing their perſecution. As he was now aſſiſted by the beſt counſel the kingdom could afford, his outlawry underwent the moſt full and critical examination; the conſequence of which was, that it was at laſt declared illegal, and conſequently reverſed. Still, however, he was detained in cuſtody until he ſhould be puniſhed for the crimes for which he was originally apprehended, (viz. the publication of the North Britain and the Eſſay on Woman.) For theſe, his ultimate ſentence was to be impriſoned for twenty-one months, and to pay a fine of a thouſand pounds; in conſequence of which, he was again committed to the Marſhalſea. Final ſentence of Mr Wilkes.

By this ſentence, the miniſtry entailed on themſelves the univerſal hatred of the populace, which did not fail to expreſs itſelf by every poſſible method during the term of their hero's impriſonment; while, at the ſame time, their proceedings were conſidered as illegal and unconſtitutional by a vaſt number of the moſt reſpectable people throughout the kingdom. The miniſtry indeed were not wanting in excuſes for their own conduct, particularly in the affair of young Allan. They repreſented, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the licentious diſpoſition of the rabble; nay, that ſuch was the unhappy infatuation, they ſaid, that juries could ſcarcely be got to do juſtice to ſoldiers when brought before them; and that even the ſoldiers themſelves

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ſelves could ſcarce be perſuaded to diſcharge their duty properly, unleſs by new and unuſual rewards.

This general accuſation of the people could not be ſuppoſed to increaſe the popularity of the miniſtry; and the general diſſatisfaction was greatly augmented by the neglect of Lord Chatham, who ſtill continued to make one of the miniſtry, though for a long time never ſeen or heard of. Their contempt of this nobleman, firſt became apparent by the removal of Sir Jeffrey Amherſt from the government of Virginia, which though a ſinecure office, had been avowedly beſtowed on him as a reward for his great ſervices during the war of 1755, and which he no doubt juſtly deſerved. This was immediately followed by the reſignation of Lord Shelburne, who was ſucceeded by Lord Weymouth; and ſoon after by that of Lord Chatham himſelf, who was ſucceeded in his office by the Earl of Briſtol.

Lords Chatham and Shelburne reſign.

Nov. 8.

Thus, at the meeting of parliament, November 6. 1768, the miniſtry found themſelves on all ſides perplexed and embarraſſed.—Abroad, the licentious and independent ſpirit of the colonies knows no bounds, while the diſtractions at home were ſcarce inferior to thoſe abroad. A moſt violent party now demanded, that Mr Wilke's ſhould be conſidered as repreſentative of the county of Middleſex, for which he had been duly elected by the people; while the miniſtry, on the other hand, without regard to this election, conſidered only his private character, or perhaps the offence he had given to themſelves; and, as they ſuppoſed the houſe of commons had a negative voice with regard to the admiſſion of members among them, it was determined that Wilkes ſhould not have a ſeat in parliament. The conteſt was begun by a petition from Mr Wilkes himſelf, enumerating and complaining of the various proceedings with regard to himſelf, from the time of his being apprehended by a general warrant in 1763, to his impriſonment in the King's Bench in 1768. A very heavy charge was brought againſt Mr Webb, late ſecretary to the treaſury,

Mr Wilkes petitions. Parliament Nov. 14.

ſury, who was, in conſequence, ordered to attend the houſe; and a copy of the records relating to the proceedings againſt Mr Wilkes, was ordered to be laid before the houſe; the journals and reſolutions of the houſe in 1763 were alſo examined, and a day appointed for reconſidering the matter. Some of the moſt diſtinguiſhed members in oppoſition were of opinion, that the beſt method the miniſtry could have followed on this occaſion, would have been to take no notice of the petition, as they ſaw that the conſideration of it would quickly raiſe a flame not ſo eaſily to be extinguiſhed. Their opinions, however, were overruled; Mr Webb prepared for his defence, and Mr Wilkes was allowed to attend at the bar, and to be aſſiſted by proper counſel.

After ſome debates, the final deciſion of this matter was deferred to the 27th of January 1769; but, before the miniſtry had properly adopted any plan of procedure, Mr Wilkes had, by another tranſaction, afforded matter for a freſh proſecution:—A letter had been written, previous to the death of young Allan, by one of the ſecretaries of ſtate to the chairman of the quarter ſeſſions at Lambeth, recommending to the magiſtrates to call the aſſiſtance of the military, without looſing a moment, if there ſhould be occaſion; and to make uſe of them effectually, if they found the civil power in any manner of way inſulted. Injunctions of this kind had been ſuſpected at the time; but Mr Wilkes having found means to procure a copy of the letter, publiſhed it in a newspaper, with ſome comments of his own, in which the above mentioned affair was ſtiled a horrid maſſacre, and the conſequence of a helliſh project deliberately planned and determined upon. The ſecretary, provoked at this, complained of it to the houſe of lords as a breach of privilege. A complaint was made at the ſame time to the Commons, and the two houſes had a conference upon the ſubject. Mr Wilkes did not heſitate a moment to acknowledge himſelf the author of the remarks, and publiſher of the letter;

Publiſhes a letter from the ſecretary of ſtate.

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ter; but his boldneſs was not in this inſtance attended with any ſucceſs. His remarks were declared an inſolent, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libel, tending to inflame and ſtir up the minds of his Majeſty's ſubjects to ſedition, and to a ſubverſion of all good order; at the ſame time, the complaints ſet forth in his petition were declared to be frivolous, and that he had not made good his charge againſt Mr Webb.

Is expelled from the Commons, but repeatedly rechoſen. Feb 5.

Theſe deciſions were followed by an expulſion of this patriot from the Houſe of Commons, on a diviſion 219 againſt 137; but, inſtead of diminiſhing, this new inſtance of miniſterial vengeance greatly increaſed his popularity. His condemnation of the ſecretary's letter was univerſally approved, as no meaſure could have been more violently execrated by the people; while the courage of their hero, in oppoſing himſelf alone to the vengeance of the Court, was no leſs applauded. A meeting of the freeholders of Middleſex was held, in which the cauſe of Mr Wilkes was ſet forth as that of the people; and he was conſidered, notwithſtanding his expulſion, as the only proper candidate that could be choſen. At the ſecond election, therefore, the votes were almoſt unanimous in his favour; notwithſtanding which, the return was no ſooner made to the Houſe than it was reſolved, 235 againſt 87, that Mr Wilkes having been expelled this ſeſſion, was and is incapable of being elected a member of the preſent parliament. His election was accordingly declared null, and a new writ iſſued for another.

Feb 16.

This produced another meeting of gentlemen at a tavern in London, with the avowed intention of ſupporting Mr Wilkes, who having been a ſufferer, as they ſaid, in the cauſe of the people, it was but reaſonable that he in the mean time ſhould receive ſome aſſiſtance from them. Accordingly, a ſubſcription was immediately ſet on foot, and upwards of 3000 l ſubſcribed at once, for his ſupport. The whole kingdom ſeemed to be moved, and the moſt determined reſolutions

were

1765.

were entered into, not only with regard to Mr Wilkes, but the conduct of members of parliament in general.

About this time a new opinion was firſt publicly broached, and inſiſted on with great vehemence, viz. That the repreſentatives of the people, who ſat in parliament were, in truth, only the ſervants of their conſtituents, and had in no caſe any right to proceed in a manner contrary to the general ſenſe of thoſe who elected them. It is not ſurpriſing that a doctrine of this kind ſhould be eagerly received by the bulk of the people, as tending to give them a degree of conſequence beyond what they had ever been ſuppoſed to poſſeſs; while, on the other hand, it was equally diſagreeable to the repreſentatives themſelves, as degrading them below thoſe whom, in every inſtance, that of flattering them for their voices at elections alone excepted, they affected to treat with the utmoſt contempt. Some of the members, however, condeſcended to receive the inſtructions of their conſtituents, particularly thoſe of Middleſex, London, and Weſtminiſter. By theſe they were directed to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to prevent the infraction of the laws by the arbitrary proceedings of the miniſtry. Several cenſures were paſſed upon their late conduct. An enquirey into the affair at St George's Fields, where ſo many people had been killed, was moſt ſtrenuouſly recommended; as well as endeavours to conciliate the differences between the mother country and colonies, which now threatened to become worſe than ever. With theſe injunctions the members above mentioned promiſed an implicit compliance; but the meaſure was too humiliating to be generally complied with, and moſt of the repreſentatives aſſerted that, when once they were choſen, it was impoſſible that they could hold themſelves accountable for their conduct; but muſt be allowed the free exerciſe of their judgement in whatever related to the affairs of the nation.

Repreſentatives of the people ſuppoſed to have no right to act contrary to their will.

Inſtruction given to ſome members by their conſtituants.

In

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In the mean time, the election of a member for Middlesex had been put off for a month; but, as it was extremely probable that Wilkes would be chosen a second time, the ministry encouraged another candidate, a Mr Dingly, to set up against him. This, however, served only to render them more contemptible. The ministerial candidate was fain to abandon the attempt, without even being put in competition with the favourite of the people, whose election thus passed a second time unanimously.

Mr Wilkes re-elected, and his election declared null and void.

The new election of Mr Wilkes met with no more approbation from the House than the former; but, though it was instantly declared null and void, the Middlesex freeholders did not in the least swerve from the resolution of electing him a third time; and, had the ministry contented themselves with this continual rejection, the affair might have been looked upon rather in a ridiculous light than otherwise. A new measure, however, was now adopted, which threatened the most serious consequences. This was, to consider Mr Wilkes as no antagonist to whatever other candidate should make his appearance, and to annihilate the votes of those who declared in his favour, however numerous and respectable they might be. For this purpose, Colonel Luttrel was chosen, who having, in spite of popular discouragement, entered the lists with Mr Wilkes, and procured two hundred and ninety six votes in his favour, was declared duly elected, and took his seat in parliament, notwithstanding Mr Wilkes was voted for by eleven hundred and forty three of the freeholders.

Colonel Luttrel chosen by ministry and Mr Wilkes further finally incapacitated.

This proceeding, it most be confessed, bore a very threatening aspect. If the ministry could, in any one instance, over-rule the voice of the people, and by their authority put a negative on their voice, where there was no legal disqualification, they might do so in every other, and thus there would be an end of the liberty of the subject at once. The matter, therefore, was looked upon to be very serious, especially as the measure

meaſure had been adopted by a great majority of the Commons. A petition againſt it was preſented to the Houſe, but to no purpoſe; it was confirmed by a very conſiderable majority. The people at large now took the alarm, and an infinite number of polemical writings appeared on the ſubject; in which, however, it was obvious to remark, that the ornaments of language and animation of expreſſion, if not the ſtrength of argument, were entirely on the popular ſide.

1769. Violent commotions on account of the Middleſex election.

By the opponents of the miniſtry it was ſaid, that the right of electors to chuſe repreſentatives for themſelves was one of the moſt ſacred parts of the conſtitution; that the Houſe of Commons was only a delegated body, without any power inherent in itſelf; nor could its members pretend to diſpute the rights of their conſtituents, without overthrowing the foundation of its own exiſtence, as well as deſtroying the principles of the conſtitution. The qualifications of freeholders were regulated by the laws of the land; and thoſe of every county were authoriſed to return whom they thought proper, nor were any reſtraints to be put upon them arbitrarily at the pleaſure of the miniſtry. New reſtraints could only be enacted by the conjunct voice of King, Lords, and Commons; otherwiſe they could only be collected from the cuſtom and uſage of former parliaments.

In the preſent caſe, the uſage of parliament, as well as every thing elſe, was in favour of Mr Wilkes. He had no legal diſqualifications; theſe are generally known and enumerated by law-writers; and, among them, a reſolution of the Houſe of Commons is not to be met with; nor is any court ſufficiently abſolute to determine any thing to be a *cuſtom*, merely by calling it ſo: That, with regard to expulſion itſelf, it could not be conſidered as rendering the perſon afterwards incapable of a place in parliament; nay, even when the cauſes of Mr Wilkes's expulſion were conſidered, it became in a manner impoſſible to

tell

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tell for what reaſon he had been expelled. The two offences for which this puniſhment had been inflicted, were, the publication of the North Britain, and an obſcene pamphlet. With reſpect to the North Britain, he had been puniſhed in a former parliament; and it was contrary to law to try him for it a ſecond time. As to the pamphlet, he had received ſentence for it from the Houſe of Lords in a former parliament alſo; but this was not any offence againſt the Commons, nor cogniſable by them; and as for the comment on Lord Weymouth's letter, it was as little within their juriſdiction.

Matters being thus evidently perplexed with regard to the legality of Wilkes's expulſion, it became requiſite for the miniſterial party to maintain, that expulſion neceſſarily implied an incapability of ſitting afterwards. Moſt of the precedents, however, brought forth on this occaſion were manifeſtly not to the purpoſe; as happening either in times of barbarity, or of internal diſorder in the kingdom, when the conſtitution itſelf was totally unhinged and perverted. Such were the expulſions in the time of Charles I. when forty-nine members were expelled at once, every one of whom was incapacitated from ſitting in parliament at any future period; but at that time it is well known, that the prevailing party was only taking meaſures to clear the Houſe of their obnoxious brethren; and that to put this ſcheme beyond any poſſibility of oppoſition no new writs were iſſued at the time of expulſion, and frequently not at all. Since the time of the Reſtoration, however, no ſuch examples have taken place; the power of the Houſe of Commons has never gone beyond expulſion; nor is it proper that it ſhould, except in caſes of bribery and corruption. It is, beſides, to be conſidered, that a power of expulſion lodged in the Houſe of Commons, can only be made uſe of to diſgrace and harraſs individuals, without any danger to the community; but, if the Houſe abuſe its power, in the execution

ecution of this privilege, by depriving the conſtitu- CHAP. VI.
ents of their power of re-electing the expelled mem- 1769.
ber, there is not then any remedy againſt miniſterial oppreſſion, if they can once prevail ſo far as to procure a majority in favour of the expulſion of ſuch members as may be obnoxious to them.

In anſwer to theſe arguments, it was urged by the miniſterial party, that the Houſe of Commons had long poſſeſſed a power of expelling their members; and, unleſs the expulſion implied alſo an incapacity, it could anſwer no purpoſe, as the expelled party might, in ſo ſhort a time, be re-elected, as was moſt glaringly conſpicuous in the preſent inſtance, which rather tended to expoſe the Houſe to contempt than any thing elſe. The pretended right of the freeholders of Middleſex to re-elect Mr Wilkes, was the ſame with claiming a right to do wrong, or to elect a man who ought evidently not to be elected; and that if the Houſe of Commons were bound to receive all who were elected by freeholders, and not diſqualified by the letter of the law, it was equally incumbent on the freeholders not to return improper perſons. The laws, with whatever judgment they might have been originally framed, could not be applicable to all poſſible caſes; and, had it been ſuppoſed that the freeholders would have made any improper or dangerous uſe of the privileges they enjoyed, it is not probable that they would have been truſted with them; but, it certainly could never be ſuppoſed, that people would chuſe an infidel to be the guardian of their religion, a beggar to guard their property, or a convict to be the framer of their laws; yet all this had been obſtinately inſiſted upon with regard to Wilkes, and was, in truth, the foundation of the preſent clamour.

With regard to the powers of the Houſe of Commons itſelf, they muſt evidently extend to the judgment of all caſes of election. The meaſure in queſtion, of returning Colonel Luttrel as a member for Middleſex,

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Middleſex, was far from being an injury to the county. On the contrary, the offence was given by the freeholders themſelves, who had obſtinately perſiſted in returning an improper perſon, though multitudes of other candidates might have been found; ſo that the ſuppoſed violation of the rights of election, by returning one with an inferior number of votes, will vaniſh. Thoſe who obſtinately perſiſt in voting for an unqualified perſon, are to be conſidered as not voting at all. Their right of ſuffrage indeed is not denied; but if the elector perſeveres in refuſing to exerciſe this right according to law, he wantonly ſuſpends his right for the time; and his act being illegal, is conſequently void, and he is only in the ſituation of a man who does not attend; he ſuffers no injury; he knows the conſequence of what he does; and, if he chuſes to indulge his humour, it cannot even be accounted an hardſhip.

Such were the arguments by which a majority of the Houſe of Commons were oſtenſibly influenced to determine finally on the incapacity of Mr Wilkes to ſit in parliament. But whatever weight they might have with the members of the Houſe, they had very little with the generality of the Engliſh nation, which was now thrown into the moſt violent ferment. The miniſtry, conſcious of their unpopularity, ſtrove to hide it, by procuring as many addreſſes as poſſible from different parts; but the little ſucceſs which attended their endeavours, ſerved rather to ſet them in a contemptible light than otherwiſe. From Scotland, indeed, they flowed in great plenty: but the known enmity ſubſiſting between the Engliſh patriot and the generality of that nation at once aſſigned the reaſon, and put the greateſt poſſible ſtigma upon them. Their ſtile, their profuſe and unneceſſary profeſſions of loyalty; and, above all, their repreſenting the adherents of Wilkes as diſaffected, and little leſs than open rebels, excited the utmoſt reſentment, and the moſt bitter invectives. Petitions of the Engliſh counties

Many petitions preſented.

counties and principal towns were ſent from all quarters, by way of counterpart to the addreſſes. The general ſtrain of theſe was, the redreſs of grievances, the removal of bad miniſters, and the baniſhment of evil counſellors from the royal preſence for ever, as having endeavoured to alienate the affections of the ſubjects, and deprive them of their moſt valuable privileges.

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On this occaſion, the county of Middleſex was the foremoſt to repreſent the injuries they had ſuſtained; and preſented a petition, which was ſuppoſed to have defeated its own purpoſe by its extreme tediouſneſs, and recapitulation of all the grievances which had taken place for ſix or ſeven years. The city of London ſucceeded; after which there was a ſudden ſtop, occaſioned by ſome doubts of the legality of petitions to the Crown againſt an act of the Houſe of Commons, or the power of the Crown to grant redreſs, even ſuppoſing the complaint to be juſt, and the petition to be legal; while others were diſguſted with the manner in which the two firſt were drawn up, and complained of them as containing trifling, ſtale, or doubtful matters. Theſe difficulties, however, were quickly overcome by the activity of the perſons who took the lead in the buſineſs. It was remarked, that the improper execution of any meaſure could never ultimately affect the propriety of the meaſure itſelf. If the right of election had been violated, it was abſurd to expect redreſs from the Houſe of Commons, who had been the offending party. The Crown could not indeed make void an act of the Houſe of Commons; but it could diſſolve the parliament, when another might be choſen, the majority of which would, perhaps, think differently. Nor could the right of petitioning the Crown on this ſubject be denied, ſince the Houſe of Commons had expreſsly reſolved that the people had a right to petition for the diſſolution, as well as the calling or ſitting of parliaments.

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By arguments of this kind the buſineſs of petitioning was revived in full vigour. Seventeen counties, with ſeveral cities and boroughs, addreſſed the throne on the ſubjects above mentioned. All complained of grievances, but many pointed out no particular mode of redreſs. Some only hinted at the diſſolution of parliament as a remedy; while thoſe from Yorkſhire, Weſtminſter, and ſome other places, expreſsly prayed for it. The livery of London, in the mean time, petitioned, remonſtrated, and petitioned again; but to none of thoſe petitions was any regard paid. On the contrary, when the parliament met on the 9th of January 1770, the ſpeech from the throne, inſtead of taking any notice of the petitions, or the violent commotions throughout the whole kingdom, began with an account of the diſtemper among the horned cattle. Oppoſition, enraged at this neglect, redoubled their efforts in parliament to get the petitions brought into conſideration. An amendment to the addreſs was propoſed, to aſſure his majeſty that they would immediately inquire into the cauſes of the diſcontents prevailing in every part of his majeſty's dominions. The ſubject of the petitions was violently diſputed; but while the one party urged, in the ſtrongeſt manner, the diſcontents and grievances as ſtrong reaſons for an amendment, their antagoniſts denied the exiſtence of either grievance or diſcontent. Some of the more moderate among the miniſterial party, indeed, owned, that ſome few grievances did exiſt, though very much exaggerated. The diſcontents they did not deny; and declared themſelves willing to conſider them at another time; nay, even to reconſider the Middleſex election, as well as to inquire into the alledged grievances, and to conſider of the propoſed methods of redreſs; but they utterly refuſed to concur in the amendment, as they ſaid this would be to criminate themſelves; and, in effect, to petition for their own diſſolution. A great majority, however, inſiſted that the diſcon-

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tents,

tents, as well as the petitions, were owing to the members in oppoſition. They aſſerted, that the greater part of gentlemen poſſeſſing large fortunes, of the juſtices of peace, and of the clergy, in ſome of the counties, had not ſigned the petitions; even a majority of the counties had not petitioned; the inferior freeholders had not underſtanding ſufficient to know the reaſon of their ſigning the petitions: Thoſe who conſtituted the bulk of the petitioners were ſet on by the deſigning and factious. By ſuch perſons the people were inflamed, ſpeeches made, and writings publiſhed, tending to abuſe government, inflame the people, and vilify parliament; and even though a majority of ſuch freeholders had taken it into their heads to ſend petitions to the throne, they ought not to be regarded, but treated as the acts of an ignorant rabble, incapable of judging what they were about.

Such oprobious treatment produced a ſimilar behaviour of the members in oppoſition. They avowed their having taken a part in the buſineſs of petitioning; that they had delivered their ſentiments to their conſtituents. They affirmed, that they were in duty bound to give an account of their conduct in parliament, to thoſe who elected them; that they had neither ſought petitions nor petitioners; on the contrary, the petitioners had ſought them, as every one had been ſtruck with terror and aſtoniſhment at the unprecedented deciſion concerning the Middleſex election. They even acknowledged, that they had gone to the meetings of the freeholders; nay, that they thought it their duty ſo to do, and to give every legal aſſiſtance they could to thoſe who ſought only the redreſs of grievances. They ridiculed the inſinuations of ſome who mentioned meeting, writing, and ſpeaking, as improper methods of ſetting forth their grievances, by aſking, in what other methods their ſentiments could be conveyed? They inſiſted alſo, that, though it might be true that the lower claſs

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of freeholders did not immediately feel the grievances complained of, it was a ſufficient reaſon of complaint, that they ſaw or heard of others involved in them, and that they were certainly approaching. Neither could any argument be drawn from their defect of intellectual faculties; for though they might not, perhaps, have had diſcernment enough to have found them out of themſelves, yet when they were pointed out by others, we muſt ſuppoſe them totally devoid of rational faculties, were they to remain in ignorance any longer. With regard to the objection, that the majority of gentlemen of large fortune had not ſigned the petitions, it was denied in ſome inſtances; and in others it was obſerved, that gentlemen were much influenced; the juſtices of the peace being immediately under the influence of the Crown; nor could any body of men be more under the ſame influence than the clergy; and yet the petitions had been ſigned by many of both theſe claſſes. All theſe ſuperior claſſes of freeholders, therefore, whoſe independence had been ſo much boaſted of, were in truth far from being free from influence; while thoſe whom miniſtry affected to deſpiſe, as if neither themſelves nor their opinions were of any account, were the only perſons poſſeſſed of a truly independent ſpirit, upon whom neither threats nor influence could have any effect.

Theſe debates were carried on with the utmoſt acrimony, and not without threats on the ſide of the miniſterial party, and defiance on the other. The propoſed amendment, however, was rejected by a great majority, and the addreſs paſſed in the uſual form.

Reſignations, Jan. 17. 1770.

A few days after the opening of the ſeſſion, a great number of reſignations took place. Among others, Lord Camden reſigned the ſeals, which were, after ſome difficulty, accepted by Mr Charles Yorke. This gentleman having died ſuddenly three days after, the ſeals were put under commiſſion; and Lord Mansfield was appointed to ſupply the place of Lord Chancellor

Jan. 22.

Chancellor, as ſpeaker of the Houſe of Peers. Sir John Cuſt reſigned his office of ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons, on account of his bad ſtate of health; in conſequence of which, two candidates were propoſed to ſucceed him, viz. Sir Fletcher Norton by the miniſtry, and Thomas Townſhend, Eſq; by the oppoſition. On a diviſion, Sir Fletcher was choſen by a great majority, 237 againſt 121. Sir John Cuſt died on the 24th January 1770. Four days after, to the general aſtoniſhment of the nation, the Duke of Grafton reſigned his office of Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, and was ſucceeded by Lord North, at that time Chancellor of the Exchequer. In ſhort, the whole of adminiſtration ſeemed to be falling to pieces. 1770. Jan. 28.

In the midſt of this ſeaſon of heat and diſcuſſion, which in a greater or leſſer degree was extended to every part of the kingdom, a bill of the greateſt benefit to the conſtitution, and importance to the nation, was brought into the Houſe of Commons. It was intitled, "An act for regulating the proceedings of the Houſe of Commons on contraverted elections," generally known by the name of the *Grenville bill*, from the late Mr George Grenville, a leading member of the oppoſition, who brought it into the Houſe. The plan of this excellent bill was laid down upon the conſtitutional idea of trials by jury. Upon a petition being preſented, and a day appointed to try the merits, the Houſe is to be counted. If one hundred members are not preſent, it is to adjourn till ſo many are aſſembled; at which time the names of the members of the Houſe are to be put into ſix boxes or glaſſes, to be drawn alternately, and read by the Speaker, till forty-nine are drawn. The ſitting member and petitioners may alſo nominate one each. Liſts of the forty-nine are to be given to the ſitting member, the petitioners, their counſel, &c. who, with the clerk, are to withdraw, and to ſtrike off one alternately, beginning on the part of March 7.

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the petitioners, till the number be reduced to thirteen, who, with the two nominees, are to be ſworn a ſelect committee to determine the matter in diſpute. This bill was warmly oppoſed by miniſtry. In this inſtance, however, they were unſucceſsful.

An event which took place a few days after, as it renewed all the heat and debate within doors, ſo it added new force to the ill humour and diſcontent without, and ſpread a general alarm throughout the kingdom. This was the addreſs, remonſtrance, and petition of the livery of London, preſented on the

March 14. 14th of March 1770. The prayer of this petition was for a diſſolution of parliament; but the language in which it was conveyed was ſo uncommonly free and bold, that we ſhall here preſent the reader with the moſt remarkable paſſages, in the words of the petition itſelf.

Remarkable petition and remonſtrance of the city of London.

"We have already," ſay they, "in our petition, dutifully repreſented to your Majeſty the chief injuries we have ſuſtained. We are unwilling to believe, that your Majeſty can ſlight the deſires of your people, or be regardleſs of their affection, and deaf to their complaints. Yet their complaints remain unanſwered, their injuries confirmed, and the only judge removeable at the pleaſure of the Crown has been diſmiſſed from his high office, for defending in parliament the laws and the conſtitution.

"We therefore venture once more to addreſs ourſelves to your Majeſty, as to the father of your people; as to him who muſt be both able and willing to redreſs our grievances; and we repeat our application with the greater propriety, becauſe we ſee the inſtruments of our wrongs, who have carried into execution the meaſures of which we complain, more particularly diſtinguiſhed by your Majeſty's royal bounty and favour.

"Under the ſame ſecret and malign influence, which under each ſucceſſive adminiſtration had defeated every good, and ſuggeſted every bad intention,

tion, the majority of the Houſe of Commons have deprived your people of their deareſt rights. CHAP. VI. 1770.

" They have done a deed more ruinous in its conſequences than the levying of ſhip money by Charles I. or the diſpenſing power aſſumed by James II. A deed which muſt vitiate all the future proceedings of this parliament; for the acts of the legiſlature itſelf can be no more valid without a legal Houſe of Commons, than without a legal Prince upon the throne.

" Under James II. they complained, that the ſitting of parliament was interrupted, becauſe it was not corruptly ſubſervient to his deſigns: We complain now, that the ſitting of this parliament is not interrupted, becauſe it is corruptly ſubſervient to the deſigns of your Majeſty's miniſters. Had the parliament under James II. been as ſubmiſſive to his commands as the parliament at this day is to the dictates of a miniſter, inſtead of clamour for its meeting, the nation would have rung, as now, with outcries for its diſſolution.

" The forms of the conſtitution, like thoſe of religion, were not eſtabliſhed for the form's ſake, but for the ſubſtance. And we call God and men to witneſs, that as we do not owe our liberty to thoſe ſubtile diſtinctions which places, penſions, and lucrative employments have invented; ſo neither will we be deprived of it by them: but as it was gained by the ſtern virtue of our anceſtors, by the virtue of their deſcendents it ſhall be preſerved.

" Since, therefore, the miſdeads of your Majeſty's miniſters, in violating the freedom of election, and depraving the noble conſtitution of parliaments, are notorious, as well as ſubverſive of the fundamental laws and liberties of this realm; and ſince your Majeſty, both in honour and juſtice, is obliged inviolably to preſerve them, according to the oath made to God and your ſubjects at your coronation; we your Majeſty's remonſtrants aſſure ourſelves, that your

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Majeſty will reſtore the conſtitutional government and quiet of your people, by diſſolving this parliament, and removing thoſe evil miniſters forever from your councils."

Reſented by his Majeſty.

Such extraordinary freedom could not fail of giving offence. His Majeſty replied in the following words: "I ſhall always be ready to receive the requeſts, and to liſten to the complaints of my ſubjects: but it gives me great concern to find, that any of them ſhould have been ſo far miſled as to offer me an addreſs and remonſtrance, the contents of which I cannot but conſider as diſreſpectful to me, injurious to my parliament, and irreconcileable to the principles of the conſtitution.

"I have ever made the law of the land the rule of my conduct, eſteeming it my chief glory to reign over a free people. With this view, I have always been careful, as well to execute faithfully the truſt repoſed in me, as to avoid even the appearance of invading any of thoſe powers which the conſtitution has placed in other hands. It is only by perſevering in ſuch a conduct, that I can either diſcharge my own duty, or ſecure to my ſubjects the free enjoyment of thoſe rights which my family were called to defend: and while I act upon theſe principles, I have a right to expect, and I am confident I ſhall continue to receive, the ſteady and affectionate ſupport of my people."

The above remonſtrance, however diſagreeable to the court, has been looked upon by the popular party as a maſter-piece; and the Lord Mayor, as he paſſed along the ſtreets to deliver it, was attended by an immenſe number of people, who teſtified their approbation by loud ſhouts. The majority of parliament, underſtanding how vehemently they had been accuſed to the ſovereign himſelf, were fired with indignation. A motion was made the very next day for an addreſs, that a copy of the remonſtrance, as well as of his Majeſty's anſwer, ſhould be laid before the houſe, and,

and, after violent debates, carried by a majority of more than two to one. Another motion was then made for the concurrence of the Houſe of Lords; which being alſo carried, the addreſs was completed at a conference of the two Houſes, and preſented accordingly. It ſtrongly reprobated the contents of the remonſtrance, returned thanks for the anſwer given to it, which was repreſented as a freſh inſtance of his Majeſty's perſeverance in adhering to the principles of the conſtitution; and ſome cenſures were paſſed on the inſidious ſuggeſtions of ill-deſigning men, and the exceſſes of a few miſguided perſons who had been ſeduced from their duty.

By all this, the partiſans of the popular party were far from being diſcouraged. During the very time of the debates on the London remonſtrance, Mr Beckford, the Lord Mayor at that time, owned with marks of exultation, the part he had taken in it. He declared, that it was he who put the queſtion in the common council; and, though he had authority to put a negative upon any reſolution of the aldermen, he would not do it in that inſtance. The remonſtrance charged the parliament with corruption; and he ſhould be happy to bring the matter to the trial. After the remonſtrance had been condemned in the addreſs above mentioned, Lord Chatham made a motion in the Houſe of Lords, for reverſing the adjudications of the Commons with regard to Mr Wilkes; and a few days after, for a reſolution to declare, that the advice which induced the late anſwer to be given from the throne to the London remonſtrance, was of a moſt dangerous tendency, &c.

A ſecond remonſtrance. May 23

The ill ſucceſs of theſe motions did not leſſen the activity of the patriots without doors. Another remonſtrance to the throne was preſented on the 23d of May 1770, which was likewiſe conceived in very ſpirited terms, but met with no better ſucceſs than the former.

To

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1768. Rejected by the King.

To this addreſs his Majeſty was pleaſed to reply—"I ſhould have been wanting to the public as well as to myſelf, if I had not expreſſed my diſſatisfaction at the late addreſs.

"My ſentiments on that ſubject continue the ſame; and I ſhould ill deſerve to be conſidered as the father of my people, if I could ſuffer myſelf to be prevailed on to make ſuch an uſe of my prerogative, as I cannot but think inconſiſtent with the intereſt, and dangerous to the conſtitution of the kingdom."

Though very little encouragement ſeemed to be given by this anſwer to enter into any converſation with his majeſty on the ſubject, Mr Beckford, who had preſented the addreſs, begged leave to make a reply; which being granted, his Lordſhip proceeded as follows:

Mr Beckford's reply to his Majeſty.

"Moſt gracious Sovereign,

"Will your Majeſty be pleaſed ſo far to condeſcend, as to permit the mayor of your loyal city of London, to declare in your royal preſence, on behalf of his fellow-citizens, how much the bare apprehenſion of your Majeſty's diſpleaſure would at all times affect their minds; the declaration of that diſpleaſure has already filled them with inexpreſſible anxiety, and with the deepeſt affliction.

"Permit me, Sire, to aſſure your Majeſty, that your Majeſty has not in all your dominions any ſubjects more faithful, more dutiful, or more affectionate to your Majeſty's perſon and family, or more ready to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes in the maintainance of the true honour and dignity of your crown.

"We do, therefore, with the greateſt humility and ſubmiſſion, moſt earneſtly ſupplicate your Majeſty, that you will not diſmiſs us from your preſence without expreſſing a more favourable opinion of your faithful citizens, and without ſome comfort, without ſome proſpect, at leaſt, of redreſs.

"Permit

"Permit me, Sire, further to obſerve, that whoever has already dared, or ſhall hereafter endeavour, by falſe inſinuations and ſuggeſtions, to alienate your Majeſty's affections from your loyal ſubjects in general, and from the city of London in particular, and to withdraw your confidence to, and regard for your people, is an enemy to your Majeſty's perſon and family, a violator of the public peace, and a betrayer of our happy conſtitution, as it was eſtabliſhed at the glorious and neceſſary Revolution."

Though his Majeſty did not think proper to ſay any thing in anſwer to this ſpeech, and the miniſtry affected to conſider ſuch liberties in a ſubject as highly indecent, the conduct of Mr Beckford was greatly applauded in the city, and the manner in which he expreſſed himſelf met with the approbation of both parties. His death, which happened before the next ſeſſion, was a ſevere loſs to the popular party. However, it did not prevent the framing of a third petition and remonſtrance, which was preſented on the 21ſt of November the ſame year; but this met with no better reception than the former; his Majeſty returning for anſwer, that as he had ſeen no reaſon to alter his opinion, he could not comply with the prayer of their petition.

Nov. 21.

The patriots relax in their aſſiduity.

Such a continued courſe of diſappointment began at laſt to affect the reſolution and perſeverance of the patriotic party, and the buſineſs of petitioning began to ſlacken. The freeholders of York, inſtead of a petition to the throne, ſent a letter of thanks to their repreſentatives, in which they declared, that though they now deſpaired of ſucceſs by application to the throne, as the ſame influence ſtill prevailed which had hitherto ſtood in the way of their repreſentatives; they, however, recommended a perſeverance in every parliamentary method that ſeemed likely to obtain redreſs; and, if they ſhould find it practicable, to impeach thoſe who by their evil counſel had occaſioned ſo much miſchief.

Sept 25.

Such

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1770.

General account of Mr Wilkes.

Such was the end of all the commotions and immenſe clamours about liberty, with which the whole kingdom had been filled for ſo long a time. As for the patriot, Wilkes himſelf, he was obliged to remain in priſon during the full time to which he had been ſentenced; his popular friends paid the fines impoſed upon him, and likewiſe compounded with his creditors for his private debts, which were very conſiderable. But, though he ſtill continued the darling of the populace, their admiration was not attended with that violence and uproar which had formerly marked their proceedings: His importance diminiſhed in proportion as he was no longer perſecuted by the miniſtry; and many of his friends, from various cauſes, deſerted him. Still, however, his influence was very extenſive; he was choſen one of the aldermen of London, then ſheriff, afterwards lord mayor, and at laſt fixed in the lucrative office of city Chamberlain; in all which departments he behaved ſo well, that his greateſt enemies could never lay hold of any part of his public character that could be accounted a fault, or even repreſented in a diſadvantageous light.

His preferment.

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CHAP. VII.

Continuance of the diſcontents——Conteſt of the Houſe of Commons with Wheble and other printers——Lord Mayor of London and Alderman Oliver ſent to the Tower——Affairs of the Eaſt India Company——Appointment of a Select Committee to enquire into them——Of the Committee of Secrecy——Debates on their affairs——Company's territorial right called in queſtion, and finally taken away——Ineffectual petitions of the Company——Regulation bill paſſed——Trial of Lord Clive——Laſt petition of the Company rejected.

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THOUGH tranquillity now gradually took place with regard to the affair of the Middleſex election, other cauſes contributed to keep the flame alive with no leſs violence than ever. A motion was annually made by Mr Burke, one of the moſt celebrated members in oppoſition, to reſcind the proceedings of the Commons with regard to it; while Lord Chatham exerted himſelf in the ſame manner in the Houſe of Lords. Had this been complied with, the matter could not have been eſtabliſhed as a precedent, which the miniſtry no doubt had in view, and which might, on future occaſions, be productive of very fatal conſequences. So little regard, however, was paid to theſe motions, that even thoſe who made them did not entertain any hopes of ſucceſs, farther than that they tended to ſhew the miniſtry, that it was totally impoſſible to ſubdue the popular ſpirit, which would ſerve alſo as an encouragement to the nation at large to renew their attempts, whenever a favourable opportunity ſhould offer. The laſt ſerious effort made in parliament relative to this ſubject, was a motion, February 7. 1771, for a bill to aſcertain the

Diſcontents ſtill continue.

Feb. 7. 1771.

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rights of electors in reſpect to the eligibility of perſons to ſerve in parliament; which, however, was rejected by one hundred and ſixty-ſeven to one hundred and three.

Conteſt of the Houſe of Commons with ſome printers.

The diſturbances on account of the Middleſex election were ſcarce quieted, before a new accident, apparently of a trivial nature, intervened, which contributed at laſt to humiliate the Houſe of Commons in a degree altogether unheard of. This was the bringing of ſome printers before the Houſe by a warrant from the Speaker, to anſwer for certain publications iſſued by them. All this time, indeed, a political paper-war had raged throughout the kingdom with the utmoſt violence. In this, no character, however unexceptionable, had been ſpared. The moſt ſhameful and ſcandalous abuſe had been thrown out, and this without even the ſlight precautions of printing only the initials of the name, and leaving it to the ſagacity of the reader to fill up the blank. In the midſt of this general licentiouſneſs, the publiſhers of newſpapers had, without ceremony, printed what they called ſpeeches of the members of parliament; but which had been ſo little conſonant to truth, that many of the gentlemen to whom they were attributed, had utterly denied them; others had complained of their being miſrepreſented, and mutilated in ſuch a manner, that what was publiſhed in the newſpaper carried a quite different meaning from what they had delivered in the Houſe; at the ſame time, that ſuch publications, whether true or falſe, were utterly inconſiſtent with the privileges of the Houſe. On theſe grounds, two printers, John Wheble and Robert Thomſon, were ordered to attend. As the meſſenger who brought the order did not ſee them, he contented himſelf with leaving it at their houſes, which, by a deciſion of the Commons, was judged to be ſufficient warning, though the printers did not attend in conſequence of it. The Serjeant at Arms was ordered to take them into cuſtody,

ſtody, but he was alſo diſappointed in meeting with them, and laughed at by their ſervants when he enquired for them at their houſes; on which the laſt, and indeed the worſt ſtep that could have been taken, was put in execution; namely, to addreſs for a Royal proclamation againſt the printers, with a reward for apprehending them; which was accordingly iſſued in the Gazette of the 9th of March 1771, with an offer of 50 l. for taking any of the delinquents. CHAP. VII. 1771. March 9.

Theſe proceedings were not carried on without a very conſiderable oppoſition. The arguments uſed by the minority were indeed no other than ſuch as common ſenſe ſeemed to dictate. The privileges of the Houſe of Commons had never been determined, and to attempt any thing which muſt neceſſarily bring on a minute inveſtigation of them at ſuch a time, and while the diſpoſitions of the people were ſo much inflamed, was certainly in the higheſt degree improper. To proſecute the printers of ſuch publications could only ſerve to promote the ſale of them; and to puſh matters to the utmoſt was degrading the Houſe, by involving it in a ridiculous conteſt with adverſaries altogether below its notice, and who could eaſily have been puniſhed, if they really merited any puniſhment, by proſecuting them at common law. The miniſterial party, however, on this occaſion, prevailed as uſual. It ſeems, indeed, that at preſent the court party were very much inclined to ſearch for powers in the Crown and Parliament ſuperior and entirely diſtinct from thoſe hitherto eſtabliſhed as the general laws of the land, and which, if they could be but fairly eſtabliſhed by a ſingle precedent, might afterwards be made uſe of to repreſs the overgrown power of the people, whoſe unbounded licentiouſneſs was found ſo difficult to be reſtrained. Inſtead of hearkening to the admonitions of the oppoſite party, therefore, they found out other ſix printers equally culpable with thoſe againſt whom the proclamation had been iſſued, and whom they immediately ordered to attend the Houſe.

In

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In the mean time, John Wheble, one of the printers mentioned in the proclamation, was apprehended, and brought before Alderman Wilkes, who not only discharged, but bound him over to prosecute the person by whom he was apprehended, for an assault and false imprisonment; obliging the latter, at the same time, to give bail for his appearance at the next session. The same evening, Robert Thomson, the other printer mentioned in the proclamation, was apprehended, and brought before Alderman Oliver, by whom he was in like manner discharged, and the captor obliged to give bail for his appearance. Both the city magistrates, however, signed certificates, that the persons by whom the printers had been apprehended, were intitled to the rewards of 50l. offered in the Gazette; but though they applied to the board of treasury, it was not thought proper to pay the money.

Of the other six, one was already in the custody of the Lords for an offence of the same nature; four attended the House, and were reprimanded; and one, J. Miller, the printer of the London Evening Post, did not attend; on which the Serjeant at Arms was ordered to take him into custody. He was accordingly afterwards apprehended in his own house, by a messenger of the Commons; and by a constable, sent for by himself, was carried before the Lord Mayor, Brass Crosby, Esq; who at that time was attended by the Aldermen Wilkes and Oliver. The deputy Serjeant at Arms, who likewise attended on the occasion, demanded that both the messenger and printer should be delivered up to him; but this was refused by the Mayor, because no crime would be specified as a proper foundation for his being taken into custody, and the warrant of the Speaker had not been backed by a city magistrate. The warrant itself was then demanded, and, after much altercation, produced; the printer was discharged; and the deputy Serjeant himself, on his refusal to give bail,

bail, committed; but immediately releaſed on conſenting to find it. Thus the cauſe of the printers produced a conteſt betwixt the city of London and the Houſe of Commons, in which it was not difficult to ſee that the former muſt ultimately prevail.

The miniſterial party were filled with indignation at this contempt of their authority. The Lord Mayor, notwithſtanding his being at that time ill of the gout, was ordered to attend in his place; but a motion for the attendance of Meſſrs Wilkes and Oliver along with him, was rejected. As the Lord Mayor, however, pleaded in his own behalf, that he had acted only in conſequence of the oath taken by him as a magiſtrate of the city, and in defence of its charter and privileges, it was contended, that he might be heard by council. But this was over-ruled by a great majority; he was compelled to attend; and it was alſo determined, that the Lord Mayor's clerk ſhould attend with the book of minutes, in order to have the account of the whole proceeding eraſed from it. He attended accordingly, and the recogniſance of Whittam, the meſſenger who had been taken into cuſtody, was eraſed in the face of the Houſe, and it was reſolved that all proceedings at law, on that head, ſhould ceaſe.

The Lord Mayor and Alderman Oliver committed to the Tower, March 27.

The Lord Mayor, on his appearance in the Houſe, was far from attempting to avert the ſtorm by any ſubmiſſion. He boldly contended, that what he did had been in ſtrict conformity to the laws, and profeſſed himſelf indifferent as to the conſequences. Alderman Oliver, who was alſo a member, behaved in the ſame manner; in conſequence of which, both he and the Lord Mayor were committed to the tower, the vote for the commitment being carried by a majority of 170 to 38.

With regard to Mr Wilkes, the miniſtry were greatly at a loſs what courſe to take. Though he had been equally guilty with the Mayor and Mr Oliver, the miniſterial party were repeatedly called

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upon to take notice of him before they thought proper to do ſo. At laſt he was ordered to attend; upon which he inſtantly wrote a letter to the Speaker, acquainting him, that in the order for his attendance no notice had been taken of his being a member of parliament; that he was willing to attend in his place, which was indiſpenſibly requiſite; and that he now, in the name of his conſtituents, demanded his ſeat in the Houſe, where he was very willing to give ample ſatisfaction with regard to every particular of his conduct. This letter was preſented to the Speaker in the Houſe by one of the members; but as the delivering of it in that manner was judged to be informal, it was rejected, after a long debate, without being read. Other orders were iſſued for his attendance; but, as it was well known that he would not comply with them, the miniſtry could find no better method of getting rid of this formidable adverſary, than by appointing the eighth day of April for his attendance, at the ſame time that the Houſe adjourned to the ninth.

By this timidity, or embarraſſment of the miniſtry, Mr Wilkes loſt his ſhare of the triumph; for ſuch it certainly was to the Lord Mayor and Mr Oliver. On the day the former attended the Houſe, an innumerable multitude aſſembled, ſo that no buſineſs could be done till the evening. Many perſons of diſtinction were inſulted, and even their lives endangered. The authority of the Sheriffs availed noing; nor did the multitude pay any regard to the information, that a party of the guards had been ſent for, and were ready to act on the ſhorteſt notice. At laſt they were perſuaded, by the utmoſt intreaties of the moſt diſtinguiſhed members in oppoſition, to retire to ſome diſtance from the Houſe; upon which the reſolution of committing the Lord Mayor to the Tower was taken. On his removing from the Houſe, the populace took the horſes from his carriage, and drew it along Temple Bar; where, having conceived

ceived a ſuſpicion of the Serjeant at Arms, and the other who was in the coach along with him, they ſhut the gates, and told them to get out; but on the Mayor's pledging his honour that the gentlemen were his particular friends, and intended to accompany him home, they proceeded to the manſion-houſe with loud huzzas. 1771.

Thus, all the efforts of the miniſtry to extend the authority of Parliament, ſerved only to ſhew that its power was really not to be dreaded by any ſubject who had ſpirit enough to contend with it. A very great coldneſs, if not an abſolute enmity, now took place betwixt the Houſe of Commons and the city of London, which was conſiderably increaſed by the deciſion for the embankment of Durham-yard. This, though properly an affair of a private nature, was brought into parliament as an improvement to the city, and the bill for it eaſily carried through both Houſes, notwithſtanding the continued oppoſition of the city. It was mentioned, however, among other grievances, in a remonſtrance preſented to the King on the 10th of July 1771, wherein grievous complaints were made of the arbitrary proceedings of the Commons, and a diſſolution of parliament earneſtly requeſted, which was as peremptorily refuſed on the part of his Majeſty.

Another Petition from the city of London rejected.

But, though the miniſtry had been thus unſucceſsful in their attempt to eſtabliſh the authority of parliament, they had, without exception, carried every thing before them in parliament itſelf. In the month of February 1769, the affairs of the Eaſt India Company again came under conſideration. The agreement formerly made with them, was at that time near expiring. The Company, weary of paying ſuch an enormous ſum, and at the ſame time of being reſtrained in the dividend of their own profits, made application to miniſtry for a new agreement, founded upon more equitable propoſitions than the former. They even attempted to obtain ſome compenſation for the ſums

Tranſactions of miniſtry with the Eaſt India Company. Feb. 1769.

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they had already paid; but a renewal of their charter for five years, which they requeſted, was poſitively refuſed, and they now ſaw that, by allowing government to interfere with them at firſt, they had thrown their affairs into the hands of thoſe whom they were by no means able to reſiſt; and that the money of the Eaſt India Company was annually to be demanded as part of the current ſervices of the year. In theſe circumſtances, after much negociation, an agreement was at laſt concluded, and quickly after paſſed into a law, by which the Company obliged themſelves to pay to government the annual ſum of 400,000 l. for five years to come. During this time, they were allowed to increaſe their dividend to twelve and a half *per cent.*; the increaſe not to exceed one *per cent.* annually. If, during the ſame period, they ſhould find it neceſſary to diminiſh their dividend, an equal ſum was to be deducted from that paid to government, and, if reduced to ſix *per cent.* the annual payment of 400,000l. was totally to ceaſe. During the term of agreement, the Company bound themſelves to export Britiſh goods equal in value to thoſe exported annually for five years paſt. If any ſurplus of caſh ſhould remain in England, it was to be lent to the public at the annual intereſt of two *per cent.*

The affairs of the Company fall into diſorder

Thus, by the avidity of the Company on one hand, and the extortion of miniſtry on the other, the former were led into an agreement which, in the event, it appeared they were not able to fulfil. For ſome time, however, matters went on without any thing diſagreeable being mentioned in parliament relative to the affairs of the Campany. Towards the end of the Seſſion of 1770, indeed, a bill was brought into parliament for the more effectually enabling the Eaſt India Company to raiſe and ſupport a military force for the defence and protection of their ſettlements. This force was propoſed to conſiſt of 600 German Proteſtants, 700 Iriſh Catholics and 700 Engliſh; that they ſhould be ſubject to the military laws

laws during the time they ſtaid in England; that 1400 of them ſhould be exported annually; and that the Company's officers ſhould have liberty to beat-up for recruits in the ſame manner as regular forces. It does not appear, however, that miniſtry ever ſeriouſly intended to give any real aſſiſtance to this Company. The poſſeſſion of their revenues, which both parties over-rated, ſeemed to be the only object. The bill was therefore rejected on the third reading, on pretence of the bad conſequences which might attend the introduction of foreign mercenaries into the kingdom; that it woud throw too great a power into the hands of the Crown, by the appointment of ſuch a number of officers; and that it would be entirely deſtructive to the recruiting ſervice of the army, as the encouragement given by the Company would be apparently much higher.—In the ſpeech from the throne, January 21. 1772, India affairs were hinted at in the following words, viz. that "the concerns of this country are ſo various and extenſive, as to require the moſt vigilant and active attention; and that ſome of them, from remoteneſs of place and other circumſtances, are ſo liable to abuſes, and expoſed to danger, that the interpoſition of the legiſlature for their protection might be neceſſary: That if in any ſuch inſtances, either for ſupplying defects or remedying abuſes, they ſhould find it neceſſary to form new laws, they might depend upon his Majeſty's readieſt concurrence in whatever might beſt contribute to the attainment of thoſe ſalutary ends." This hint was immediately taken, and a ſpeech was made by one of the majority, in which he expatiated largely on the diſtreſſed ſtate of the Company; that they had not power ſufficient to controul their ſervants, who made enormous fortunes at the expence of their maſters, and were guilty of ſuch horrible oppreſſion, in every reſpect, as would certainly endanger the loſs of all the Britiſh poſſeſſions in that part of the world. It was not, however, till

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April 23. 1771.

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1772. A committee appointed to inquire into India affairs, April 13.

the month of April, that the matter was taken into the ſerious conſideration of the Houſe, when a ſelect committee, conſiſting of thirty-one members, was choſen by ballot, to inquire into Eaſt India affairs, which were found to be ſo exceedingly complicated and embarraſſed, that they requeſted leave to ſit during the enſuing ſummer, which was accordingly granted.

The reſult of this inquiry was by no means favourable. It appeared that the Company, far from being able to pay ſuch an enormous ſum to government, were themſelves on the verge of bankruptcy. At the time of their making this agreement, indeed, they had been encumbered with very large debts, both in Europe and Aſia. The revenues of the newly-acquired territories were undoubtedly very great; but they had been over-valued, and demands made upon them beyond what they could bear. Beſides the ſum paid to government, a tribute of almoſt an equal value was paid to the Mogul; the Company's inveſtments in China were paid for in ſilver from Bengal; a military force of thirty thouſand men was alſo conſtantly required; and the expences of civil eſtabliſhments were alſo very great. Beſides theſe expences, which could not be avoided, it alſo appeared, that great abuſes had been committed by the Company's ſervants. Expenſive wars had been entered into, vaſt ſums thrown away upon fortifications, either altogether unneceſſary, or ſo extenſive, that a ſufficient number of troops could not be afforded to protect them; pernicious and oppreſſive monopolies had been introduced, and ſuch monſtrous oppreſſions practiſed by individuals, that many were of opinion, their vaſt wealth ought to be confiſcated, or at leaſt ſome public mark of cenſure put upon them, to deter others from the like conduct in time to come. Among theſe, the dreadful famine which happened in Bengal in the year 1770, and, according to ſome accounts, deſtroyed four millions of people,

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ple, was attributed to the avarice of the Company's ſervants, in buying up all the rice to be met with in the country, in order to make their own fortunes. The accounts of this famine, which appeared in the publications of that time, were ſhocking to humanity; and, though never contradicted, can ſcarce be deemed credible; though, indeed, the making immenſe fortunes in a very ſhort time, muſt give ſome ſuſpicion of indirect means made uſe of in the procuring of them.

But, whatever might be the truth with regard to this particular affair, it is certain, that all parties had long ago been convinced of very great miſconduct in the ſervants of the Company, on which account the ſuperviſors, formerly mentioned, had been ſent out to India. Theſe gentlemen, however, had not the good fortune to arrive at the place of their deſtination. The Aurora frigate, which carried them, never arrived at any port, and was ſuppoſed to have periſhed at ſea. Thus the Company were left to ſeek ſome new expedient for the regulation of their affairs; at the ſame time that they had unluckily thrown themſelves into the hands of a power from which they could not be extricated. Being greatly alarmed at the powers granted by parliament to the ſelect committee, of making a full inquiry into their affairs, they began ſeriouſly to conſider of ſome means to prevent the farther extenſion of miniſterial oppreſſion. They had already experienced how ineffectual charters were, when put in competition with the voice of the majority in parliament; for which reaſon, to prevent, if poſſible, any further interference, it was propoſed to ſend out other ſuperviſors, with the ſame powers which had been conferred on the former gentlemen. This meaſure, however, could not be carried into execution ſo expeditiouſly, as to ſend off the new ſuperviſors before the next meeting of parliament, when all the errors, both of the Company's ſervants, and of the Company themſelves,

Loſs of the Aurora frigate with the Indian ſuperviſors.

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ſelves, having been fully ripped up by the ſelect committee, were laid before the Houſe, and publiſhed to the world.

State of the Company's affairs.

It now appeared, that though the treaſury of the Company at home was empty, they had accepted bills to the amount of 1,200,000l. from Bengal; that they were very conſiderably indebted to the bank for caſh borrowed, to the revenue for cuſtom-houſe duties, and the annual ſubſidy of 400,000l. &c. Thus they were obliged to throw themſelves entirely on the mercy of adminiſtration, and to enter into a negociation for a loan, at the very time when, in all probability, meaſures were contriving for their annihilation. The applications to the firſt lord of the treaſury were received with great coldneſs. He referred them to parliament for ſatisfaction, where it was extremely probable that the miſconduct of their ſervants, the embarraſſed ſtate of the affairs of the Company itſelf, and the preſent application for money, would be blended into one common maſs; and the envy attending the large fortunes made by particular perſons would throw a general obloquy on the whole proprietors. At the ſame time, a general indignation was excited by the publication of the reports given into parliament by the committee.

They are mentioned in the king's ſpeech, Nov. 26.

On the meeting of parliament, November 26th 1772, the Eaſt India affairs were particularly mentioned in the ſpeech from the throne. It was obſerved, "That the private convenience of a great number of people, as well as the commerce and revenues of the nation, were very much concerned in the welfare of the Eaſt India Company: That upon information of the difficulties in which the Company were involved, it was determined to give them an early opportunity of informing themſelves fully of the true ſtate of their affairs, and of making ſuch proviſions for the common benefit and ſecurity of the various

various intereſts concerned, as ſhould be found beſt adapted to the preſent exigencies of the caſe."

In conſequence of this ſpeech, a violent declamation was made by the member who moved for the addreſs, againſt the behaviour of the Eaſt India Company with regard to their affairs, which, he ſaid, were in the moſt ruinous and deplorable ſituation. The miniſter, however, Lord North, who had been appointed Firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Treaſury in 1770, was more favourable in his opinion, and declared, that however much they might be embarraſſed with regard to money-matters at preſent, they were nevertheleſs far from being in a deſperate ſituation with regard to the internal ſtate of their affairs. The beſt and ſpeedieſt method of giving them relief appeared to him to be the appointment of a Committee of Secrecy, conſiſting of thirteen perſons, to be choſen by ballot. This would prevent the unneceſſary expoſure of the Company's affairs; and it would be highly improper, as well as unfair and ungenerous, that they ſhould ſuffer any injury in conſequence of a ſimple money-tranſaction with the public; but that their affairs being thus laid open only to a few, it would neceſſarily follow, that no undue advantage could be taken of ſuch knowledge. This meaſure was objected to principally on the ſuppoſition, that the ſecret committee would be compoſed of perſons entirely devoted to the miniſter; however, it paſſed without a diviſion, and was found, according to expectation, to conſiſt either of ſuch as were connected with perſons in office, or who were known to be entirely at their devotion. This committee, beſides being armed with full powers to take any proper meaſures for the relief of the Company, was particularly ordered to conſider the intended plan for ſending out ſupervifors to India. The ſelect committee was alſo revived next day; by which manœuvre it evidently appeared, that the ſecrecy of the other was a mere pretence to get the management of affairs

Committee of Secrecy appointed.

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fairs totally into the hands of adminiſtration. However, the miniſter gave as a reaſon for this contradictory conduct, that he had previouſly promiſed not to oppoſe the revival of the ſelect committee.

The ſending of new ſupervifors to India prevented.

The deciſions of the commitee of ſecrecy were ſo very quick, that they ſeemed to have been the reſult of a premeditated ſcheme. In a week after their inſtitution a report was brought in, that though the Company were much diſtreſſed in money-matters, they were nevertheleſs making preparations for ſending out an expenſive commiſſion of ſuperviſors to India, which would ſtill add to that diſtreſs; and that it was the opinion of the committee, that a bill ſhould be brought in to reſtrain them, for a limited time, from ſending out any ſuch commiſſion of ſuperviſors. Such a propoſition alarmed not only thoſe who were more immediately concerned in the affairs of the Company, but thoſe who conſidered it merely as an invaſion of the legal rights of the Company, and an infraction of the principles of the conſtitution. It muſt, indeed, be evident to every perſon who conſiders the conduct of the miniſtry, as already related, for a number of years paſt, that it ſeemed to be their wiſh to eſtabliſh powers *ſomewhere*, which ſhould be totally independent of the law of the land, and could, at the pleaſure of the miniſter, ſuperſede it. This had eagerly been ſought for, firſt, in the authority of Secretaries of State; then in the Houſe of Commons; and now it was attempted to veſt in a committee, evidently under the influence of adminiſtration, a power to counteract the privileges of a trading Company to take what meaſures ſeemed to them moſt proper for the ſettlement of their affairs. In this light their conduct had been viewed all along by the members in oppoſition, who, it moſt be owned, whatever faults might be found in their private characters, have ſtruggled only for the liberty of the ſubject, and the authority of the laws. In the preſent caſe, the interference of miniſtry, in the affair of the ſuperviſors, was

was looked upon as an attempt to overthrow the undoubted privileges of the ſubject, and, under pretence of aſſiſting the Company, to take the management of their own affairs entirely out of their hands. The whole force of oppoſition was therefore collected on this important occaſion. It was alledged, that the diſtreſs of the Company was only temporary, and that they were otherwiſe abundantly capable of paying every debt, as the miniſter himſelf had owned. The abuſes committed in the Eaſt by the Company's ſervants had rendered it neceſſary to appoint a ſet of gentlemen to inſpect their conduct, by which vaſt ſums would annually be ſaved to the Company; out of which ſavings the ſuperviſors themſelves were to be paid. The pretence of their being ſo very expenſive was therefore totally invalidated. The miniſtry, however, in the preſent caſe, had adopted a new method of arguing, viz. that, when people were diſtreſſed, they ſhould not be allowed to take proper meaſures for retrieving their affairs. Beſides, the preſent bill was undoubtedly an *ex poſt facto* affair, to reſtrain the Company from doing what had been already done. The ſending out of ſuperviſors could not poſſibly affect the affairs of the Company at home. Their charter and conſtitution were manifeſtly affected by the report, notwithſtanding the deference which had been paid to parliament, by ſuſpending the commiſſion of the ſuperviſors until the affair ſhould receive the ſanction of the Houſe.

Argument for and againſt the Company.

To this it was replied, on the part of the miniſtry, That no hoſtile meaſures were in contemplation againſt the Company; that the wiſh of parliament was for their proſperity; but they were evidently entering into a very expenſive commiſſion at an improper time, when neceſſitated by their former miſconducts to apply to the public for a loan of money, at the ſame time that they owed conſiderable ſums to government; and, as it was undoubtedly the duty of parliament to prevent them from ruin, the committee appointed

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appointed for the purpoſe of inquiring into the methods proper for their relief had been of opinion, that they ought to be reſtrained from their intended meaſure of ſending out ſupervifors, and no reſtriction could be laid upon them, unleſs a bill for this purpoſe were paſſed into a law. Beſides, it was impoſſible that the Company could, without the aſſiſtance of the legiſlature, give their commiſſioners ſuch authority as would be proper for the redreſs of ſuch monſtrous abuſes as had taken place.

On this, two gentlemen, Directors to the India Company, and then in their places as members, offered to pledge themſelves to the Houſe, that the ſupervifors ſhould not be ſuffered to depart before the legality and propriety of their commiſſion was fully diſcuſſed in parliament. The propoſal, however, was utterly rejected by the miniſtry. It was ſaid, that though the Company might, for the preſent, have reſolved to ſuſpend the departure of the ſupervifors, nothing but an act of parliament could make that reſolution effectual; that they might reſcind in one day their reſolutions or meaſures for the preceding; that the opinion or promiſes of the whole Court of Directors could afford no ſecurity in this reſpect, as the direction was inferior to the General Courts, where their acts were liable to be over-ruled by their proprietors; and that an advantage might be taken, during the Chriſtmas receſs, of ſending the ſupervifors to India: That the bill in queſtion was ſo far from being an invaſion of any charter, that it was directed againſt an evil not only poſſible, but very likely to happen, namely, to prevent the Company from crowning all their former extravagance, by entering upon an unneceſſary and ruinous expence, when on the point of bankruptcy.

On the part of the Eaſt India Company it was replied, That the bill was in every reſpect unconſtitutional, being no leſs than a bill to ſuſpend the laws of the land; as well as ſubverſive of the Company's, charter,

charter, which had been ſo dearly purchaſed: That inſtead of taking any ſteps to render the Company great and glorious, as had been boaſted in the miniſter's ſpeech, adminiſtration had begun by plundering them of no leſs a ſum than two millions, and now put the finiſhing hand to their work, by taking advantage of the diſtreſs, occaſioned chiefly by that very extortion, to deprive them of their charter, and overthrow their conſtitution. The bill muſt alſo be productive of the moſt fatal conſequences to the other funds, and put an end to all confidence in the public faith. It was aſked, what ſecurity could there be in a country, where the royal charters, repeatedly ratified and confirmed by acts of parliament, could give no permenant eſtabliſhment to property? The argument of expence was evidently a mere pretext; for it was allowed by miniſtry, that ſome ſort of ſuperviſion was neceſſary, and the objection of expence was equally applicable to every one. There was, beſides, no defect of powers in the charter of the Company; they might be given, with equal efficacy, to the commiſſioners legally appointed, and without any violation of the Company's rights

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All this, however, was productive of no good conſequence; the bill was carried by a majority of 114 againſt 43, and the Company reduced to the ineffectuall remedy of petitioning and remonſtrating. That there might be no miſrepreſentation of the ſtate of the Company's affairs either at home or abroad, ſeveral of their ſervants were examined at the bar of the Houſe of Commons; by which it appeared, that the miſconduct of thoſe in the Eaſt ſtill continued; and ſeveral of the members, then ſitting in the Houſe, by their indiſcretion in aſking needleſs queſtions, brought a ſhare of theſe charges upon themſelves.— From this inquiry into the affairs of the Company, it appeared that, ſince the year 1765, the Company's expences had increaſed from 700,000 to 1,700,000.l annually. Government had received, by the produce of

Ineffectual petition of of the Company.

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of the duties, the indemnity for tea, and the ſtipulated 400,000 l. little leſs than two millions annually. By the indemnity agreement alone, the Company had loſt, from its commencement, not leſs than one million ſterling, of which government had received 700,000 l. and the remainder went to the purchaſers. During the laſt five years the profits of government, by means of the Company, had been no leſs than 3,395,000l. during which time thoſe of the Company had amounted only to 464,000l. annually, which however, would have afforded a dividend of twelve and a half *per cent.*; and from receiving even this they had been reſtricted. Inſtead of being in any reſpect culpable with regard to government, therefore, they inſiſted that they had been ſerviceable in a moſt extraordinary manner.

While theſe tranſactions were carried on, the ſecret committee had given in another report, intended to contain a ſtate of the Company's affairs at that time; but this was ſo much involved in figures and accompts, that very little could be gathered from it. The friends of the Company complained of it as unfavourable, if not unfair; while the oppoſite party cried it up as a maſter-piece, and far beyond what could be expected of the committee in ſuch a ſhort time. At the ſame time, the Company were acquainted, that they muſt either abide by this ſtatement of their affairs, or directly prove it to be falſe.

Council heard in their behalf.

The bill had already undergone two readings; but, on the third, council were heard for the Company, which again produced violent debates. By the opponents of the bill it was urged, that as nobody pretended to deny the Company's legal right to the appointment of its own ſervants, and the entire management of them, no reaſonable objection could now be brought againſt the exerciſe of that right, when, from the rapacity and oppreſſive behaviour of theſe ſervants, it became evidently not only expedient, but abſolutely neceſſary to do ſo; and, as every delay in the

the preſent critical ſituation of affairs muſt be injurious, the ſupervisors, inſtead of being longer detained, ought to be ſent off immediately.

This mode of reaſoning was ſo far from convincing the miniſterial party, that they adopted the very arguments made uſe of to prove the neceſſity of ſuperſeding the ſuperviſion altogether. They inſiſted, that the evils in the affairs of India were grown to ſuch an enormous magnitude, that nothing leſs than the interference of the legiſlature could put a ſtop to them; that the commiſſion was wrong in its principles, becauſe the governors and councils in the reſpective preſidencies in India were joined with thoſe ſent over in quality of ſupervisors. Thus, as the number of the former were permanent, they muſt ſoon become a majority by the death or ſickneſs of the ſupervisors; by which the capital offenders would be effectually ſecured from puniſhment, as becoming judges in their own cauſe. The legiſlature had undoubtedly a ſupreme and controuling power, to which every thing muſt ſubmit; and this power could never be applied with greater propriety and benefit than in the preſent caſe, where the welfare of ſo many millions were concerned. Laws, as well as charters, muſt ſubmit to the alterations conſequent on the changes of times and ſeaſons; and, at the commencement of the Company's charter, it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that it could be intended to grant them a right of legiſlation over vaſt countries, in which it was ſcarce probable that they could ever have any footing, excepting a permiſſion to trade as ſtrangers. The affairs of the Company, beſides, were in the hands of parliament; and it was abſurd, in ſuch a caſe, to ſuffer them to go on with any plan of their own.

By the friends of the Company it was replied, That the interpoſition of parliament had hitherto been made uſe of only to extort money. In 1767, they had undertaken to regulate their affairs; but, inſtead

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ſtead of this, after the extortion of an immenſe ſum, the affairs of the Company had been left in their former ſtate; and though they had ſince that time remained open to parliament, nothing had been done on the part of adminiſtration, except the making or renewing its extortions under the name of *bargains*, which had, in truth, contributed more than any thing to bring them into their preſent embarraſſed ſituation. A ſelect committee had conſidered their affairs for a whole ſummer without any benefit to the Company, and a ſecret committee had brought forth nothing but complaints. It was the fault of adminiſtration, therefore, if the Company was not inveſted with powers ſufficient to puniſh their ſervants, and regulate their internal governments; for a bill with that title had been actually brought into the Houſe and rejected by the miniſterial party, under pretence of waiting for the diſcoveries to be made by the ſelect committee. The ſuppoſition of the powers of ſuperviſion devolving upon the governors, was merely imaginary, as the Company had taken effectual meaſures to prevent it. The delay of ſending out ſuperviſors was likewiſe of material conſequence. The bill propoſed a reſtraint of ſix months, and the ſeaſon of the year would reſtrain it for other ſix months; ſo that thus a whole year would be loſt before any regulation could be made either by parliament or otherwiſe, which muſt prove detrimental in the higheſt degree to the affairs of the Company; beſides, that it would give ſo much time to the offenders to prepare every art of chicanery to elude the courſe of juſtice, that, in all probability, not one of them would ever be brought to puniſhment.

The moſt forcible part of the arguments uſed by the minority on this occaſion was, that the bill in queſtion undoubtedly ſtretched the prerogative of parliament beyond its due bounds. A ſupreme incontroulable power, indeed, muſt be lodged in the legiſlature; but that was not to be exerciſed, except in

in caſes of the moſt urgent neceſſity. The preſent bill was an invaſion of a right which parliament had ſold, and which could not be taken away without forfeiting the faith of the nation. Such a dangerous exertion of deſpotic power, muſt not only prove deſtructive to the credit of the Eaſt India Company, but likewiſe to the Bank, South Sea, and all other companies. It was inſiſted alſo, that adminiſtration, in reality, approved of the meaſure of ſending out ſupervifors; but that as ſoon as the Company refuſed to nominate the perſons whom they thought proper to chuſe, they had ſet themſelves entirely againſt the whole ſcheme, and found the Houſe, as uſual, compliant to their meaſures. CHAP. VII. 1772.

Theſe arguments, however, as well as the former, were urged in vain. Such was the general deteſtation in which the Company were held on account of the behaviour of their ſervants, that the bill was at laſt carried by one hundred and fifty-three to twenty-eight. In the Houſe of Peers it met with a very ſpirited oppoſition, and occaſioned a proteſt. In this Houſe, the countenance at firſt ſhewn to the ſcheme of ſupervifion was totally denied. It was even ſaid, that they had no evidence that the bill was contrary to the inclination of the Company any more than their intereſts. A petition, indeed, had been preſented, but it was only ſigned by fourteen of the proprietors, out of about one thouſand ſeven hundred, of which the Company conſiſted. The truth, however, was, that the bill had been hurried thro' the Houſe in ſuch a manner, that it would have been paſſed without any petition, before the Company had time to go through the forms neceſſary for calling a full aſſembly; for which reaſon, the above-mentioned fourteen of the principal proprietors ſigned this ineffectual petition. Dec. 18.

The affair of the ſupervifors being thus diſcuſſed, the requiſitions of the Company were next taken into conſideration. The principal of theſe were, a loan of Propoſals of the Company to adminiſtration. March.

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of a million and a half for four years, at the intereſt of four *per cent.* with liberty to repay the ſame in ſums not leſs than 300,000 l. at once, during which time the Company ſhould not make a dividend of more than ſix *per cent.* to be increaſed to eight, as ſoon as the debt was reduced to 750,000 l.; and, after the diſcharge of the whole, the ſurplus of nett profits ariſing in England above the dividend juſt mentioned, ſhould be appropriated to the payment of the Company's bond-debt, until it were reduced to 1,500,000 l. and that the ſurplus profits ariſing from thence ſhould be equally divided between the Company and Government. The Company alſo requeſted to be freed from the penal intereſt incurred by non-payment of money, as well as the annual payment of the 400,000 l. for the remainder of the five years mentioned. A full account of the Company's revenues and mercantile profits were to be annually laid before parliament; and, at the ſame time, leave was requeſted to export tea, duty free, to America and other foreign countries.

Their territorial rights called in queſtion.

Theſe propoſals met with a very indifferent reception from adminiſtration, who now began to let fall ſome hints that the Company had no right to their territories in the Eaſt. The firſt Lord of the treaſury moved, that a ſupply of 1,400,000 l. be granted to the Company, provided ſufficient care be taken to prevent ſuch exigencies for the future. The miniſter propoſed, that, "ſuppoſing the public ſhould advance a ſum of money to the Company, the dividend ſhould be reſtricted to ſix *per cent.* until the whole debt be diſcharged, and that the Company be allowed to divide no more than ſeven *per cent.* until their bond-debt be reduced to 1,500,000 l." Theſe reſolutions being paſſed without a diviſion, it was ſoon after moved and carried by a majority. That it is the opinion of this Houſe, it will be more beneficial to the public and the Company, to let the territorial acquiſitions remain in the hands of the Company for a limited time,

time, not exceeding ſix years, to commence from the agreement between the public and the Company. That no participation of profits ſhall take place between the public and the Company until after the repayment of the 1,400,000 l. advanced to the Company, and the reduction of the Company's bond-debt to 1,500.000 l. That after the payment of the loan advanced to the Company, and the reduction of their bond-debt to the ſum juſt mentioned, three fourths of the nett ſurplus profits of the Company at home, above the ſum of eight *per cent.* upon their capital ſtock, ſhall be paid into the exchequer, for the uſe of the public, and the remaining fourth ſhall be ſet apart either for further reducing the Company's bond-debt, or for compoſing a fund for the diſcharge of any contingent exigencies under which the Company may labour. CHAP. VII. 1773.

Thus did adminiſtration ſilently bring matters to the iſſue they had ſo long wiſhed for, viz. the depriving the Company of their territories in the Eaſt. A right was now ſuppoſed to be veſted in the Crown to the poſſeſſion of theſe territories, though, at the negociations for the peace of 1763, it had been ſtipulated by the Engliſh miniſter, that "reſpecting thoſe territorial acquiſitions, the Engliſh Eaſt India Company have made in Aſia, every diſpute relative thereto muſt be ſettled by the Company itſelf, the Crown of England having no right to interfere in what is allowed to be the legal and excluſive property of a body corporate belonging to the Engliſh nation." The preſent miniſtry, however, did not think proper to pay regard to this or any other ſecurities the Company might have of a right to theſe poſſeſſions. Lord North declared, 9th March 1773, that though he waved the diſcuſſion of the ſubject for the preſent, he had no doubt but that the Crown had a preferable title to the poſſeſſions in the Eaſt. This doctrine, he ſaid, was not peculiar to himſelf, as ſeveral perſons well ſkilled in the law had declared, that "ſuch te- And finally taken away. March 9.

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ritorial poſſeſſions as the ſubjects of any ſtate ſhall acquire by conqueſt, are virtually the property of the ſtate, and not of thoſe individuals who acquire them." On the 5th of April, he made the above-mentioned propoſal of letting the poſſeſſions remain in the hands of the Company for ſix years longer, by which the right of the Crown was eſtabliſhed without any diſcuſſion at all; and indeed the exiſtence of that right was now poſitively inſiſted upon as a matter ſettled beyond doubt; the limitation to ſix years being occaſioned by the expiration of the Company's charter in the year 1780.

Such an extraordinary tranſaction could not fail to excite the greateſt clamours; but every kind of oppoſition was in vain; a kind of infatuation and the moſt ſervile inclination ſeemed univerſally to prevail, of running headlong into every meaſure propoſed by government, whether right or wrong. Nay, though it was evident that the ſcheme relative to the Eaſt India Company had been carried on with ſuch rapacity and diſſimulation as muſt have forfeited the character of any individual, miniſtry were now at great pains to diſplay their kindneſs to the Company; they ſet forth, that notwithſtanding the great loſſes the Company had by their own miſconduct ſuſtained, ſo as to render them unable to pay the ſum annually ſtipulated to the public, they had generouſly ſupplied them with four times the ſum, and, out of their tender regard to the Company, would ſtill undergo farther diſadvantages. As it was known that the Company had on hand an immenſe ſtock of tea, amounting to no leſs than ſeventeen millions of pounds, it was allowed them to export any quantity they pleaſed to foreign parts without being liable to duty.

Another petition from the Company, April 30.

To all this kindneſs the Company replied by a petition; in which they complained, in the ſtrongeſt terms, of the injurious conduct of adminiſtration; of the groſs miſrepreſentation that had been given of their

their affairs; and, at the ſame time, ſet forth the great advantages the public had reaped from them, the expence they had been at in acquiring thoſe territories, to which it was now declared that they had no right; but this met with no better reception than the former: The plan for depriving the Company of the management of their affairs was already laid, and the moſt convenient method of ſubjecting them entirely to the power of the Crown only remained to be conſidered. At laſt, after long and fruitleſs debates, the miniſter brought in a bill, for eſtabliſhing certain regulations for the better management of the affairs of the Eaſt India Company, as well in India as in Europe. The principal articles of this bill were the following: 1ſt, That the Court of Directors ſhould, in future, be elected for four years; ſix members to be choſen annually. 2d and 3d, The ſtock of qualification ſhould now be 1000 l. inſtead of 500 l. as formerly; and no perſon ſhould be intitled to vote for the election of the Directors who had not poſſeſſed their ſtock for twelve months. 4th, The mayor's court of Calcutta ſhould for the future be confined in its juriſdiction to ſmall mercantile cauſes. 5th, Inſtead of this court, a new one ſhould be appointed, conſiſting of a Chief Juſtice and three Puiſne Judges. 6th, That all theſe judges be appointed by the Crown; and laſtly, That the Preſidency of Bengal ſhould have a ſuperiority over all others in India.

Regulation bill brought in and paſſed, May 3.

This bill proved no leſs diſagreeable to the Company than the former tranſactions had been. Every part of it was diſputed with great violence; but ſtill the Company appeared to have very few friends in the Houſe, ſo that every queſtion was carried by a prodigious majority. They petitioned againſt it, ſent a meſſage concerning it to the Lord Mayor and livery of London, requeſting that they would oppoſe it to the utmoſt of their power. But though they alſo petitioned, as well as thoſe who were poſſeſſed

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1773. June 10.

of property in the East Indies, who claimed the privilege of other British subjects, the bill at last was passed into a law by a majority of one hundred and thirty one to twenty-one. In the House of Lords it was also strongly opposed by a few members, but at last was carried by thirty-nine to twelve. On this occasion a conference was proposed between the two Houses, but rejected, on pretence that it would occasion a loss of time. It was then moved, that the reports of the several committees, as well as the other evidences relative to the state of India affairs, should be laid before the House; but this also was rejected on the same pretence.

The Company, now left hopeless of redress, continued to send unavailing petitions on the second reading of the bill, and their few friends in parliament continued an ineffectual opposition. The bill was finally passed, and the Company thus entirely thrown into the hands of ministry. The continued series of inquiries, however, into the transactions of the Company for many years past, had produced very unfavourable reports of the conduct of many of their servants in the East, which at last brought on a formal charge of rapacity, treachery, and cruelty against Lord Clive, and others concerned in the deposition and death of Surajah Dowlah, with the other means which had been taken to accomplish the revolution of 1756. This soon produced the following resolutions, by which the ascendency of the ministry was fully completed: "That all acquisitions made under a military force, or by virtue of treaties with foreign princes, do of right belong to the state: That to appropriate acquisitions so made to the private emolument of persons entrusted with any civil or military power of the state is illegal: That very great sums of money, and other valuable property, have been acquired in Bengal from princes, and others in that country, by persons intrusted with the civil and military powers of the state, by means of such powers; which

Lord Clive arraigned.

which ſums of money and property have been appropriate to the private uſe of ſuch perſons."

The general indignation againſt the ſervants of the Company on account of the crimes imputed to them, and probably alſo the envy occaſioned by the large fortunes they had made, hurried theſe reſolutions through the Houſe, though, upon more cool reflection, they occaſioned conſiderable debates. The whole affair terminated in a direct accuſation of Lord Clive. That nobleman vindicated his conduct in general with great ability, and ſet forth, in a ſtriking point of view, the very eminent ſervices he had rendered the Company. However, this did not prevent another attack, which would probably have been attended with very diſagreeable conſequences, had it not been that the reports of the ſelect committee were deemed not to be ſufficient evidence whereon to found a parliamentary judgment of the matter. The affair at laſt ended in a motion, "That Lord Clive, at the time of his receiving ſums to the amount of 234,000l. on the depoſition of Surajah Dowlah, did render great and meritorious ſervice to this country;" which being carried, a ſtop was put to the inquiry.

The laſt petition of the Company rejected.

The Company at laſt, finding themſelves now deprived of every hope of relief, and that they had been egregiouſly duped and enſnared by adminiſtration, at laſt preſented a petition to the Commons, refuſing to accept the loan on the terms that had been propoſed, and requeſting to withdraw their former petition; but this was treated as an act of inſanity rather then deſerving ſerious conſideration. It was determined to ſave the Company from ruin in ſpite of themſelves, and to force the benevolence of the public upon them.

CHAP. VIII.

*Parliamentary proceedings——Civil-liſt debt——Diſqualification of revenue-officers——Weſtminſter judges——Attorney General——*Nullum Tempus *bill——Royal Marriage act——Diſſenters bill——Affair of Falkland's Iſlands——Tumult in the Houſes of Parliament——Expedition againſt St Vincents.*

CHAP. VIII.

1769. Tranſactions with regard to the civil-liſt revenue.

THE ſame motives by which the miniſtry hitherto ſeemed to be actuated, had uniformly continued to mark their conduct in every thing with which they had any concern. In the end of February 1769, a meſſage from his Majeſty was laid before the Houſe of Commons, acquainting them, that the expences of his government had exceeded the civil-liſt revenue ſo much, that he had been obliged to incur a debt of more than 500,000 l. for the diſcharge of which he relied on their well-known zeal and affection. This application, though by no means unuſual in former times, now produced a violent debate, owing not only to the temper of the people in general, but alſo to another circumſtance, viz. that his Majeſty, ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne, had agreed to accept of the annual ſum of 800,000l. to be certainly paid him, inſtead of the product of various funds formerly appropriated to the civil-liſt; the uncertainty of which was thought to have afforded the miniſtry too frequent occaſions for making demands on the people. As the revenue of his Majeſty, however, was now certainly known, adminiſtration found themſelves chargeable with miſmanagement of the Royal revenue upon every deficiency, and the popular party thought they had a right to call them to an account for the manner in which it was

was expended. This was done with great rigour in the preſent caſe. A review was made of the civil-liſt and private revenues of the Crown. Thoſe from Wales, and the duchy of Cornwall, were taken into conſideration, as well as certain duties lately laid on by virtue of the Royal prerogative in ſome of the Weſt India Iſlands; from all which it was inferred, that the civil-liſt revenue was now in a better ſtate than it had ever been before; and that it was abſolutely neceſſary to produce the reaſons of the deficiency. It was but reaſonable, they ſaid, that the public ſhould have the ſatisfaction of knowing how their money had been expended before they ſubmitted to the impoſition of new burdens: That if debts were contracted without any conſideration, and theſe debts diſcharged by the people without enquiry, the revenue of the Prince might become entirely unlimited, and evil miniſters would be enabled to carry every meaſure they propoſed to themſelves, however unjuſtifiable, or prejudicial to the intereſts of the community. CHAP. VIII. 1769.

To all this it was replied on the part of the miniſtry, That though it was generally right to watch the conduct of miniſters, it was not ſo in the preſent inſtance. It would be ungenerous to ſhew any ſuſpicion of a Prince, who had taken ſuch care, on his firſt acceſſion, to conſult the freedom of the ſubject, by eſtabliſhing the independency of the judges. He had alſo renounced his ſhare of the captures taken during the war, and which amounted to no leſs a ſum than 700,000 l. ſo that it would be very ſtrange to refuſe what was neceſſary for his immediate exigencies. At the ſame time, the greateſt readineſs was profeſſed to lay an accompt of the expenditure before the Houſe; but the length of time requiſite for preparing them, and the lateneſs of the ſeſſion, made it neceſſary to delay it till the next meeting of parliament.

Theſe

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1770. Feb. 28.

These arguments were sufficient to stop the mouths of opposition for the present, and the sum of 513,511 l. was granted to pay the arrears; but when the accompts were required next year, all inspection into them was positively refused. It was now said, that as no application had been made for any additional sum of money, there was no right to enquire into the manner in which it was expended; but at present it was untimely, improper, and disrespectful to the Crown, as well as unjust to enter into an examination of the Royal expences. It was not pretended that there was the smallest reason for an enquiry, as long as the expences were confined within the stipulated sum; but how was it known that the expences of last year had exceeded that sum by a single shilling? Or how was it known but there had been a considerable saving? The argument for an enquiry, because there had been a large sum required last year, was to no purpose; for as it had been then granted without any hesitation or enquiry, it appeared that the House was convinced of its being reasonable to grant it, as well as that it would be properly applied. Finally, as the revenue of the civil-list was designed solely for the use of the Crown, it was proper that it should be entirely at the Crown's disposal. The accompts of former years were produced, but even though it were proper to lay the accompts of last year before the House, it would be impossible to make them ready for this season. It was therefore hoped, that the motion would be rejected, and no more accompts called for until further assistance should be required.

By this dextrous management, the minister avoided for the present any inquiry either at the time when money was demanded, or at any other. He was then called upon by opposition to pledge himself, that in his time the expenditure of the Crown should not exceed its income; but this was declined; tho' he promised, on all occasions, to advise the strictest regard

regard to œconomy, and that the expences ſhould not exceed the ordinary revenue, except in caſes where the neceſſity was ſo apparent, that no objection could poſſibly be made to a ſupply.

Motion for diſqualifying revenue officers from voting at elections, rejected, Feb. 11. 1770.

Thus was oppoſition defeated in its endeavours to procure a regular and clear account of the Royal expences. Another attempt to diminiſh the influence of the Crown by diſqualifying certain revenue officers from voting for members of parliament met with the ſame fate. The debates upon this occaſion were carried on with great warmth; but, upon the queſtion being put, the motion was rejected by a very great majority.

Nov. 28. 1770.

Inquiry into the conduct of the Courts of Juſtice propoſed and dropped.

On the 28th of November 1770, a motion made by Lord Chatham on the ſubject of the Middleſex election, gave birth to a propoſal for an inquiry into the conduct of certain Courts of Juſtice. In the introduction to his ſpeech, this Nobleman made a digreſſion to the modern method of directing juries from the bench, and judging in caſes of proſecution for libels. On this occaſion he threw out ſome ſevere cenſures on a great law lord then preſent, (Lord Mansfield), who naturally entering on a defence of his conduct, attributed the accuſation to ignorance; ſuppoſing Lord Chatham had taken his information from ſpurious printed accounts of trials. He inſiſted, that in all caſes he had given directions to the jury which he was not aſhamed to own, viz. that they were to judge from what appeared in the Court both with reſpect to the publication, and likewiſe of the juſtification of any libel; but, where no juſtification of the matter was entered into, they were to find, according to their judgment, whether the criminal inference in the information was really merited by what was contained in the paper. This method of charging, however, was the very thing complained of, and it was inſiſted, that juries could only determine the fact; it was the province of the bench alone to determine the intention by which the perſon was either to be declared innocent or guilty. To do

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otherwiſe was ſaid to be repugnant to all law, and contrary to the conſtitution; and it was urged in the ſtrongeſt manner, that a day ſhould be appointed for an inquiry into the conduct of the judges in this reſpect. The matter was taken up by the late Lord Chancellor, who declared himſelf ſtrongly intereſted, and even tied down by duty to urge the making of ſuch an inquiry; and if he could be ſenſible of any errors in the conduct of judges, with reſpect to the inculcating of doctrines contrary to law, he would not fail to point them out to their faces. He was ſenſible of the preſent diſreputable ſtate of the law-courts, and wiſhed to ſee them reſtored to their former dignity, for which no method he knew of would be ſo effectual as the inquiry propoſed. Notwithſtanding this bravado, however, no inquiry did at that time take place, a motion for adjournment being immediately after made and carried.

Motion for reducing the powers of the Attorney General, rejected.

A motion made in the Houſe of Commons for amending an act of 4th and 5th William and Mary, to prevent malicious informations in the Court of King's Bench, and for the more eaſy reverſal of outlawries there, was the ſubject of another debate. The intention was to reſtrain the powers lodged in the hands of the Attorney General, which enabled him to file informations and carry on proſecutions for libels, without the interference of a grand jury, or going through the forms eſtabliſhed in all other caſes. This power, it was contended, could not be compatible with the laws of a free ſtate, and was of too dangerous and extenſive a nature to be lodged in the hands of one man; as thus, by his own mere mandate, or in obedience to the will of a miniſter, he might give any name he pleaſed to a publication, and then commence a proſecution, without calling any evidence, or making the leaſt inquiry; by which means the moſt innocent perſon might be ruined, ſuppoſing him to be only unfortunate enough to fall under the diſpleaſure of the Attorney General or the Miniſter.

This

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This method of procedure was therefore generally reprobated; and, beſides its manifeſt unpopularity and injuſtice, it was evidently defective, as it would be much ſafer, as well as more expeditious, to go through the ordinary forms of law, than to follow this method of proſecution by the Attorney General. Inſtances were brought of this power being abuſed; particularly of one Attorney General whoſe conduct was ſo notorious, that he had no other method of defending himſelf, than by producing written inſtructions from the Secretary of State, for acting in the manner he did. On the other hand, it was replied, that the office was of high antiquity, and a part of the common law of the land; that innovations in matters of this kind were always dangerous, and that the abuſe of any power was no argument why it ſhould not exiſt, as there was no power whatever but what was liable to abuſe. The very inſtance brought to ſhow the abuſe of this power, tended alſo to ſhew, that there was a remedy, namely, by applying to the Houſe of Commons; and that every Attorney General, like other crown-officers, is reſponſible for the uſe he makes of the power with which he is inſtruſted. On a diviſion, the motion was rejected by a great majority.

Inquiry into the conduct of the Weſtminſter judges revived and dropped a ſecond time. Dec 6. 1770.

During the courſe of the debates on this ſubject, the diſpute concerning juries happened to be mentioned, which, immediately after the rejection of the motion concerning the Attorney General, produced another for a formal inquiry into the conduct of the judges which had already been propoſed and dropped, but which now after much fruitleſs alteration, was rejected by 184 to 76. As in the courſe of theſe debates, however, the conduct of Lord Mansfield had been particularly arraigned, his lordſhip thought proper to declare, that he would vindicate his own conduct, and accordingly gave notice for a call of the Houſe of Lords on a matter of importance, he ſaid he had to communicate to them. Every one

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one now expected great things; but when the appointed day came, all ended in his Lordſhip's declaring, that he had left a paper with the clerk containing the unanimous judgement of the King's Bench on the caſe of the printer Woodfall, and that the Lords might read it if they pleaſed. On a queſtion being propoſed, whether this paper ſhould be entered on the journals of the Houſe, an anſwer was given in the negative, which, though it precluded any notice being taken of it by the Houſe, ſeemed fully to anſwer every purpoſe now intended by his Lordſhip; in conſequence of which, the inquiry was finally dropped, to the great diſcontent and diſappointment of the public.

Thus the miniſtry, either by downright weight of numbers, or by artful evaſions, eluded every thing that tended either to relieve the people from what looked like arbitrary power, or to elucidate and bring to public view ſuch myſterious tranſactions as they themſelves happened to be concerned in. The event of the *Nullum Tempus* bill, finally decided in the month of February 1771, did not tend to give a more favourable view of their conduct. It has already been mentioned, how this act was revived in 1768, in order to deprive the Duke of Portland of a conſiderable eſtate of which the family had been in poſſeſſion for ſeventy years. A clauſe had then been inſerted in the act, by which the grantees or leſſees of the Crown were allowed a year to prove their claims; and though this clauſe evidently affected the Duke very much, no oppoſition had been made by him or his friends on the occaſion. It was indeed imagined at that time, that the whole affair had been only calculated to anſwer certain purpoſes at the general election of members conſequent on the diſſolution of parliament. The event, however, ſhewed, that this was far from being the caſe. A very expenſive law-ſuit had been commenced againſt the Duke of Portland, and by reaſon of the great extent of the royalties in queſtion,

Amendment of the *Nullum Tempus* bill rejected.

ſtion, no fewer than four hundred ejectments had been ſerved in one day, two hundred and twenty-five ſuits at common law were entered into, and fifteen bills in dependence a ſhort time before the matter came to be debated a ſecond time in the Houſe of Commons. By this dreadful inundation of law-ſuits the whole county of Cumberland, and indeed almoſt the whole kingdom, was thrown into conſternation; but though there could hardly be a more glaring inſtance of the bad tendency of any clauſe or act whatever, the amendment, by leaving out this clauſe, was ſtrongly oppoſed by miniſtry, on pretence that the clauſe in queſtion had been left with a view to preſerve Sir James Lowther's right to a legal determination of his claim, and it would be a breach of faith in parliament to draw him into a law-ſuit, and then annihilate the authority on which he had proceeded. The diſtreſſes in the county of Cumberland, it was alſo ſaid, were now entirely at an end, as Sir James Lowther had, from motives of humanity, ſtopped all proceedings, except thoſe againſt the Duke of Portland. All the influence of adminiſtration, however, was requiſite on this occaſion to carry the favourite point into execution. On the firſt and ſecond readings the amendment was carried, but loſt on the third by a majority of nine. On this occaſion it was complained, that the miniſter wrote ſeveral letters to influence particular perſons, and uſed other means not leſs exceptionable to gain his point. In the following ſeſſion, a bill for quieting the poſſeſſion of the ſubject againſt dormant claims of the church met with the ſame fate, being thrown out by a majority of one hundred and forty-one to one hundred and ſeventeen.

Feb. 27. 1771.

Feb. 17.

Two other remarkable bills were diſcuſſed this ſeſſion, viz. The royal marriage bill, and that for the relief of the diſſenters in England. The former was occaſioned by the marriage of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland with a lady of the firſt quality in England. On the 20th of February a meſ-

Royal marriage act paſſed.

Feb. 20. 1772.

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ſage from his Majeſty was read in both Houſes, the purport of which was, that his Majeſty, from paternal affection to his own family, and anxious concern for the future welfare of his people, recommended it to both Houſes, to take it into their ſerious conſideration, whether it might not be wiſe and expedient to ſupply the defects of the laws now in being, and, by ſome new proviſion, to guard more effectually the deſcendants of his late Majeſty, (other than the iſſue of Princeſſes who have married, or may hereafter marry into foreign families) from marrying without the approbation of his Majeſty, his heirs or ſucceſſors, firſt had and obtained. In conſequence of this meſſage a bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords, to render all the deſcendants of the late king (thoſe mentioned in the meſſage only excepted) incapable of contracting marriage without the previous conſent of the King, or his ſucceſſors on the throne, ſignified under the great ſeal, and declared in council; every ſuch marriage and matrimonial contract, without ſuch conſent, being declared null and void. It was, however, granted, that ſuch deſcendants, being above the age of twenty-five years, upon their giving the privy council twelve months previous notice of their deſign, may, after the expiration of that time, enter into marriage without the Royal conſent, unleſs both Houſes of Parliament ſhould within that time expreſsly declare their diſapprobation of it. All perſons, at the ſame time, who ſhall knowingly preſume to ſolemnize, or aſſiſt at the celebration of ſuch illegal marriages, or at any ſuch matrimonial contract, were declared to incur the penalties of the ſtatute. This bill met with the moſt vigorous oppoſition in both Houſes; but though its legality was called in queſtion, and amendments to every clauſe were propoſed and ſtrongly inſiſted upon, it paſſed both Houſes with uncommon rapidity, and before the end of March was eſtabliſhed as a law.

The

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1772.

Diſſenters bill originates from a petition of an aſſociation at the Feather tavern.

The diſſenters bill originated from an aſſociation formed at the Feather tavern at London, where many perſons, whoſe conſciences did not allow them to ſubſcribe to the thirty-nine articles of the church of England in their full extent, met to conſider of proper means for their relief, and at laſt preſented a petition to the Houſe of Commons. This petition was ſigned by two hundred and fifty clergymen of the church of England, and by ſeveral profeſſors of law and phyſic. In this petition they repreſented the certainty, infallibility, and ſufficiency of the holy ſcriptures to inſtruct in all points neceſſary to eternal ſalvation. In conſequence of this, they challenged an inherent right, derived from God alone, of interpreting the ſcripture for themſelves, without the influence of human authority to bias or command their opinions in any manner of way. This, they ſaid, had been the ſentiments of the church of England formerly, and thoſe upon which the reformation from Popery was founded. The ſubſcription-laws, however, had produced a deviation from thoſe ſentiments, in conſequence of which, they were now obliged to declare certain doctrines and opinions drawn up by fallible men to be in all reſpects agreeable and conſonant to ſcripture. Theſe ſubſcriptions, they ſaid, were a great hindrance to the progreſs of true religion, and tended to produce diviſions and animoſities among thoſe who went under the general name of Proteſtants; that even the clergy themſelves, who did ſubſcribe theſe articles, were far from being agreed in their opinions, which gave an handle to infidels and Papiſts to charge them with being actuated by the moſt unworthy motives of policy and intereſt.

It was complained by the profeſſors of law and phyſic, that at an age when they were totally unfit for ſuch diſquiſitions, they were obliged, at one of the univerſities particularly, to ſubſcribe their aſſent to a number of theological tenets, in order to attain

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to the neceſſary academical degrees; while, at the ſame time, their attention to their own particular branches, muſt render their private opinions on theſe ſubjects of no conſequence to the public, as not affording them leiſure to inquire into the truth or falſehood of theſe propoſitions they had ſubſcribed in their early years.

The petition rejected.

When the petition was preſented to the Houſe, the ſupporters of it made uſe of arguments ſimilar to thoſe juſt mentioned, urging alſo, that to preſs ſubſcription in matters of faith, was eſtabliſhing habits of prevarication under a maſk of religion; that a happy opportunity was now offered for diſſenters to be taken into the boſom of the church, which moſt probably would be accepted, and which would give it ſuch a ſtability and firmneſs as nothing could ſhake. It was, however, rejected by a great majority. The high-church party conſidered an attack on the thirty-nine articles as little leſs than blaſphemy. The church and ſtate, they ſaid, were ſo intimately united, that one could not ſubſiſt without the other. The petition ſtruck directly againſt Chriſtianity *; and the annulling of the liturgy would be next called for. They ſaid, that parliament could not grant any relief in the preſent caſe, as they had no power to diſſolve the oaths of ſuch as had already taken them; and thoſe whom avarice prompted to ſeize on the revenues of the church, without believing in her tenets, inſtead of having their requeſt granted, ought to be excluded from her entirely. Neither was it in the power of the King to comply with the prayer of the petition, as he was bound by oath to preſerve the church in its eſtabliſhed form. It would alſo be a breach of the articles of Union, by which it was engaged, that the church governments both

* The part of the thirty-nine articles which the petitioners chiefly objected to, was that in which the Divinity of our Saviour is ſtrongly aſſerted. This doctrine, though evidently the very foundation of the Chriſtian religion, has of late been denied by vaſt numbers of thoſe who call themſelves Chriſtians, and even by not a few who ſubſcribed the articles.

both of England and Scotland ſhould continue the ſame as before. CHAP. VIII. 1772.

There were many, however, who, though entirely averſe to the petition, thought that it ought to lie upon the table till the end of the ſeſſion, or that the King might appoint a committee of the clergy to enquire into its merits. They inſiſted, that the petitioners were men of irreproachable characters; they alſo contended, that the legiſlature had an authority over the articles of Union; and two inſtances were brought to ſhew that they had actually been altered*, viz. in the act againſt occaſional conformity, and in that which deſtroyed elective patronages.—They admitted, however, that though government had power to alter the conſtitution as it thought proper, it was neceſſary that the religious part of it ſhould be bound by ſome certain principles from which they could not deviate; for which purpoſe, it was alſo neceſſary that ſome public ſymbol ſhould be eſtabliſhed to which they ſhould all conſent. A mere ſubſcription to the Bible would ſignify nothing, as it was manifeſt from every day's experience, that no two would agree in their conſtructions of it.—The clergy could not complain of any injuſtice in the matter of ſubſcription, as they were under no neceſſity of accepting benefices contrary to their conſcience. As matters now ſtood, every perſon had a right to interpret the ſcriptures for his private uſe; but it was by no means reaſonable, that he ſhould be allowed to do ſo for others, contrary to their inclination. Others in general were againſt the petition, merely becauſe they would not give any opportunity of encreaſing the civil diſſenſions; though great part of the Houſe ſeemed to be of opinion,

* This doctrine is undoubtedly the moſt pernicious that can be imagined; as it puts an end at once to all public faith. The Union was a treaty betwixt two independent ſtates, and could not be altered without bringing back matters to the ſtate in which they were at that time. Otherwiſe, the Britiſh parliament had no more right to alter the articles of the Union than of the treaties of Utrecht or Paris.

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that relief ought to be granted to the profeſſors of law and phyſic, as well as to the ſtudents at the time of matriculation.

Diſſenters bill brought in.

In the courſe of theſe debates, frequent mention was made of the diſſenters, and ſeveral gentlemen declared, that they would readily ſupport a bill for their relief from the heavy penalties to which they were liable on account of non-conformity. This favourable diſpoſition induced the diſſenting miniſters to appoint a committee of their body to conduct the buſineſs, and prepare ſuch a bill as they thought proper for their purpoſe. It is, however, neceſſary to take notice, that the articles of the church of England, to which ſubſcription was required from the diſſenters, were no other in ſubſtance than what their brethren in Scotland ſubſcribed every day without heſitation. But the ſame diſpoſition to Arianiſm, which had taken place among the Engliſh clergy, alſo prevailed in a great meaſure among the diſſenters; and there is very little reaſon to doubt, that if they had been allowed the latitude they wiſhed for in the doctrinal parts of religion, the articles of diſcipline and church-order, to which no ſubſcription was required from them, would have been very little obſtacle. The bill was, therefore, vigorouſly oppoſed by the Engliſh clergy; as well thoſe who inſiſted on a rigid adherence to the forms of their church, as thoſe who did not. Moſt of the Houſe of Commons, however, declared in favour of the bill, and it was carried through that Houſe by a great majority; but, at the ſecond reading, it was thrown out in the Houſe of Lords, there being one hundred and two againſt, and only twenty-nine who ſupported the bill. Another bill to the ſame purpoſe was brought in next ſeſſion, but met with a ſimilar fate.

The bill paſſed in the Houſe of Commons, but rejected in the Houſe of Lords. May 19. 1772.

The only other bill of any conſequence relative to the internal government of the kingdom, paſſed this ſeſſion or the next, was one relating to an augmentation of the half pay of navy captains. It was oppoſed

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poſed by the miniſter upon œconomical principles, but nevertheleſs paſſed into a law; and, in conſequence of it, the half pay captains of the navy received two ſhillings per day in addition to what they had formerly.

The continued ferment which had ſo long taken place throughout every part of the Britiſh empire, had in a great meaſure ſuppreſſed all concern with regard to the tranſactions of foreign courts, though it ſoon appeared that the natural enemies of Britain, however they might have received a temporary humiliation by the event of the war of 1755, were now very much inclined to abide the iſſue of another conteſt. The attention of the public was firſt called by the ſeizure of Falkland's Iſlands by the Spaniards. Theſe were firſt diſcovered by Captain Davies in 1592, but he was too much diſtreſſed to make any obſervations, nor did he even give them a name.—They were again diſcovered two years after by Sir Richard Hawkins, who called them, from his own name, and in honour of Queen Elizabeth, *Hawkins's Maiden Land*; but as no ſettlement was made on them at that time, and even their exiſtence not generally known, a Dutch navigator, Sebald de Wert, who fell in with them in 1598, gave them the name of the *Sebaldine Iſlands*, by which they were from that time known in the maps, until the time of King William, when they were again diſcovered by one Strong, who is ſuppoſed to have given them the name of *Falkland's Iſlands*, which has ſince been generally retained, though the French and Spaniards call them *Malouines*, from ſome ſhips belonging to St Maloes who had touched at them, and to whom they wiſhed to attribute the diſcovery.

Account of Falkland's Iſlands. 1769.

But though theſe iſlands continued for ſo long a time to be accidentally viſited by ſhips from different nations, it does not appear that the Spaniards had ever ſet up any claim to them, or even viſited them at all, or given them a name. Lord Anſon's voyage

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firſt ſhewed the great importance of which they might be to Britain in time of war, as being a proper place of refreſhment, much nearer Cape Horn than the Brazils; and this was particularly taken notice of by the author of Anſon's voyage, which being drawn up under his Lordſhip's inſpection, may be conſidered as containing his own ſentiments. It does not, however, appear that the eſtabliſhment of an Engliſh ſettlement in theſe ſouthern regions was at this time a new ſcheme. As early as the reign of Charles II. it had been eagerly entered into; and that Monarch, notwithſtanding his uſual diſtreſſes from profuſion, ſent out Sir John Narborough, at a conſiderable expence, with directions to ſurvey the Straits of Magellan, and neighbouring coaſts of Patagonia; commanding him at the ſame time, if poſſible, to eſtabliſh a correſpondence with the brave natives of Chili; as it was then, and ſtill is a general opinion, that their country contains many very rich gold mines, which, on account of the rapacity of the Spaniards, they kept carefully concealed. Even before this time, the Dutch had made an attempt to form a ſettlement on the coaſt of Chili, and for that purpoſe ſent out a conſiderable fleet and body of land forces; and though they failed in their purpoſe at the time it was attempted, from want of proper information, they had fully determined to renew and proſecute the ſcheme as ſoon as a proper opportunity ſhould offer. The loſs of the Brazils occaſioned a ſecond diſappointment; but from this project of the Dutch, it is moſt probable that Charles II. borrowed his ſcheme, of which he was ſo fond, that when he heard of Sir John Narborough's return, it is ſaid, that he had not patience to wait for his coming to court, but went in his barge to meet him at Graveſend.

Lord Anſon had no ſooner begun to preſide at the board of Admiralty, than preparations were made

made for the execution of the ſcheme he had laid; but theſe were ſo diſagreeable to the court of Madrid, and ſuch repreſentations were made againſt it, that it was thought proper at that time to drop it, though it was revived, ſoon after the concluſion of the treaty in 1763, by Lord Egmont, who at that time preſided in the Admiralty. In the year 1764, therefore, Commodore Byron was ſent out in order to make the neceſſary diſcoveries; which having accompliſhed, he took poſſeſſion of Falkland's Iſlands in the name of his Britannic Majeſty. About the ſame time, a ſettlement was formed, and a ſmall fort built on one of thoſe iſlands by the French, under M. Bougainville. The advantages propoſed both by the French and Engliſh from the poſſeſſion of theſe iſlands were, that it would be the means of opening a trade with the Portugueze, Spaniards, and Patagonians. It was thought that it might be an uſeful ſtation, and not very much out of the way for the French Eaſt India ſhips. Hopes of the gold mines of Chili alſo were not entirely loſt; but it was inſiſted, that, independent of theſe, the moſt advantageous fiſhery in the world might be eſtabliſhed in that quarter, as the whales in the high ſouthern latitudes are ſaid by navigators to be more numerous than thoſe in the Greenland coaſts, in the proportion of one hundred to one.

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For ſome time the French were very fond of their new ſettlement. The colony were furniſhed in abundance with many of the eſſential neceſſaries of life, by the great quantities of fiſh, fowl, and amphibious animals, met with on the coaſts; but as the ſcheme had been undertaken at the expence of private adventurers, ſomething elſe was neceſſary beſides the mere welfare of the coloniſts. Great expectations had been formed of diſcoveries to be made in the Pacific Ocean; but theſe did not turn out according to expectation. The Spaniards alſo manifeſted an extreme jealouſy of any ſettlements being made in

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that part of the world by other nations than themſelves; from which laſt motive M. Bougainville, having probably received a compenſation for the expences he had been at, reſigned the ſettlement into the hands of a Spaniſh governor from Buenos Ayres; by whom the name of the Port was changed from Port Louis to that of Port Solidad.

With reſpect to the climate and ſoil of theſe Iſlands, there have been a variety of accounts. They abound in a kind of long reeds, which, being miſtaken for trees at a diſtance, have given occaſion to ſome navigators to repreſent them as overgrown with woods; while others, with much more probability, have aſſerted, that no wood was to be met with upon them. They are ſituated in the latitude of 51. 30. S. about 100 leagues on this ſide of the Straits of Magellan, and conſiſt of two large Iſlands, and a number of ſmall ones; the former being divided by a ſound of conſiderable length, and the land interſected with numerous bays, ſome of which run very deep into the country, and which, as well as the ſound, contain many ſmall iſlands. According to Commodore Byron's account, the large iſlands are 600 or 700 miles in circumference; their ſoil good, with plenty of iron-ore, and ſigns of other minerals; wild fowl in the greateſt abundance, and ſuch numbers of geeſe, that about 100 a-day were killed for the uſe of the ſhips, merely by throwing ſtones at them. The French likewiſe repreſented the numbers of penguins and wild-fowl as altogether incredible, and that they found the ſea-lions and ſea-wolves very numerous, which were valuable, as well on account of their ſkins, as the great quantity of oil to be procured from them, being not leſs than four hogſheads from each ſea-lion. There was ſaid alſo to be plenty of turf for firing; an article of great conſequence in theſe high latitudes, and in a place where no wood had been diſcovered. Theſe iſlands bore no marks of having ever been inhabited, nor

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was any quadruped to be found upon them, excepting an animal ſeemingly between the wolf and fox kind.

1769. The Engliſh ſettlers diſpoſſeſſed by the Spaniards.

We are not certainly informed whether the court of England was ever made acquainted with the ceſſion of the French ſettlement to the Spaniards; or, indeed, that the one ſettlement knew of the other. The Britiſh ſettlement called *Port Egmont* was ſituated on a ſmall iſland on the weſtern ſide of one of the principal iſlands; and Port Solidad, the Spaniſh one, at the eaſtern ſide of the other. In the year 1769, however, an Engliſh frigate, happening to fall in with a Spaniſh ſchooner taking a ſurvey of the iſlands, warned the captain to depart from that coaſt, as belonging to his Britannic Majeſty. The ſchooner departed for that time, but returned two days after with letters from the Spaniſh Governor, in which he affected not to believe the account given him by the captain of the ſchooner, acquainting Captain Hunt, the commander of the frigate, that if he had been forced into thoſe ſeas by chance or diſtreſs of weather, he was ready to give him all the aſſiſtance he could; but if otherwiſe, adviſed him inſtantly to depart, as his preſence would be accounted a violation of the treaty, and an inſult to the Spaniſh flag. Captain Hunt replied in a ſimilar ſtrain, and ſome altercation took place; about two months after which, two Spaniſh frigates of conſiderable force, with troops on board, came to Port Egmont, under pretence of wanting water. Their commanders affected great ſurpriſe on perceiving the Engliſh flag flying, and a ſettlement formed on the iſland; but informed Captain Hunt, that they would proceed no further in the affair than proteſting againſt the proceedings of the Engliſh, until they had made his Catholic Majeſty acquainted with the whole tranſactions. The frigates continued eight days at Port Egmont, during which time they were ſupplied with water, and then ſet ſail without committing

any

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any acts of hoſtility. Captain Hunt, however, juſtly ſuppoſing that ſomething hoſtile was intended, made what haſte he could to England, where having arrived, June 3. 1770, he ſent an expreſs to the Admiralty with information of what had happened.—The whole force left to defend the ſettlement on Falkland's Iſlands conſiſted of the Favourite and Swift ſloops of war, carrying ſixteen guns each; but the latter was unfortunately loſt in the Straits of Magellan. The crew got ſafe to land, excepting three, who periſhed in the ocean; but as thoſe who were ſaved from the ſea could have had no proſpect of preſerving their lives on that inhoſpitable coaſt, ſome of the boldeſt undertook a voyage to Port Egmont in their cutter, in order to give notice of the misfortune that had happened. This they happily accompliſhed in three weeks, through the moſt boiſterous and ſtormy ſea in the world; after which, they brought the Favourite ſloop to the aſſiſtance of their companions.

The very day after Captain Hunt arrived in England, a Spaniſh frigate arrived at Port Egmont, forced in, as her people gave out, by want of water; having been out fifty-three days on her voyage from Buenos Ayres. Four others quickly followed, carrying 134 pieces of cannon, with between 1600 and 1700 men on board, together with all the neceſſaries for inveſting a ſtrong fortification, had it exiſted in that part of the world. At Port Egmont, however, there was nothing to reſiſt them except a wooden block-houſe, without a ſingle port-hole; only four pieces of cannon to defend it, and theſe ſunk in the mud in ſuch a manner as to be totally uſeleſs. Tho' there was no hope of reſiſting ſuch a force as now appeared, the Britiſh officers reſolved not to yield up the place without the actual commencement of hoſtilities on the part of the Spaniards, which would of neceſſity produce an explanation of the affair betwixt the two courts, and could neither be denied, nor have

have any evaſive conſtruction put upon it by the Spaniards. They refuſed, therefore, to ſurrender to a pompous and threatening ſummons ſent them by the Spaniſh commander in chief, in which only fifteen minutes were allowed for conſideration. However, as there was an evident impoſſibility of making any effectual defence againſt the force brought againſt them by the Spaniards, they thought proper to capitulate after a few ſhot had been fired on both ſides, by which the commencement of hoſtilities on the part of Spain was fully aſcertained. The Engliſh troops were permitted to carry away as many of the ſtores as they could in the Favourite ſloop; the remainder were left in the hands of the governor of Solidad, who was to be reſponſible for them. During the remaining time of their ſtay on the iſland, the Engliſh flag was to fly on ſhore and on the ſloop; but they were to exerciſe no juriſdiction, except with reſpect to their own people; and the Spaniſh commander was to have notice of the time they intended to depart, when they might march out under arms. The time of their ſtay was limited to the arrival of the governor of Solidad to take an inventory of their ſtores; and until he ſhould arrive for this purpoſe, the rudder of the ſloop was taken away. After being detained in this manner for thirty-four days, ſhe was at laſt permitted to ſet ſail, with all the people on board, and arrived at Portſmouth on the 22d of September 1770.

Parliamentary debates on the ſeizure of Falkland's Iſlands. Nov. 22. 1770.

The account of theſe tranſactions added fuel to the flame which already raged in England. The miniſtry were now reprobated on account of their remiſſneſs in making preparations, when the French and Spaniards had been ſo active as already to be in a capacity of declaring war againſt Britain; for the affair of Falkland's Iſlands was conſidered as nothing leſs than a declaration of war by both nations. Motions were made in both Houſes to addreſs for all the papers received by miniſtry or the admiralty, relative

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lative to hoſtilities intended or actually committed by Spain, from the 12th of September 1769 to the ſame time of 1770. This, however, was avoided by the miniſtry with all the art they were capable of. The debates on this ſubject were long and violent; but the irreſiſtable power of adminiſtration rendered all oppoſition fruitleſs. The motion was rejected in the Houſe of Lords by a majority of three to one; but in the Houſe of Commons it was ſupported by 101 members, which was looked upon as a conſiderable acceſſion of ſtrength to the minority.

Violent uproar in the Houſe of Lords, Dec. 10. 1770.

Another motion was quickly after made in the Houſe of Lords for an addreſs to quicken the preparations for war, or at leaſt for putting Gibraltar and our Weſt India poſſeſſions in a proper ſtate of defence; but before the Duke who moved it had got through his introductory ſpeech, he was interrupted by a call to clear the Houſe. This produced a debate, whether it was proper that the Houſe ſhould be cleared at this time or not. By adminiſtration it was ſaid, that when motions were brought in by ſurpriſe, ſo that there was no previous notice of what they might contain, many things might come out which ought not to be divulged; the weakneſs of the nation might be expoſed, and the enemy might have emiſſaries in the Houſe to take notes of what paſſed. On the other ſide it was argued, that though any Lord had a right to clear the Houſe when he pleaſed, the exertion of that right on this particular occaſion would alarm the people; and it was inſidious, as well as irregular, to interrupt the Lord who had been ſpeaking on a ſubject of the greateſt importance, under pretence of clearing the Houſe.

To theſe arguments no other reply was made but a moſt violent clamour of "Clear the Houſe!" To the diſgrace of the Britiſh ſenate the Houſe of Lords became a ſcene of uproar and confuſion, ſo that no perſon whatever could be heard. A patriotic Earl, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts to be heard, declared,

red, that if he was to be denied the privilege of a Lord of Parliament, it was needleſs to attend there. Accordingly he inſtantly departed, with about eighteen others. They were no ſooner gone than a great number of members from the Houſe of Commons were ordered to withdraw. Several Lords perſonally interfered, and communicated theſe orders to them, which was afterwards highly reſented by the lower Houſe. Some of the Commons remonſtrated, that they were attending with a bill, and in an act of duty; but all was to no purpoſe; they were obliged to withdraw, and wait till their meſſage was delivered. Nay, as ſoon as they had gone through the neceſſary forms on this occaſion, the outcry began again, and they were in fact turned out without waiting to know whether they would have gone away of their own accord or not. CHAP. VIII. 1770.

Another in the Houſe of Commons.

The Commons returned to their own houſe, highly incenſed at the indignity which had been offered them, and quickly communicated their ill humour to all the reſt. Their firſt vengeance fell upon thoſe unfortunate peers who had oppoſed the tumult in their own houſe, and were now liſtening to a debate of the Commons. Theſe were turned out indiſcriminately with the reſt; after which it was moved, that a committee ſhould be appointed to examine into the Lords journals, and to make a full inquiry into the matter. This, however, was rejected, as it did not appear that the Commons had any right to reſent the injury otherwiſe than by retaliation, which they had already put in execution; and ſeveral motions, afterwards made, which would have tended to widen the breach between the two Houſes, were alſo rejected. A proteſt, however, was entered into by ſixteen of the Lords, who had left the upper Houſe the day before, in which they repreſented the tumult and uproar as manifeſtly premeditated, and part of a plan to prevent any inquiry into the neglects of the miniſtry. No other conſequence afterwards enſued than an order to keep the doors of

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of the Houſe of Lords cloſe ſhut, and that no perſons ſhould for the future be admitted, excepting ſuch members of the Commons as attended with bills, and they alſo to depart as ſoon as their buſineſs was done. The miſunderſtanding continued during the whole of the ſeſſion, and both Houſes took opportunities of manifeſting their contempt of each other.

Negotiation with the Court of Spain.

This ſcene of uproar did not produce any favourable change in the popular opinion with regard to the miniſtry; on the contrary, it was looked upon by the generality to have been a miniſterial ſcheme to fruſtrate any inquiries into their own tranſactions. They retrieved their character, however, in ſome meaſure by their activity in making preparations for war, and their ſilence with regard to the pacific intentions of Spain. Indeed, the conduct of that court had been ſuch, as left very little room for any declaration of its friendly diſpoſition. Twelve days before the arrival of the Favourite ſloop, a letter had been received from Mr Harris, the Britiſh miniſter at Madrid, with information, that a ſhip had arrived from Beunos Ayres, giving a particular account of the intended expedition againſt Port Egmont; and about the ſame time Prince Maſerano, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador at London, acquainted Lord Weymouth, that he had reaſon to believe the Spaniſh Governor had made uſe of force in diſpoſſeſſing the Britiſh ſettlers at Port Egmont; but whatever might have been the caſe in that quarter, he wiſhed that no interruption might be thereby occaſioned in the friendſhip ſubſiſting between the Courts of London and Madrid. In anſwer to this, a diſavowal of the proceedings of M. Buccarelli, governor of Buenos Ayres, was required, and notice ſent to Mr Harris to confer with M. de Grimaldi, the Spaniſh miniſter of ſtate, on the ſubject. Theſe negotiations produced at laſt a favourable anſwer from the Court of Spain, which was anounced to the public, and was the laſt tranſaction with regard to Falkland's Iſlands which adminiſtra-

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tion thought proper to publiſh. All that we are further acquainted with, is, that the negotiation was at firſt broken off, and afterwards ſecretly renewed. Falkland's Iſlands were apparently given up by the Court of Spain, repoſſeſſed and afterwards evacuated by the Britiſh; the advantages ſuppoſed to be derivable from a ſettlement there vaniſhed in a moment; the climate was repreſented as altogether intolerable; the whole country as a confuſed maſs of iſlands and broken rocks; the ſoil barren and boggy, with horrid craggy mountains beat with perpetual ſtorms; the ſeeds which had been brought from Europe ſprung up indeed, but never arrived at any perfection, not even the fir tree being capable of bearing the rigour of this unhoſpitable climate. On the other hand, the accounts of the French were much more favourable, exceeding even thoſe given by Commodore Byron. They owned, indeed, that the corn they ſowed had never come to maturity, but this they attributed to want of proper culture. From the accounts of later navigators, particularly of the ingenious Mr Foſter, who ſailed with Captain Cook, it appears, that in high ſouthern latitudes, there is no proper diſtinction of ſeaſons; winter prevails even in the middle of ſummer; and though, at ſome ſeaſons of the year, the weather may prove moderate, or even agreeable, ſo that to ſuch as viſited the Iſlands at that time there might be a flattering appearance of ſpring, there is very little probability of the heat encreaſing to ſuch a degree as to bring any European fruits or grains to perfection.

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It is unneceſſary to take up the attention of the reader with an account of the debates conſequent on the acceptance of the Spaniſh convention with regard to Falkland's Iſlands. It is certain that the puſillanimous behaviour of the miniſtry was by no means agreeable to the public: they were conſidered as betrayers of the national honour and intereſt, regardleſs of every thing but the oppreſſion of the people, and depriving them

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1770. July 27.

them of their juſt and lawful privileges. The kingdom was imagined to ſwarm with ſpies; and a fire which happened in the dock-yard at Portſmouth confirmed the ſuſpicion. This fire was ſuppoſed to have deſtroyed naval ſtores to the value of 500,000 l. tho' more moderate accounts reduced it to 150,00 l.

Expedition againſt St Vincent's.

The only other affair of a public nature which merited the attention of parliament, was the ſettlement of the iſland of St Vincent's in the Weſt Indies. This iſland had been ceded to Britain by the treaty of 1763. Its original inhabitants were called Caribs, and were of two different colours, black and yellow. The latter were the original poſſeſſors; the blacks were originally a crew of ſlaves brought from Guinea by an Engliſh ſhip bound to Barbadoes, which happened to be wrecked on this coaſt. The blacks having eſcaped, and having among them women of their own country, formed a colony by themſelves, with little intermixture of the yellow Caribs, whom they by degrees had almoſt worn out; while they themſelves, by continual acceſſion of their runaway countrymen from the neighbouring iſlands, were become very numerous and ſtrong. Both theſe colonies lived in the manner uſual with ſavage nations, viz. by hunting and fiſhing, without agriculture or any of the arts of civilization. The French, though they made a ſettlement on St Vincent's, always acknowledged the independency of theſe people, who, upon the eſtabliſhment of the former, had removed to another part of the iſland; and when the country was at laſt ceded to Britain, they ſtill continued to aſſert their liberty, and that they were independent both of the king of France and Britain. The fertility of that part of the iſland, to which they had removed, having tempted the avarice of the Britiſh planters, ſchemes were formed for the total extermination of theſe innocent people, or their removal to Africa, or ſome deſert iſland on the African coaſt. Every method, therefore,

CHAP. VIII.

1772. April 18.

therefore, was taken to provoke them to hoſtilities, and the moſt violent complaints were ſent home, though it appeared that there was not the leaſt foundation for them. They prevailed ſo far, however, that a conſiderable force was ſent thither on purpoſe to reduce them, and the ſcheme of tranſplantation ſeemed to be ſeriouſly adopted, though the place of deſtination was never determined. The Caribs defended themſelves vigorouſly, and with ſo much effect, that in two months time the Britiſh troops had been able to penetrate no farther into their country than four miles. The expedition alſo appeared exceedingly unjuſt, as well as cruel to the officers employed in carrying it on. The cauſe of the Caribs was taken up by oppoſition; but while both parties were preparing for the uſual fury of debate, intelligence arrived of the ſubmiſſion of the Caribs, they having owned the ſovereignty of the king of Britain, and ceded a large tract of country, which promiſed to be of the utmoſt importance to the intereſts of this iſland.

CHAP. IX.

Diſcontents of the Americans——Acts of Parliament reſpecting them——All duties, except that on tea, taken off——Tumult at Boſton——A ſchooner burnt at Rhode iſland——Governor Hutchiſon's letters——Tea deſtroyed at Boſton——Boſton Port-bill——Maſſachuſetts Bay bill——Bill for the adminiſtration of juſtice——Quebec Bill——Duel——Chief Juſtice Oliver.

CHAP. IX.

1769. Affairs in the colonies.

WE have thus ſeen the iſſue of the conteſt betwixt the Britiſh miniſtry and the people, in every article of which the former had proved victorious, while the latter had only rendered themſelves contemptible by their unavailing clamours. The Eaſt India Company had tamely reſigned their title to their poſſeſſions in the eaſt; but with the American coloniſts it was far otherwiſe: Whatever they looked upon to be their right, they contended for with the utmoſt violence; and from the very beginning ſeemed determined to come to the laſt extremities, rather than yield up the leaſt article to which they imagined themſelves intitled. We have already related the diſorders and tumults conſequent upon the paſſing of the ſtamp-act, which were renewed, after its repeal, by the laying on of duties upon glaſs, tea, painters colours, &c. To their non-importation agreements with reſpect to tea, the diſtreſs of the India Company had been in a great meaſure attributed, and indeed apparently with juſtice, if the repreſentation made at that time was founded in truth, viz. that the colonies had uſually taken that commodity from the Company to the amount of no leſs than 600,000 l. annually; and this conſideration, in all probability, along with the apparent reſolution of the coloniſts to come to the worſt extremities rather than ſubmit, probably at laſt produced the repeal of ſome of theſe obnoxious acts. This repeal, however, was not

not obtained until every method conſiſtent with peace had been firſt tried. In the month of January 1769, a petition againſt the revenue-acts was preſented to parliament by the majority of the council of Maſſachuſetts Bay, and ſigned by Mr Danforth as preſident; but, as it appeared that this was not done in a legal aſſembly of the council, the petition was refuſed under that title, and accepted only in behalf of Mr Danforth and the individuals who had ſigned along with him. The petition inſiſted upon the violation of the charter immunities and privileges of the colonies, and the general rights of the coloniſts as Engliſh ſubjects, for which a ſecurity in time to come was requeſted: It was regretted, that the diſſolution of the general aſſembly had rendered it impoſſible for the whole colony to petition: the difficulties and hardſhips of the firſt ſettlers in America were painted in the moſt lively colours; and it was inferred, that they not only had dearly purchaſed their ſettlements, but had acquired an additional title to the charter-privileges they enjoyed. The great ſervices of the coloniſts, on many occaſions, were alſo ſet forth; the old ones had been eſtabliſhed without any expence to the mother country; they bore a great ſhare of the taxes of the country *virtually*, though they were altogether unable to pay heavy duties, the impoſition of which was not only extremely prejudicial to them, but alſo to the mother country; for which reaſon a repeal of them was ſolicited.

CHAP. IX.

1769. Jan. 25. Petition againſt the revenue laws.

This petition, though delivered in very reſpectful terms, and without expreſsly denying the right of taxation, met with no favourable reception. Reſolutions on the American affairs originating in the Houſe of Lords, were tranſmitted to the Commons, by which the late tranſactions in Maſſachuſetts Bay, calling in queſtion the power of the Britiſh legiſlature to bind the colonies in all caſes, were declared to be illegal, unconſtitutional, and derogatory, to the rights of the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain; the circular letters wrote by that colony to the reſt, were declared

Reſolutions of parliament againſt the Americans.

CHAP. IX. 1769.

red to be proceedings of the moſt unwarrantable and flagitious nature, calculated to inflame the minds of the people, and create illegal combinations to the prejudice of Great Britain. The town of Boſton was declared to have been for ſome time in a ſtate of diſorder, riot and confuſion; the officers of revenue prevented by violence from the diſcharge of their duty; the riots had not been reſtrained either by the council of the province or the magiſtrates of the town, ſo that it was now become impoſſible to preſerve the public peace, or enforce the execution of the laws without the aid of a military-power; the town-meetings at Boſton, and particularly the convention, were determined to be in the higheſt degree illegal; and the election of deputies for the convention by the ſeveral towns of Maſſachuſetts Bay, was ſaid to be a moſt daring inſult on his Majeſty's authority, and an audacious uſurpation of the powers of government. The addreſs, in anſwer to his Majeſty's ſpeech, was to the ſame purpoſe. A moſt determined reſolution was therein announced, to concur in proper meaſures for ſuppreſſing the diſorders; and it was particularly requeſted, that Governor Barnard might be directed to ſend information of ſuch as had committed treaſon or miſpriſion of treaſon ſince the year 1767, in order that the moſt active offenders might be tried in England on a ſtatute for that purpoſe of 30 Henry VIII.

Parliamentary debates.

Theſe meaſures were not adopted without a moſt violent oppoſition. The right of taxation had been debated in the affair of the ſtamp-act; but the oppoſition now aſſumed a new ground. They argued againſt the utility of the late revenue-laws. The miniſtry, they ſaid, did not even pretend that they were of any uſe; the only occaſion for them was ſaid to be the eſtabliſhment of the right of taxation; but this was already ſufficiently done by the declaratory bill, as well as a multitude of revenue-laws enacted in this and the former reigns. The abſurdity of repealing the ſtamp-act, and then laying on other duties

duties more vexatious in their nature than the ſtamp-act had been, in order to diſturb the tranquillity yet ſcarcely eſtabliſhed, was reprobated in the ſtrongeſt manner; that the impoſition of taxes upon Britiſh goods imported into America, was in fact to offer premiums in order to excite the induſtry of the coloniſts. The endeavour of the miniſtry had conſtantly been to repreſent the coloniſts as in a ſtate of actual rebellion, or very little leſs; but this was far from being the caſe. The people were indeed exaſperated, by a continued ſeries of miniſterial blunders, to diſcover their impatience by ſeveral raſh and very irregular acts; but they had no intention of throwing off the authority of the mother country. It was at all times dangerous to meddle with popular prejudices; but, inſtead of yielding any thing to thoſe of the coloniſts, every method had been taken to inflame them to the utmoſt. Cuſtom-houſe officers, from their novelty, were diſagreeable to the Americans; yet ſo many of them had been ſent over to the colonies, that it had created an opinion of the taxes being laid on merely for their ſake. The very framers of the new taxes were charged with being thoſe who abſolutely denied any right of taxation in the Britiſh legiſlature; their names and opinions on this head had been publiſhed with the greateſt applauſe in the colonies; and it was no wonder that the Americans, now finding themſelves deceived and diſappointed in their expectations, ſhould run into ſome extravagancies. But whatever might be their crimes, nothing could be more unjuſt than the method now in agitation for puniſhing them. It was, ſaid oppoſition, a very ſtrange conduct now to revive an obſolete law, enacted by an arbitrary tyrant, at a time when the conſtitution was far from being perfect, and even ſuch as it was, continually underwent the moſt outrageous violation that whim or caprice could deviſe. It would be much for the honour of the nation, if the greateſt part of the acts of that reign, in-

CHAP. IX. 1769.

ſtead of being imitated, could be buried in oblivion. It was impoſſible that the law in queſtion could have been deſigned as any pattern for our treatment of coloniſts, becauſe Great Britain had not at that time a colony in any part of the world. The project was, in fact, impracticable in itſelf; and, though it could be put in execution, was not only unconſtitutional, but involved ſuch monſtrous injuſtice and cruelty, as could not bear a moment's reflection. By the law of England, a man was uſually tried in the very county where he was ſaid to have committed any offence, as every circumſtance relating to the fact muſt be ſuppoſed to be better known there than any where elſe. This method had been long adopted, and every one was convinced of its utility, inſomuch that it was eſteemed one of the privileges of Engliſhmen; and if they were entitled to this in their own country, what ſhould prevent them from enjoying the ſame when they went to America? If an American has committed any offence in his own country, let him be tried for it there; but let him not be dragged to ſuch a diſtance from his family, friends, and connections, and every kind of comfort and countenance neceſſary for a perſon in ſuch circumſtances, to be tried by a jury who might not perhaps be at all times entirely void of prejudice againſt him. In ſuch a caſe, it would alſo be in a manner impoſſible for the accuſed party, though ever ſo innocent, to bring over with him the evidence neceſſary for his vindication. A very opulent fortune muſt indeed be required to bring witneſſes from Boſton to London, beſides the danger of forgetting many who might afterwards be found eſſentially neceſſary, or of bringing ſuch as might be of no uſe; while, on the other hand, the evidences againſt him, bieng ſure of a compenſation for their trouble from government, would be eaſily collected, and, it was to be feared, might ſometimes be too fond of the employment. Nothing can be ſuppoſed more diſtreſſing than the ſituation of ſuch a perſon;

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torn from his own country, and every connection dear to him, to be tried for a capital crime by judges, who are the very people againſt whom he is ſaid to have tranſgreſſed. Even if he ſhould have the good fortune to be acquitted, it is moſt probable that he muſt be ruined by reaſon of the great loſs of time, as well as expences, not to mention the loſs of health, and the vexation which muſt neceſſarily attend a long confinement. Such, in conſequence of the newly-propoſed law, was likely to be the caſe with every one who ſhould happen to become obnoxious to the governor of a province, as charges would never be wanting, nor evidence, however ſlight, to give a colour to the proſecution. CHAP. IX. 1769.

To moſt of theſe arguments the miniſtry did not think proper to make any reply, but conſidered only the outrages and diſobedience of the Americans. The repeal of the ſtamp-act, they ſaid, ſo far from having reclaimed the coloniſts in any degree, had increaſed their licentiouſneſs beyond all meaſure, ſo that it was now become abſolutely neceſſary to eſtabliſh ſome mark of their dependence on Great Britain. The late duties were the ſmalleſt and leaſt oppreſſive that could be choſen; they were not internal taxes, and the whole produce of them was to be applied to the ſupport of their own civil eſtabliſhments; but the republican ſpirit which had exiſted from the foundation of the colony in Maſſachuſetts Bay, had operated in ſuch a manner, through the influence of factious and deſigning men, as to cauſe the people there break out into the moſt daring and inſolent acts, to throw off their allegiance entirely, and behave as if they were members of an independent ſtate rather than a colony or province belonging to this country. This was indeed an effect of the ill-contrived ſyſtem on which their government had been originally eſtabliſhed; for as the council was choſen by the aſſembly of the province, it was in the power of the factious men, of whom that aſſembly was now principally compoſed, to ma-

CHAP. IX. 1769.

nage matters as they pleaſed; and who had accordingly proceeded to the commiſſion of ſuch flagitious acts as would have been at any other time accounted rebellion, and puniſhed as ſuch. It was high time, therefore, for government to interfere, and by a vigorous exertion of power to ſhew that it was ſtill poſſible for the parent ſtate to ſubdue her refractory ſubjects. There was a neceſſity for bringing the moſt notorious offenders to trial and puniſhment. But how was this to be done? Not by the legiſlative power of the colonies themſelves; for experience had already ſhown that they neither could, nor would put any mark of their diſpleaſure upon them. It muſt therefore be by bringing them to England, and this could only be done by the ſtatute of 30 Hen. VIII. ſo much complained of. It was ungenerous to ſuppoſe, that government would make uſe of this ſtatute to diſtreſs innocent individuals. Thoſe who were pointed at, and on whoſe account it was propoſed to revive the ſtatute, were neither objects of compaſſion on account of the expence in which it would involve them, nor on account of the loſs of time it would occaſion. However, it was hoped by adminiſtration, that there would be no occaſion for putting in execution the act at all, as there ſeemed to be but little doubt, that when the coloniſts had leiſure to reflect on the vigour as well as lenity of government, they would in a ſhort time return to their duty.

All the duties except that on tea taken off.

It does not appear, however, that theſe arguments were violently, or indeed even ſeriouſly urged by the miniſtry. When called upon to avow their patronage of the ſtatute 30 Henry VIII. each of them denied his having been the author of the ſcheme; and on the preſenting of a petition by the American merchants, January 5. 1770, it was thought proper to bring in a bill for the repeal of the late revenue-act relating to glaſs, painters colours, and paper; the tax of 3d. per pound on tea being now the only grievance,

Jan. 5. 1770.

vance of which the Americans had to complain. On this occaſion Lord North violently declaimed againſt the taxes he had formerly ſupported, as ſo abſurd and prepoſterous, that they might afford matter of aſtoniſhment to every reaſonable man. Oppoſition did not fail to remind him of this inconſiſtency, as well as of the abſurdity of repealing only part of the laws he had juſt now declared to be prepoſterous. The tea-tax, however, he ſaid, was left to ſhew the Americans, that the Britiſh legiſlature had a right to tax them; and they had no right to complain of this trifling tax, when another, of no leſs than a ſhilling on the pound, had been repealed at the time of laying it on. CHAP. IX. 1770.

American diſturbances continue and increaſe.

The determination of the miniſtry prevailed at this time as uſual; but the partial repeal of this obnoxious act, ſo far from reſtoring tranquillity to America, ſeemed to make matters much worſe than before. The coloniſts had now loſt all confidence in the good intentions of government. A continued courſe of encroachment on what they believed to be their rights, the perpetual inclination which had been ſhewn to ſet up ſome authority or other, as independent of the eſtabliſhed laws and conſtitution of the kingdom, had rendered them now ſo exceſſively jealous, that the mereſt trifle which ſeemed to militate againſt their rights and liberties was capable of ſetting the whole continent in a flame. Government had already found the inefficacy of laws and acts of parliament to enforce ſubjection, and for that reaſon four regiments, as we have already related, had been ſent to Boſton. The terrors of military power had for ſome time preſerved a degree of tranquillity unknown in that city for ſeveral years. This, however, laſted no longer than while the full complement of ſoldiers remained there. As ſoon as part of them were removed, the inhabitants, thinking themſelves able to cope with the remainder, began to pick quarrels with them, and frequent frays and tumults

CHAP. IX.

1770. Some people killed in a tumult at Boſton, March 5. 1770.

tumults enſued. A moſt remarkable one of this kind happened on the 5th of March 1770, where ſeveral people were killed by the fire of the ſoldiers *. Whatever might have been the provocation given to the ſoldiers on this occaſion, or however juſtifiable the conduct of them and their officers, it is certain that this accident was made uſe of, and contributed more than any thing to inflame the minds of the populace againſt government.

The day after this diſaſter, upwards of four thouſand of the inhabitants aſſembled, and having given it as their opinion, that the inhabitants and ſoldiers could no longer live together in ſafety, a meſſage was ſent to the lieutenant-governor deſiring the removal of the troops to the caſtle. To this he replied, that with regard to the abſolute removal of the troops, he had it not in his power to countermand the orders of the commander in chief; but that he had acquainted the commanding officer of the 29th with their requeſt, who had promiſed to remove that regiment immediately to the barracks in the caſtle; and as the 29th had been principally concerned in the quarrels with the inhabitants, it was hoped the removal of it would give ſatisfaction. This, however, was by no means the caſe: Of the four thouſand aſſembled, as already related, only one declared himſelf ſatisfied with the anſwer. A committee was then appointed † to wait on the lieutenant-governor, and inform him, that the reply made to the vote of the inhabitants is by no means ſatisfactory; and that nothing leſs would

* The American accounts of this melancholy affair repreſent the ſoldiers as the aggreſſors, and that there was a premeditated deſign to murder the people. But to every impartial perſon this muſt evidently appear a malicious calumny. At this time the miniſtry, ſo far from being in a condition to contrive ſchemes of this kind, were unable to ſupport their authority in any degree, and would no doubt have gladly accepted of any conceſſion, however ſlight, from the coloniſts, whoſe haughtineſs in this reſpect indeed knew no bounds.

† This committee was compoſed of the principal leaders of the popular party. Their names were John Hancock, Samuel Adams, William Molineaux, William Phillips, Dr Joſeph Warren, Joſhua Henſhaw, and Samuel Pemberton.

would ſatisfy them than a total removal of the troops, and that immediately. This vote was laid before the board of council, who declared themſelves unanimouſly of the ſame opinion; however, there was no other removal made at that time than of the 29th regiment; the lieutenant-governor having declared, in anſwer to another petition, that he had no authority to order the king's troops from any place where they were poſted by his majeſty's order. A ſolemn proceſſion was made through the town of Boſton at the funeral of the people who had been killed; the ſhops were ſhut up; all the bells in the town, as well as thoſe in the neighbourhood, were tolled; the bodies were carried through the ſtreets in proceſſion, and the people followed in great crowds, making the deepeſt lamentation, as if a deſign had been diſcovered of murdering every one of them.

Violent behaviour of the coloniſts.

While the minds of the people ſtill continued to be agitated in this manner, news arrived of the repeal of the obnoxious acts of parliament, excepting only the trifling duty of 3d. per pound on tea. The prediction of oppoſition, that this would be ſufficient to continue the diſturbances, was then verified in its utmoſt extent. Violent reſolutions were every where formed againſt the importation of Britiſh goods, particularly the article of tea; propoſals and reſolutions were continually made for the encouragement of their own manufactures, the conſumption of home-products, and the retrenchment of ſuperfluities. Theſe took place not only at Boſton and throughout the New England colonies, but through the whole continent, not excepting even thoſe provinces which depended moſt on the mother country for their ſupport and ſubſiſtence. They were further exaſperated by ſome late regulations by, which the governors and judges were rendered totally independent of the people, in conſequence of their ſalaries being paid by the Crown. This was looked upon as a moſt violent

CHAP. IX. 1771.

violent encroachment on the liberties of the people, and ſuch dangerous marks of popular diſpleaſure attended it, that very few of the judges had courage to enter upon their offices, and thoſe who did were either forced to reſign, or interrupted in the execution of their buſineſs to ſuch a degree, that they were obliged to take ſhelter in fortified places, or on board ſhips of war. The animoſities and jealouſies between the governors and their aſſemblies were perpetual; aſſemblies were no ſooner called than diſſolved, and the new ones proved equally refractory, ſo that it was evident that all intereſt of government was entirely at an end, and even then, if Britain meant to maintain the authority ſhe had aſſumed, a war was inevitable.

A ſchooner burnt at Providence in Rhode Iſland.

The rigorous exertion of the ſmuggling laws, gave occaſion to the firſt daring act of violence, which might, with propriety, be called an act of hoſtility againſt government. This happened at Providence in Rhode Iſland, where, on the 10th of June 1772, the Gaſpee ſchooner was burnt, and the captain wounded by a mob, exaſperated at the vigilance he had manifeſted in the execution of his office. A reward of 500 l. was offered for the diſcovery of thoſe concerned in ſuch an attrocious proceeding; but ſo agreeable was it to the univerſal voice of the people, that not one was found to accept the offered reward.

June 10. 1772.

Violent animoſities occaſioned by the diſcovery of Governor Hutchinſon's letters.

About the ſame time, the animoſity between the people of Maſſachuſett's Bay, and their governor, was inflamed to the utmoſt, by the following accident: During the time of the former diſputes with the mother country, a number of letters had been written by the governor and deputy governor of the colony, to ſome of the Engliſh miniſtry, in which a very unfavourable account was given of the people in general, as well as of the views of their leaders; and violent meaſures, as well as a very conſiderable change in the conſtitution and ſyſtem of government, was declared to be neceſſary, in order

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to enſure obedience. On the death of a gentleman who had kept theſe letters in his poſſeſſion, they, by ſome unknown accident, fell into the hands of Dr Benjamin Franklin, the agent for Maſſachuſett's Bay at London, who inſtantly tranſmitted them to the aſſembly at Boſton, which happened to be ſitting when they were received. The arrival of ſuch a packet, at the time when ſo much ill-will already ſubſiſted, could not fail of producing the moſt violent effects. The aſſembly, after expreſſing their utmoſt indignation at the conduct of their governors, delivered the letters to the council, with expreſs injunctions not to truſt them out of their hands even for a moment. The council proceeded in a ſimilar manner; the letters were preſented to the governor; but when he deſired to examine them, the council refuſed to truſt him with them, and he was obliged to ſubmit to the affront of having them tranſmitted to him by a committee to examine them in their hands, as well as to the mortification of owning the ſignature, after having inſpected it in this diſgraceful manner. The conſequence of this was a petition and remonſtrance to his Majeſty, in which the American governors were charged with betraying their truſt; with giving private, partial, and falſe information againſt the people they governed; declaring them enemies to the colony, and praying for ſpeedy juſtice againſt them by their removal. Theſe extraordinary proceedings were carried by a majority of eighty-two to twelve.

CHAP. IX. 1772.

In the mean time, the ferment occaſioned by the tea-ſcheme continued to operate univerſally. Even in Europe its utility was doubted, although it had been ſet forth by the miniſter as a proper compenſation for the enormous ſums extorted from the Eaſt India Company, as well as the ſeizure of their territorial rights. This ſcheme was ſanctioned by an act of parliament, whereby the Eaſt India Company were allowed to export their teas into America, in ſuch quantities as the

The utility of the tea-ſcheme denied in Europe.

CHAP. IX. 1773.

the Lords of the Treaſury ſhould judge proper, and were allowed a drawback upon exportation, while a duty was impoſed upon its importation to America. It was particularly objected to by one gentleman, who remonſtrated, that it was more proper for the eſtabliſhment of the revenue-law in America, than for doing any eſſential ſervice to the Company; that though the quantity on hand, viz. ſeventeen millions of pounds, appeared immenſe to ſuch as were unacquainted with the ſtate of the trade, it amounted in reality to no more than two years conſumpt, and it was always intended to keep a year's ſtock on hand. Some of the moſt eminent tea merchants conſulted by the Company on this occaſion, repreſented the ſcheme as full of abſurdity. By it the Company had deviated from their uſual method of procedure, with regard to the ſale of their goods, and inſtead of diſpoſing of them to merchants by public ſales, was become its own exporter and factor. Thus, it was ſaid, that the returns of money would be too ſlow and trifling to anſwer the preſent exigencies for caſh; at the ſame time that it would be offering a great injury to the merchants who had been accuſtomed to take their teas at all events, and paid immenſe ſums of money for them. Meaſures were propoſed for holding two ſales within a ſhort time, by which the Company would probably not only diſpoſe of all their teas, but receive the firſt payment in the ſpace of five months; and this would bring in, moſt probably, no leſs a ſum than 1,200,000 l. which might poſſibly prevent any neceſſity of applying for that fatal loan they were negociating from government, and for which miniſtry were about to make them pay ſo dear.

Theſe ſalutary propoſals, however, were overruled; the other ſcheme, being the favourite with adminiſtration, was adopted, and ſeveral ſhips freighted with tea were ſent off to America, where agents were appointed by the Company to diſpoſe of it in the different colonies as ſoon as it arrived. But whatever

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ever might be the views of the Company, and thoſe who canvaſſed this ſubject in Britain, it is certain that the coloniſts almoſt univerſally looked upon the tea-ſcheme as contrived for the ſole purpoſe of introducing taxes into America, and of which, if they ſuffered them to be eſtabliſhed in any one inſtance, no end would ever be found. The new method of diſpoſing of it alſo offended all the dealers in that commodity, who were extremely numerous; and at Boſton, the tea-conſignees happened unfortunately to be nearly related to the governor whoſe letters had already produced ſuch a ferment. The Company was beſides ſo univerſally odious, both on this and the other ſide of the Atlantic, that any ſcheme profeſſedly for its intereſt, would have probably met with oppoſition, though ever ſo juſt and equitable in other reſpects. At preſent, the coloniſts repreſented the Company as wilfully quitting their uſual line of conduct, and wantonly enforcing a law which they themſelves deteſted; thus bringing them into the dangerous dilemma either of giving up their own liberties, or taking ſome effectual meaſures to prevent this obnoxious article from being introduced among them.

The news of the tea ſhips being ſent out, exaſperates the Americans.

Though the moſt poſitive reſolutions not to uſe any more of the India Company's tea had been taken by the Americans, immediately after the partial repeal of the-revenue act, conſiderable quantities had nevertheleſs been ſecretly introduced into the colonies. Of this, the leaders of the popular faction had been ſufficiently ſenſible, though no means of effectually preventing its importation were in their power. As ſoon, however, as the news arrived of the intended voyage of the tea ſhips, by which that deteſted commodity would be poured in among them in ſuch quantities as would leave no room to doubt of the accompliſhment of the purpoſes of miniſtry, they determined at all events to take effectual methods to prevent it. The tea-conſignees felt the firſt effects of theſe reſolutions; being every where obliged to reſign their

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their employments, or ſuffer the entire loſs of their property, not without the greateſt danger of their lives. The people aſſembled every where in great bodies; committees were appointed to inſpect the books of merchants, propoſe oaths to proſcribe the refractory by the dangerous appellation of *enemies to the liberties of America*, and to aſſemble the people whenever they thought proper. Thus every kind of government was entirely at an end, every thing, at leaſt what related to the tranſactions betwixt the colonies and the mother country, being carried on by tumultuous popular aſſemblies. At theſe meetings the Britiſh legiſlature was treated with the utmoſt indecency and contempt; nor were the hand bills and other temporary publications on the ſubject a whit more moderate. Printed papers were diſperſed at Philadelphia, warning the pilots not to conduct the tea ſhips up the Delaware; at New York, they were ſaid to be loaden with the fetters which had been forged for America in Great Britain. The ſame ſpirit, in ſhort, ſeemed to have pervaded all the colonies like lightning, even the moſt diſtant and leaſt connected with Boſton, where indeed the diſturbances generally began and were peculiarly violent. On this occaſion alſo, Boſton was the ſcene of the firſt poſitive act of hoſtility. Three tea ſhips having arrived there towards the end of the year 1773, met with ſuch an ungracious reception*, that the captains gladly conſented to return to England, provided they had the permiſſion of the tea-conſignees, the the Board of Cuſtoms, and the Governor. All this, however, was refuſed them, and they were obliged to remain in Boſton harbour. The people now perceiving, that if the ſhips were permitted to ly ſo near the

Tea deſtroyed at Boſton and other places.

* The American accounts of the deſtruction of the tea at Boſton, ſhow the diſpoſition of the people at that time in a very ſtriking light, and that ſo far from thinking they had committed any crime, they looked upon their conduct as meritorious, not only calculated to free their country from the ſlavery intended for them, but even the beſt and tendereſt method in which they could have acted towards the India Company.

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the town, their cargoes would be landed ſecretly, and the purpoſes of miniſtry thus fulfilled, came to the reſolution of deſtroying it at once, which was executed by a number of people dreſſed like Indians, who threw it into the ſea. Hence we may learn that it was not the precipitate act of a riotous mob, but a conſequence of the plan deliberately laid againſt ſubmiſſion to any miniſterial interference whatever with the ancient conſtitution of the colonies. The governor, and ſhips of war, permitted the tea to be deſtroyed, without making the leaſt effort to ſave it. The quantity thrown into the ſea was valued at 18,000 l. Some ſmaller quantities met with the ſame fate at Boſton, and in South Carolina; but, in general, the ſhips laden with this commodity returned with it again to England; only a ſmall quantity was landed at New York, under the cannon of a man of war; and even there it was obliged to be locked up by government to prevent its being made uſe of. The quantity returned unſold was valued at 300,000 l.

March 1774. Tranſactions at Boſton, &c. laid before Parliament.

News of this tranſaction arrived in England about the beginning of March 1774, and was communicated to both Houſes of Parliament by a meſſage from the throne, along with which were ſent a great number of papers relative to the American affairs, all of them tending to ſhow the rebellious ſpirit of the Americans, which indeed pervaded the whole continent; ſo that the publications of the popular faction, of which a great number were laid before parliament, all reſembled one another, whether executed at Boſton or any where elſe. From theſe papers it appeared, that the tea-conſignees had petitioned the council of Maſſachuſetts Bay, praying that their perſons might be taken under the protection of government; but the buſineſs had been declined by the board of council, who nevertheleſs condemned the deſtruction of the tea, and adviſed legal proſecutions againſt the perpetrators, provided they could be found out, which, however, was impoſſible.

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The miniſter commented largely on the papers, and ſet forth, in very ſtrong terms, the diſobedience of the Boſtonians, which had now manifeſted itſelf in ſuch an outrageous manner. The inhabitants of that place, he ſaid, had been left to their own diſcretion, and were now entirely without excuſe. Every poſſible method had been taken to eſtabliſh the civil power, but without effect. The governor, tho' he could have preſerved the tea by an interpoſition of the naval or military force, had yet prudently declined ſuch an interference, as the Boſtonians had all along given out, that this interpoſition was the occaſion of their diſturbances; "and yet," ſays he, "this loyal and peaceable people of a mercantile town, as they affect to call themſelves, have wantonly deſtroyed the property of another loyal mercantile body, without even the plea of neceſſity for ſo doing; as nothing more was requiſite than to adhere to their own agreements of non-conſumption, to evade the revenue-laws in an effectual manner."—Indeed, this laſt ſtep of deſtroying the tea, was looked upon in a very heinous light throughout our iſland, and occaſioned the deſertion of many who had hitherto profeſſed friendſhip to the American cauſe. When the matter is fairly conſidered, however, we muſt acknowledge, that this was no more than a neceſſary conſequence of their former proceedings, and what might have been eaſily foreſeen on the part of miniſtry. The Americans had uniformally declared, that they would not ſubmit to parliamentary taxation on any account whatever; and their behaviour on the occaſion of the ſtamp-act manifeſted, that they were ready at that time to come to the utmoſt extremities rather than ſubmit; but this adminiſtration either did not, or pretended not to believe. When the ſtamp-act failed, another mode of taxation, leſs direct, was attempted; and when this alſo failed, an inſidious method was tried of taxing them through the medium of the Eaſt India Company. As this, in the

the opinion of the Americans, ſavoured of hypocriſy and treachery, it therefore excited a greater flame than even the ſtamp-act itſelf; ſo that, inſtead of being ſurpriſed at the deſtruction of the tea, after a refuſal to take it back to England, many rather wondered at its not being inſtantly deſtroyed on its arrival, without any queſtions aſked. To thoſe, however, who conſidered only the crime of deſtroying property, matters appeared in a very different light; and thus adminiſtration found it a more eaſy matter to effect its purpoſes againſt the colonies than would otherwiſe have probably been the caſe. On the preſent occaſion, therefore, the papers were ſtuffed with writings, in which the diſobedience of the Americans was ſet forth in the ſtrongeſt manner, and that for the future there was an impoſſibility of carrying on any trade with America, if ſuch a flagrant inſult ſhould go unpuniſhed.

Syſtem of reaſoning adopted by the Americans.

It is eaſy to ſee that here the public were miſled by appearances; and that the Americans never made any objection to trade with Britain on the ſame footing they had done formerly. They denied that they were rebels; and, on the principles they aſſumed, they argued right. They maintained, that their conſtitution, as held by charter, was unalterable; and, therefore, they would ſuffer no innovations whatever. They did not now refuſe ſubmiſſion to any laws to which they had once yielded obedience; but they only reſiſted the new ones to which they had never been in ſubjection, or that unlimited and deſpotic authority which, as we have already ſeen, miniſtry had ſo eagerly ſought for, and at laſt ſuppoſed to exiſt in the deciſions of both houſes of parliament, when ratified by the royal aſſent. With the Americans, however, even this authority was not allowed to be ſuperior to the conſtitution of the realm; and they inſiſted, that if a ſupreme uncontroulable authority were lodged any where, except in the univerſal conſent of the people at large, the govern-

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ment was that moment degenerated into a tyranny, let the governors be called a parliament, or what we pleaſe. It was, in fact, by this general voice of the people, and not by acts of parliament, that liberty had ever been obtained. In the time of King John, the Barons at large aſſembled, and their unanimous voice at that time being the voice of the whole nation, obliged him to ſign Magna Charta. In the time of King Charles I. the people at large oppoſed, and obliged him to call a parliament; but the ſame parliament, neglecting their conſtituents, and taking upon them to aſſume a ſupreme and uncontroulable power, degenerated into the moſt intolerable tyranny. In like manner at the Revolution, the deſpotiſm of James II. was oppoſed by the people at large; for he had found means to make his parliament obſequious; and ſuch means, they inſiſted, would never be wanting to corrupt miniſters.—— Though parliament, therefore, as the repreſentatives of the people, might enact laws, by which individuals, or parts of an empire, might be made ſubſervient to the good of the community, it was impoſſible it could have any right to make a great and flouriſhing country, ſuch as America was, ſubſervient to any purpoſe whatever; as the people were now ſufficiently numerous to defend themſelves, and ought, in juſtice and reaſon, to have a vote in thoſe tranſactions which regarded their own intereſt, as well as the mother country.

As the above piece of reaſoning contains the eſſence of all the arguments that were, or indeed could be urged on the ſubject of the American diſputes, we ſhall, for the future, confine ourſelves to facts, without entering into any detail of thoſe innumerable conteſts in parliament, which were on this occaſion often conducted with an acrimony ſo little to the honour of either party.

The miniſter having fully ſet forth the diſobedience of the Americans, and declined any retroſpective

ſpective view of their affairs, as tending to inflame people's minds, reduced the matter to this ſingle queſtion, Whether America was for the future to be dependent on Britain, or not? and, if ſhe was, by what means was her dependence and obedience to be ſecured and enforced? The whole attention of parliament being thus drawn to the diſobedience of the coloniſts, without any inquiry into the motives of their conduct, matters began to wear a very threatening aſpect towards them. Mr Bolland, agent for Maſſachuſetts Bay, therefore, dreading that the ſtorm would fall heavieſt upon that colony, preſented a petition, in which he deſired leave to lay before the Houſe of Commons, the *acta regia* of Queen Elizabeth and her ſucceſſors for the ſecurity of the planters and their deſcendants, and the perpetual enjoyment of their liberties; which he preſumed had never been laid before the Houſe, nor had the colonies hitherto any opportunity of aſcertaining and defending theſe rights. The petition was received, and ordered to lie upon the table, or, in other words, conſigned to oblivion.

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March.

All obſtacles being thus removed, the miniſterial plan of puniſhment was next unfolded. In this, as had been expected, Boſton was to have the principal ſhare. This town, the miniſter remarked, had been the place whence all the diſorders originated, and in which the free commerce to America had been deſtroyed by the late unheard-of outrage; and if a ſevere puniſhment were not inflicted on this rebellious city, it would be altogether impoſſible to protect the peaceable part of his Majeſty's ſubjects. Had ſuch an inſult been offered by any foreign power, the nation would have been called upon to demand ſatisfaction for it. It was, therefore, his opinion, that the town of Boſton ſhould be obliged to pay for the tea which had been deſtroyed in their port. Nor was this ſufficient puniſhment. The deſtruction of the tea was not a ſingle act of injuſtice. The city

Boſton Port Bill.

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had been in a long courſe of ſedition, and muſt give ſecurity that trade ſhould be peaceably carried on there in time to come, as well as that the laws ſhould be obeyed, and the duties paid. Until ſecurity of this kind ſhould be given, it was proper that Boſton ſhould ceaſe from being a port; which privilege, however, ſhould be reſtored as ſoon as his Majeſty was ſatisfied of the reformation, and publicly declare his ſatisfaction in council. Until this time, the cuſtomhouſe-officers ſhould be removed to Salem, where they might exerciſe their functions in ſafety. The ſufferings of Boſton, which muſt neceſſarily in this caſe enſue, were not deſerving of compaſſion; they were leſs than her demerits required. She was not precluded from all ſupply, as the port was only removed to ſeventeen miles diſtance; and the duration of the puniſhment was entirely in her own power, as there was no doubt that his Majeſty would exert his natural clemency, by reſtoring her privileges, as ſoon as the city ſhould give ſufficient evidence of her repentance, by paying the debt to the Eaſt India Company contracted by her own violence, and give full aſſurance of obedience to the revenue-laws in time to come. He enlarged on the former bad behaviour of the Americans. They had threatened, when the ſtamp-act was paſſed, that they would not pay the debts they owed to this country; the ſtamp-act was repealed, and they had not paid. The threat was repeated on the preſent occaſion, and would continually be ſo, if any regard was paid to it. He was the more inclined to the bill, that it required no military force to put it in execution; four or five frigates would be ſufficient for the purpoſe; but ſhould it even require the aid of a military power, he would not ſcruple to uſe it, as it might act effectually without bloodſhed. It was very improbable that the other towns would be offended at the puniſhment of this refractory city; or, if they ſhould combine, they muſt take the conſequence of their own rebellious

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rebellious proceedings. The bill was then brought in, and received with general applauſe, excepting by a few of the moſt diſtinguiſhed members in oppoſition, who predicted, that the conſequences would be a general combination againſt the Britiſh government throughout America; but as no regard was paid to their opinions, they would not divide on the queſtion. In the courſe of the debates, however, another petition was preſented by Mr Bolland, the agent for Maſſachuſetts Bay, deſiring to be heard for the Council, and in behalf of himſelf and the other inhabitants of Boſton. But this petition was rejected by miniſtry, on pretence that the agent for the Council was not agent for the corporation; nor could any agent be received from a body corporate, unleſs he were appointed by all the neceſſary conſtituent parts of that body. The Council was alſo fluctuating, and the body by which he was appointed could not then be actually exiſting. Againſt theſe arguments, oppoſition indeed exerted a little of its force; but charges of inconſiſtency operated very little upon the miniſter, who had ſtill further ſtatutes in view.

Petitions againſt the bill rejected.

On the third reading of this bill, a petition was given in by the Lord Mayor of London, in name of ſeveral of the natives and inhabitants of North America, at that time reſiding in London. In this it was ſet forth, that "They apprehend it to be an inviolable rule of natural juſtice that no man ſhall be condemned unheard; and that, according to law, no perſon or perſons can be judged without being called upon to anſwer, without being permitted to hear the evidence againſt them, and to make their defence. They conceive it therefore to be directly repugnant to every principle of law and juſtice, that ſuch a ſevere puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on the town of Boſton, without the ſaid town's being appriſed of any accuſation brought againſt them, or having been permitted to hear the evidence, and make their defence. The law in America affords ſufficient

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redreſs for any injuries ſuſtained in that country, as is evident from the caſe of Captain Preſton and his ſoldiers, who had a fair trial and favourable verdict, in a caſe where every circumſtance ſeemed ſo ſtrongly to militate againſt it. While this is the caſe, they apprehend, that the interference of parliamentary power is dangerous and unprecedented. If the perſons who committed this injury are known, the India Company have recourſe againſt them by an action at common law; if unknown, the petitioners cannot comprehend by what rule of juſtice the town can be puniſhed, for a civil injury committed by perſons not known to belong to them. The caſes brought as precedents, viz. of the city of London having been fined in the time of Charles II. when Dr Lamb was killed by perſons unknown; of the city of Glaſgow having part of its revenue ſequeſtrated, when a mob pulled down Mr Campbell's houſe; and of Edinburgh in the affair of Captain Porteous, were not to the point. Theſe cities had the full executive power of legiſlation within themſelves; but, with Boſton, the caſe was different. There the governor holds that power, and in the preſent inſtance was adviſed by his Majeſty's council to carry it into execution. If it has been neglected, he alone is anſwerable; if it has been executed, perhaps at this inſtant, while puniſhment is inflicting here on thoſe that have not been legally tried, the due courſe of law is operating there, to the diſcovery and proſecution of the real offenders."

To this petitition no anſwer was given, nor was it indeed taken into the conſideration of the Houſe. Adminiſtration inſiſted, that it was in vain to hear petitions in behalf of a town which would not in any manner of way acknowledge their authority. The trade of England called for immediate protection, and ſhould the town of Boſton be allowed to plead their cauſe on this ſide of the Atlantic, it would ſpin out the affair to an unreaſonable length. It was aſked, If the Houſe doubted of the exiſtence of the offence, or of

their

their own right to puniſh it? To leave Boſton to the mercy of the Crown was doing it a favour, as mercy could no where be better placed than in its legal repoſitory, the breaſt of the Sovereign. CHAP. IX. 1774.

The debates now became more violent, and continued for a long time. Oppoſition contended, that the act was not for impoſing a fine for an offence; and although it had been ſo, it would ſtill be liable to the ſame objections. It was ſimply a proſcription of one of the greateſt trading towns in the Britiſh dominions, by prohibiting the uſe of their port, and interrupting the commerce, by which upwards of 20,000 people got their bread. A power was granted to his Majeſty, by which he might prevent the port from being ever reinſtated, if he ſhould think proper; and this would only be to eſtabliſh a precedent for delivering over whole towns and communities to the arbitary pleaſure of the Crown. This was not like the caſes where the mercy of the Crown was to take place; for none were at the mercy of the Crown except thoſe whom the law had condemned after a fair hearing, which had not been done with regard to Boſton. The tranſaction was altogether without a precedent: thoſe which had been brought did not apply. The towns whoſe examples were ſet forth, had been fined; but no example could be brought of a maritime city having been deprived of its port. It was impoſſible to conceal from the Americans, that the act, under pretence of indemnifying the Eaſt India Company, was to enforce the taxation which had occaſioned ſuch a general flame. The conſequence of this would be, a general combination of all the colonies in behalf of the diſtreſſed city. All of them were as guilty as Boſton; for not one of them had received the tea, that which was not deſtroyed having been every where returned. It was incredible that all this violence ſhould be for the ſake of trade; for not a ſingle trader or manufacturer

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manufacturer had made a complaint; not even the Company itſelf, which was the immediate ſufferer.

Though theſe arguments were vehemently urged by oppoſition, the members would not divide on the queſtion. The bill was accordingly paſſed (March 25. 1774;) and being carried up to the Lords, it was warmly debated; but, as in the Commons, paſſed without a diviſion.

March 25.

From his unexpected ſucceſs in this meaſure, the miniſter was moſt probably emboldened to propoſe the other penal acts which were paſſed during this remarkable ſeſſion. By ſome even of thoſe, however, who had voted for ſhutting up the harbour of Boſton, it was propoſed that ſomething of a conciliatory nature ſhould accompany a meaſure ſo very harſh and rigorous. As the tea-tax, therefore, was not only univerſally deteſted by the Americans, but a matter of very little conſequence to government, on account of the ſmallneſs of its produce, they thought that a repeal of it would be one of the moſt effectual methods of procuring the good will of the coloniſts. This, however, was rejected, on account of the appearance of inconſiſtency which it would give to the tranſactions of adminiſtration, and the unhappy opinion that, by perſevering in coercive meaſures, the obſtinacy of the Americans would at laſt be overcome. Inſtead of this, a new coercive bill was brought in for "the better regulating the government of Maſſachuſetts Bay." By this the conſtitution of the province was altered from the plan on which it ſtood according to King William's charter; the democratic part being entirely aboliſhed, and the nomination of councillors, judges, and magiſtrates of all kinds, lodged in the hands of the Crown, or, in ſome caſes, of the governor.

Bill for regulating the government of Maſſachuſetts Bay.

The arguments in favour of this bill were, that, by reaſon of the diſorders prevailing in that province, the colony was not only diſtracted within itſelf, but an ill example was ſet to the reſt. There was a total

tal defect of executive power, by reaſon of the vitiated ſtate of the democratic part of the conſtitution. The governor could not appoint magiſtrates, nor even give an order, without the conſent of ſeven of the council; the military could not act without the order of a magiſtrate; and, let the tumults be ever ſo outrageous, no magiſtrate would call for their aſſiſtance. It was therefore abſolutely neceſſary to reform the government of that colony, as far as related to the executive and judicial powers. The juries were alſo improperly choſen, and an inſtant remedy was required, which, it was hoped, the preſent bill would ſpeedily afford.

Petitions againſt it rejected. April 28. 1774.

On this occaſion, oppoſition exerted itſelf much more than in the caſe of the port bill; and its voice was ſeconded by Mr Bolland, who preſented another petition to the Houſe, requeſting time to receive an anſwer from the province, and to inform them of the proceedings carried on againſt them; but it was refuſed by a majority of ninety-five to thirty-two. Another petition was preſented by the ſame perſons who had given in the former. The ſtile of this petition was animated and nervous. It ſet forth, "That the bill in queſtion was calculated to deprive a whole province, without any form of trial, of its chartered rights, ſolemnly ſecured to it by a compact between the Crown and the people. A charter ſo granted was never before altered or reſumed, but upon a full and fair hearing; on which account the preſent proceeding is totally unconſtitutional, and ſets an example which renders every charter in Great Britain and America utterly inſecure. The appointment and removal of the judges at the pleaſure of the governor, with ſalaries payable by the Crown, puts the property, life, and liberty of the ſubject, depending upon judicial authority, entirely in his power. The petitioners perceive by this act, a ſyſtem of judicial tyranny impoſed upon them, which, from the bitter experience of its intolerable injuries, has been aboliſhed

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liſhed in this country." The petition concluded with conjuring the Houſe, in the moſt pathetic manner, "to conſider that the reſtraints which ſuch acts of ſeverity impoſe, are ever attended with the moſt dangerous hatred. In a diſtreſs of mind which cannot be conceived, the petitioners conjure the Houſe not to convert that zeal, which has hitherto united every American hand and heart in the intereſts of England, into paſſions the moſt painful and pernicious. Moſt earneſtly they beſeech the Houſe, not to attempt reducing them to a ſtate of ſlavery, which the Engliſh principles of liberty they inherit from their mother country, will render worſe than death: That they will not, by paſſing theſe bills, reduce their countrymen to the moſt abject ſtate of miſery and humiliation, or drive them to the laſt reſources of deſpair."

May 2. This petition was ordered to lie upon the table, and the bill ſoon after paſſed by a prodigious majority. It was, however, warmly debated in the Houſe of Lords, where the injuſtice of condemning the colony, and taking away its charter without any form of proceſs, was particularly inſiſted on; as alſo the impropriety of making alterations in the charter, without even having it laid before them: the courts and mode of judicial proceeding were likewiſe altered, without the ſlighteſt evidence being produced of any one of the inconveniencies ſtated in the preamble. To all theſe objections adminiſtration made one general reply, namely, That there was an abſolute neceſſity for a powerful and ſpeedy remedy to a government which was nothing but diſorder; and that there was no time for going through the ordinary forms of juſtice. It was even ſaid, that this alteration was in many reſpects beneficial, and an improvement of their conſtitution; which, however, was

May 11. denied by oppoſition. The bill paſſed in the upper Houſe by a majority of ninety-two to twenty.

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Bill for the adminiſtration of juſtice.

The miniſter having carried theſe two bills with ſo much eaſe, now brought in a third, entitled, "A bill for the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, in caſes of perſons queſtioned for any acts done by them in the execution of the laws, or for the ſuppreſſion of riots and tumults in the province of Maſſachuſetts Bay in New England." By this it was provided, that when any perſon is indicted for murder, or any other capital offence, and that it ſhall appear to the governor, that the fact was committed in the exerciſe or aid of magiſtracy, in ſuppreſſing tumults or riots, and that a fair trial cannot be had in the province, he ſhall ſend the perſon ſo indicted to any other colony, or to Great Britain, to be tried. The charges on both ſides to be defrayed by the cuſtoms. This act to continue in force for four years.

In favour of this act it was urged, That the bill was neceſſary to give efficacy to the former. It was in vain to appoint a magiſtracy that would act, if none could be found hardy enough to put their orders in execution. The numerous tumults and riots gave reaſon to think, that blood would be ſhed in the ſuppreſſing of them; but nobody would riſk the event of executing his duty, were the rioters themſelves, or their accomplices, to ſit in judgment upon them. The act was not without precedent. When ſmuggling has been notoriouſly countenanced in one county, trials for it have been directed in another. The rebels in the year 1746 were tried in England, though the offence was committed in Scotland. Particular privileges muſt in all caſes give way to the public ſafety; and in caſes of great danger to the ſtate, even the *Habeas Corpus* act has been ſuſpended. The act did not eſtabliſh any military government, but a civil one, by which the former was much improved. There was a neceſſity for ſhewing the Americans, that Britain would not put up with their inſults; and that even when exaſperated to the utmoſt, our meaſures were not cruel and vindictive, but neceſſary

CHAP. IX. 1774. neceſſary and efficacious. At the ſame time, he acquainted the Houſe, that the uſual relief of four regiments for America had been all ordered to Boſton; and that General Gage, in whoſe abilities he had great confidence, was ſent out as commander in chief of the forces, and governor of Boſton: That while proper precautions were taken for the ſupport of magiſtracy, the ſame ſpirit was ſhewn for the puniſhment of offenders; and that proſecutions had been ordered againſt thoſe who were ringleaders in ſedition. Every thing ſhould be conducted with firmneſs, and at the ſame time legally and prudently, as he had the advantage of being aſſiſted by the ableſt lawyers; and he made no doubt, that, by the ſteady execution of the meaſures now taken, obedience, and the bleſſings of peace, would ſoon be reſtored. He concluded with predicting, that the event would be advantageous and happy to this country.

This bill was more violently oppoſed than any of the former. It was denied, that it would anſwer the end propoſed, namely, the procuring an impartial trial; for if a party-ſpirit againſt the authority of Great Britain would induce the Americans to condemn an active officer as a murderer, the ſame party-ſpirit againſt the Americans might induce the inhabitants of Britain to acquit a murderer as a ſpirited performer of his duty. There was, in truth, no abſolute ſecurity againſt the effects of party-ſpirit either in Britain or America; but before the exerciſe of their natural rights was denied to the Americans, it ought to have been proved that in ſome caſes they had abuſed them. This, however, had not been done in any one inſtance; on the contrary, from the recent caſe of Captain Preſton, it appeared, that the Americans had acted juſtly towards him; ſo that there was not the leaſt reaſon to doubt of the impartiality of the American courts. The intention of the bill, however, was not the adminiſtration of juſtice,

juſtice, but to ſet up a military government, and to provide an indemnity for all the murders and outrages which might be committed under that barbarous authority. It was impoſſible for the relations of a murdered perſon to proſecute at the diſtance of 3000 miles from their families and buſineſs. The charges of the witneſſes were to be borne out of the cuſtoms, but the governor was to be judge how much ought to be allowed; and they could not imagine that any perſon would voluntarily offer himſelf as a witneſs, when, by that means, upon a mere payment of charges, he was to be removed ſo far from his native country. Thus a poor man, whoſe finances could ſcarce afford a proſecution at home, would be totally excluded from the benefits of the law when obliged to come to Britain for that purpoſe. It was ſtrenuouſly maintained, therefore, that this was holding out an encouragement for all kind of lawleſs violence. It was denied that the caſes of ſmuggling, and the rebellion in 1746, did at all apply to the preſent caſe; as the diſtance to which the parties were removed was but trifling in compariſon with that betwixt Great Britain and America. The neceſſity of this act was denied, even on the ſuppoſition that no juſtice could ever be obtained in New England; as the governor had it always in his power to reprieve thoſe who ſhould happen to be convicted notoriouſly againſt law and reaſon. It was apprehended, that, inſtead of promoting juſtice, this act would give riſe to aſſaſſinations, and horrid revenge among individuals; nay, that it would moſt probably occaſion an open rebellion throughout the colonies. On this occaſion Mr Fuller, who had uſually ſupported adminiſtration, ended his ſpeech with theſe remarkable words: "I will now take my leave of the whole plan. You will commence your ruin from this day. I am ſorry to ſay, that not only the Houſe has fallen into this error, but the people approve of the meaſure. The people, I am ſorry to ſay it, are miſled; but

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a ſhort time will prove the evil tendency of this bill. If ever there was a nation running headlong to its ruin, it is this."

The bill having paſſed the Houſe, on the 6th of May, was alſo warmly oppoſed in the Houſe of Lords, where it occaſioned a proteſt, as the others had alſo done. No more bills were at preſent projected, which could affect the colony of New England in particular; but that which concerned the province of Canada, or Quebec, was peculiarly calculated to affect the whole. The objects of this bill were to extend the limits of the province far beyond thoſe which had been aſſigned to it by the proclamation in 1763. A legiſlative council was to be formed, which ſhould have the whole direction of the affairs of the province, taxation only excepted. The council was to be appointed by the Crown, the members removeable at pleaſure, and the Canadian Roman Catholics to have a place in it. The French laws were to be eſtabliſhed, and a trial without jury in civil caſes; but after the Engliſh manner, by jury, in criminal ones. To the Roman Catholic clergy, regulars excepted, the peaceable enjoyment of their eſtates, and tithes from thoſe of their own perſuaſion, were ſecured. It was ſaid in favour of this bill, that it was intended chiefly for the French, who having been accuſtomed to live under an arbitrary government, had little underſtanding or regard for the forms of a free one; and they were beſides very much averſe to a popular repreſentation, from which they had ſeen ſo many miſchiefs flow in the reſt of the colonies. It would, at any rate, be unreaſonable to exclude the natives totally from a ſhare in repreſentation; and it was impoſſible to ſay what might be the conſequences of giving this privilege to a people newly taken into the Britiſh empire, and as yet not ripe for Engliſh government. A trial by jury was new and diſguſtful to them; and, as to religion, it had been expreſsly ſtipulated by the treaty of Paris, that they ſhould be

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be allowed the profeſſion of theirs in the moſt ample manner. The penal laws againſt Popery did not extend beyond the Iſland of Britain; but the King's ſupremacy extended over the whole empire; and there was a clauſe in the act, by which it was eſtabliſhed in Canada; while, at the ſame time, by an oath preſcribed a sa teſt, the allegiance of the ſubjects was ſecured from all claims of the Papal power. Perſecution on account of religion was at any rate odious; and people cannot be ſaid to have the freedom of their own religion, who have not the choice of their own prieſthood. With regard to the new boundary, it was ſaid, that there were French ſcattered in ſeveral parts beyond the limits aſſigned in the proclamation, for whom proviſion ought to be made; and there was one entire colony at the Illenois. CHAP. IX. 1774.

The Quebec bill originated in the Houſe of Lords, where it met with very little oppoſition; but, on being ſent down to the Commons, it was criticiſed in ſuch a manner as to alarm the miniſtry. It was found neceſſary therefore not to puſh it forward with ſuch violence as had been uſed with the other bills, but rather to apologize for it; and this was done the rather, that the ſubject of religion was concerned, which was more likely to make it unpopular than the others. It was allowed, that the bill came down in a very imperfect ſtate from the Lords; and adminiſtration would be open to conviction, and conſent to any reaſonable amendments that might be ſuggeſted; the plan might be diſcuſſed more at leiſure than that of regulating the colony of Maſſachuſetts Bay; in which caſe it was neceſſary to ſhow a degree of vigour and deciſion, or all order might be loſt, and government entirely confounded. With reſpect to Canada, however, the caſe was different, as the people there were diſpoſed to peace and obedience, though the government ſtood very much in need of regulation. Great altercations enſued, and ſeveral witneſſes were examined, among whom were General Carlton, governor of Canada; Mr Hay, Chief-juſtice of that province; Mr Mazores, late Attorney-general and agent

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for the Engliſh inhabitants of Canada; Dr Marriot, the King's Advocate-general in England; and Monſ. Lolbiniere, a French gentleman of conſiderable property in Canada.

This bill was oppoſed on the topic of religion more than on any other. Oppoſition inſiſted, that by the capitulation no more than a bare toleration for the Catholic religion was provided, and with this the people were contented and happy; but now the caſe was ſo far reverſed, that the Proteſtants enjoyed no more than a bare toleration; the Popiſh clergy were entitled to a maintenance by a legal parliamentary right, while the former were left at the King's diſcretion. It would have been but reaſonable to put both on an equal footing. To enlarge the limits of the province ſeemed to indicate a deſign of ſpreading this arbitrary plan as wide as poſſible. If there were any Canadians ſettled on diſtant ſpots, it was no doubt proper to provide for them; but no reaſon could be given for annexing to Canada immenſe territories running along the back of the other colonies. This could not fail to aggravate their diſcontents, and they would attribute the extenſion of this arbitrary military government to a deſign of utterly extinguiſhing their liberties, and bringing them into a ſtate of the moſt abject vaſſalage, by means of the very people whom they had helped to conquer.

Though the arguments uſed by Oppoſition could not prevail ſo far as to prevent the act from paſſing, they nevertheleſs occaſioned ſeveral alterations to be made, by which its appearance was very much changed, though the ſubſtance remained the ſame. Motions were made to allow juries in civil caſes at the option of the parties, and to grant them the benefit of the *Habeas Corpus* act; but both were rejected. The victory of miniſtry on this occaſion, however, coſt them dear; as it occaſioned much more diſcontent throughout the kingdom than any of the former, and regained many friends to the Americans, which had been loſt by their violence at Boſton and other places.

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This diſcontent produced a conſiderable oppoſition on its being returned to the Lords. Minority, however, had no ſtrength in numbers; the victory of the miniſtry was complete, and the ſeſſion was not concluded till near the end of June. The moſt ſanguine hopes were expreſſed in the ſpeech from the throne, that the new act would be attended with the beſt effects in quieting the minds of his Majeſty's ſubjects in Canada; and the miniſtry were equally ſanguine in their hopes that the ſubmiſſion of America would be the immediate conſequence of the reſolute ſpirit manifeſted by the parliament, the ſtrength ſhown by the miniſtry, and the extreme weakneſs of Oppoſition. It was alſo ſuppoſed, that the puniſhment of Boſton, by ſhutting up its port, would be a gratification to the neighbouring towns, on account of the great advantages ariſing to them from the deſtruction of its commerce; the terror of that puniſhment would influence the other colonies, and prove the means of diſſolving that powerful confederacy which had ſeemed ſo likely to take place among the Americans. In all this, however, the miniſtry were exceedingly miſtaken. The publication of the letters written by Governors Hutchinſon and Oliver had produced ſuch a flame as could not by any means be allayed. As ſoon as they were diſcovered, the aſſembly had voted them to have a tendency "to ſubvert the conſtitution of this government, and to introduce arbitrary power into the province." A committee appointed to examine them gave their opinion, dated June 15. 1773, that they contained aggravated accounts of facts, and miſrepreſentations; and that one manifeſt deſign of them was to repreſent the matters they treat of in a light highly injurious to the province againſt whom they were wrote, &c. In England alſo they produced ſome confuſion. Copies of them had been tranſmitted thither, along with a petition to the King for the removal of Governors Hutchinſon and Oliver, in conſequence of which they were laid before the Privy Council. The Council made very light of the

June 22.

Violent diſcontents at Boſton.

Governor Hutchinſon's letters laid before the Privy Council.

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accuſations, but ſeemed very much inclined to cenſure the method in which they were procured, provided they could have known it; though Doctor Franklin, who, it ſeems, only could have given intelligence of the matter, did not think proper to publiſh it. Mr Wedderburn, in his ſpeech for the governors, animadverted ſeverely on the Doctor's conduct, which he endeavoured to repreſent as very unfair.

A duel fought in England, on account of the New England letters.

Previous to the examination of theſe letters by the Council, the diſcovery of them had occaſioned a duel betwixt Mr Whately a banker, brother to Mr Whately formerly ſecretary to the treaſury, and John Temple, Eſq; lieutenant-governor of New Hampſhire, on a ſuppoſition, that the former had given the letters to Dr Franklin. This diſagreeable affair, which took place December 11. 1773, and in which Mr Whately was dangerouſly wounded, produced the following manifeſto from Dr Franklin:—

"Finding that two gentlemen have been unfortunately engaged in a duel about a tranſaction and its circumſtances, of which both of them are totally ignorant and innocent, I think it incumbent on me to declare, (for the prevention of farther miſchief, as far as ſuch a declaration may contribute to prevent it,) that I alone am the perſon who obtained and tranſmitted to Boſton the letters in queſtion.—Mr Whately could not communicate them, becauſe they were never in his poſſeſſion; and, for the ſame reaſon, they could not be taken from him by Mr Temple. They were not of the nature of private letters between friends; they were written by public officers, to perſons in public ſtations, on public affairs, and intended to procure public meaſures. They were, therefore, handed to other public perſons, who might be influenced by them to produce thoſe meaſures. Their tendency was to incenſe the mother country againſt her colonies; and, by the ſteps recommended, to widen the breach; which they effected. The chief caution expreſſed with regard to privacy was, to keep their contents from the colony-agents,

agents, who, the writers apprehended, might return them, or copies of them, to America. That apprehenſion was, it ſeems, well founded: for the firſt agent who laid hands on them, thought it his duty to tranſmit them to his conſtituents. *B. Franklin, agent for the Houſe of Repreſentatives of the Maſſachuſetts Bay, Craven-Street, December* 25. 1773."

The reſt of the Americans ſeem to have been of the ſame opinion, as to the nature of theſe letters, with Dr Franklin. A vote of the committee appointed to examine them, declared, that "they were wrote by the preſent governor (Hutchinſon) when he was lieutenant-governor and chief-juſtice of the province, who has been repreſented abroad as eminent for his abilities as his exalted ſtation, and was under no obligation to tranſmit private intelligence; and that they, therefore, muſt be conſidered by the perſon to whom they were ſent as documents of ſolid intelligence; and that gentleman in London to whom they were wrote, was then a member of the Britiſh Parliament, and one who was very active in American affairs; and, therefore, that theſe letters, however ſecretly wrote, muſt naturally be ſuppoſed to have, and really had, a public operation."

Whether there really was occaſion for all this violent clamour, the reader may judge from the following paſſage in one of Mr Hutchinſon's letters:—— "I never think of the meaſures neceſſary for the peace and good order of the colonies without pain. *There muſt be an abridgement of what are called Engliſh liberties.* I relieve myſelf by conſidering, that in a remove from the ſtate of nature to the moſt perfect ſtate of government, there muſt be a great reſtraint of natural liberty. I doubt whether it is poſſible to project a ſyſtem of government, in which a colony, three thouſand miles diſtant from its parent-ſtate, ſhall enjoy all the liberties of the parent-ſtate. I am certain I have never yet ſeen the projection. I wiſh the good of the colony, when I wiſh to ſee ſome further reſtraint of liberty, rather than the con-

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nection with the parent-ſtate ſhould be broken; for I am ſure ſuch a breach muſt prove the ruin of the colony."

But, in however heinous a light theſe letters might appear to the Americans, or their friends, it is certain, that the Privy Council declared the charges founded upon them to be frivolous and malicious, and their requeſt for the removal of the governors was utterly rejected. The aſſembly had, in the mean time, preſented a remonſtrance againſt Peter Oliver, Juſtice of the Superior Court of Judicature, to Governor Hutchinſon and the Council, on account of his conſenting to accept a ſalary from the Crown, which they ſaid was deſtroying his truſt, and the chartered rights of the province. This was followed by the adjournment of the Superior Court, from the day on which it was legally held, to a further day; it being judged improper, that the chief-juſtice ſhould ſit and act under the preſent circumſtances, and uncertain what opinion and reſolution he might have formed concerning the matter laid before the governor. The governor, however, refuſed to give his conſent to this adjournment; of conſequence, the court was opened in the abſence of the chief-juſtice, and adjourned itſelf to the day following. A meſſage was then delivered from the governor, in which he declared, that he could have no hand in removing the chief-juſtice from his place, leſt he ſhould act in expreſs contradiction to his Majeſty's orders; but, that he ſhould take the firſt opportunity of laying their remonſtrance before his Majeſty. This occaſioned an addreſs of the whole houſe, petitioning, that he would take the advice of the Council, and not determine by himſelf, upon one of the moſt important affairs of the province, in a manner contrary to the moſt evident deſign of the charter. They concluded with aſſuring the governor, that the continuance of the chief-juſtice in his place, would increaſe the uneaſineſs of the people without doors, and endanger the public tranquillity. Their requeſt not being complied with, they proceeded formally to exhibit

Proceedings againſt Chief Juſtice Oliver, in New England. Feb. 24.

exhibit articles of impeachment againſt Mr Oliver, as having a "deſign to ſubvert the conſtitution of the province as eſtabliſhed by royal charter, and to introduce into the Superior Court of Judicature, a partial, arbitrary, and corrupt adminiſtration of juſtice, by accepting of a ſalary from his Majeſty, inſtead of the uſual grants of the people."——Along with this charge, they ſent a copy of a paper delivered by the chief-juſtice in his own vindication. In this he ſet forth, "That during ſeventeen years, in which he had held his office, he had ſuffered great inconvenience by neglecting his private buſineſs, and not having a ſalary at all adequate to the ſupport of his family.—He had repeatedly thrown himſelf on former aſſemblies for relief, but had never been able to obtain redreſs.—For theſe reaſons, he thought it incumbent on him to accept of his Majeſty's ſalary; and this he had only had for two years: but, as to any future grant, he did not think himſelf at liberty to refuſe it, leſt he ſhould incur the cenſure of his Sovereign; and, as he had it only "during his good behaviour," this might be conſidered as a ſufficient bias againſt any mal-adminiſtration in regard to his office."

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This paper was enumerated among one of the high crimes and miſdemeanors of which Mr Oliver had been guilty. It was ſtiled "an ungrateful, falſe, and malicious attempt to lay an imputation on his Majeſty's government;" and the impeachment being fully completed, it was voted to carry it to the governor by a majority of 92 to 8; but Mr Hutchinſon being previouſly acquainted with their deſign, informed them by a meſſage, that he had no authority to take cognizance of any crimes or miſdemeanors whatever; and, at any rate, as their proceſs was unconſtitutional, he could not give any countenance to it. But, as this was found to be inſufficient to make them give up their attack, he determined to put an end to it by diſſolving the aſſembly, which was done in the end of March 1774.

CHAP. X.

General Gage arrives at Boſton——Solemn League and Covenant——Meaſures for holding a General Congreſs——Oppoſed——Boſtonians refractory——Boſton Neck fortified——Suffolk Delegates——A General Aſſembly called and countermanded——The Aſſembly, however, meets——Friends of government take refuge in Boſton——Schemes for its relief——General Congreſs meets at Philadelphia——Parliament diſſolved.

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THE diſſolution of the aſſembly of Maſſachuſetts Bay was among the laſt acts of Governor Hutchinſon; he being ſoon after ſuperſeded by the arrival of General Gage—a perſon, in the opinion of miniſtry, more likely to prove agreeable to the people. But whatever advantages might have been accompliſhed by his appointment, they were utterly effaced by the news of the Port Bill, which had been received on the 15th of May, four days before the arrival of the new governor. The firſt effect was one of thoſe deſperate exertions of popular rage which had been but too frequent ſince the commencement of the diſputes. A vaſt number of copies were printed with a death's head affixed to them, and hawked about the ſtreets under the name of "A barbarous, bloody, and inhuman murder," with the moſt vehement denunciations of vengeance; though the better ſort of people endeavoured, as yet, to reſtrain this extravagance. The caſe was much the ſame at New York, where the bill was printed in a ſimilar manner, and hawked about under the ſame name. Ten thouſand copies of it were thrown off, and diſtributed in different places; and a meeting of the inhabitants was called on the occaſion. This was alſo the

News of the Port Bill arrives at Boſton.

the firſt regular ſtep taken at Boſton, where Mr Samuel Adams being choſen moderator, it was unanimouſly voted, "That it would be the ſalvation of the liberties of America, ſhould all the other colonies come in to a general non-importation and exportation agreement, both with regard to Great Britain and the colonies, until the act for blocking up the harbour ſhould be removed." A committee was appointed to communicate this reſolution to the towns of Marblehead, and others in the neighbourhood. The meeting then adjourned to the 19th, and were paſſing ſimilar reſolutions, when General Gage arrived. The univerſal diſcontent, however, did not prevent the people from receiving their new governor with proper marks of reſpect. Indeed, their rage was now in ſome meaſure converted into a calm and determined reſolution to reſiſt; while the reſolution to enforce obedience ſeemed to be equally ſtrong on the other ſide. All proper civilities therefore were paid by both. The governor called an aſſembly according to the terms of the charter. As little buſineſs then came before the Houſe, a project was formed of hurrying through it as faſt as poſſible, that the aſſembly might have it in their power to adjourn themſelves to a future day, without receiving any formal intelligence of their intended removal to Salem; but before this could be accompliſhed, the governor having got intelligence of their deſign, adjourned them unexpectedly to Salem, on the 7th of June following. Previous to this adjournment they had preſented a petition for appointing a day of faſting and prayer, with which he did not comply. He had afterwards the ſatisfaction to receive an addreſs, ſigned by 127 of the beſt affected inhabitants; in which, beſides the uſual compliments, they expreſſed great hopes from the General's public and private character; diſavowing, at the ſame time, all lawleſs violences; and lamenting that a diſcretionary power was not lodged in his hands, of reſtoring trade to its former courſe immediately, on the terms of the law being complied with; and ſhewing,

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ing, that as the act then ſtood, notwithſtanding the moſt ready compliance, ſo much time would be loſt before his favourable account of their conduct could reach the King and Council, in order to produce the wiſhed-for effect, as muſt neceſſarily involve them in the utmoſt miſery and ruin.

This addreſs, however, was in a few days counteracted by another from the council, containing ſome very ſevere reflections on the conduct of his predeceſſors, to whoſe machinations, both in concert and apart, they attributed the origin and progreſs of the diſunion of the colonies with the mother country, as well as all the calamities which affected the province. They further declared, that they claimed no more than the rights of Engliſhmen, without diminution or abridgement; and theſe, as it was the indiſpenſible duty of that board, ſo it ſhould be their conſtant endeavour to maintain, to the utmoſt of their power, in perfect conſiſtence, however, with the trueſt loyalty to the Crown, the juſt prerogatives of which they would ever be zealous to ſupport.

He rejects an addreſs from the Houſe of Repreſentatives.

This addreſs was rejected by the governor, who would not ſuffer the chairman to proceed any farther than to that part which contained the reflections on his predeceſſors; telling him, that he would afterwards give an anſwer to the council in writing. This was done by a meſſage, in which he informed them, that he could not receive an addreſs containing indecent reflections on his predeceſſors, who had been tried and honourably acquitted by the Privy Council, and their conduct approved by the King. This addreſs he conſidered as an inſult upon his Majeſty, the lords of his Privy Council, and an affront to himſelf.

In the mean time, the Boſton port-bill had been almoſt equally reſented throughout the whole continent. Provincial meetings were every where held, non-importation and exportation agreements entered into, with the moſt ſpirited reſolutions to aſſiſt their diſtreſſed brethren at Boſton. In Virginia, the Houſe of Burgeſſes appointed the firſt of June, the day on which

which the Boſton port-bill took place, to be ſet apart as a day of faſting, humiliation, and prayer, to implore the divine interpoſition to avert the heavy calamity which threatened deſtruction to their civil rights, as well as all the evils of a civil war, and to give one heart and one mind to the American people throughout the continent firmly to oppoſe every injury to their rights. A ſimilar reſolution was adopted by all the other colonies. On receiving intelligence of this reſolution, the governor immediately diſſolved the aſſembly; but before this was accompliſhed, eighty-nine of the members entered into an aſſociation, in which they declared, that an attack made upon one colony, in order to compel ſubmiſſion to arbitrary taxes, was an attack on all the reſt, and threatened ruin to the rights of all, unleſs the united wiſdom of the whole was applied to prevent it. It was therefore recommended to the committee of correſpondence, to communicate with the ſeveral committees of the other provinces, on the expediency of appointing deputies from the different colonies to meet annually in general congreſs, and to deliberate on thoſe general meaſures which the united intereſts of America might from time to time render neceſſary. They concluded with a declaration, that a tender regard for the intereſts of their fellow-ſubjects, the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, prevented them from going further at that time.

Violent diſcontents throughout the continent.

At Philadelphia, the people were ſomewhat more moderate. They appointed a committee to write to the inhabitants of Boſton. In this letter they wiſhed to have the ſenſe of the province in general; but obſerved, that all lenient applications to government ſhould be tried before recourſe was had to extremities; that it might perhaps be right to take the ſenſe of a general congreſs before the deſperate meaſure of putting an entire ſtop to commerce was adopted; and, at any rate, it would be right to reſerve that meaſure as the laſt reſource, when all others had failed. If the making reſtitution to the Eaſt India Company

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Company for the tea which had been deſtroyed, would put an end to the unhappy conteſt, and leave the people of Boſton upon their ancient footing of conſtitutional liberty, it could not admit of a moment's doubt what part they ſhould act. But it was not the value of the tea; it was the indefeaſible right of giving and granting their own money, a right from which they could never recede, that was now the matter in conſideration.

At New York, a town meeting was alſo held, and a committee of correſpondence appointed, although government had yet a much more powerful intereſt in that colony than in any other. The people of Maryland, however, exceeded all the reſt in the violence of their reſolutions. One of theſe was to prevent the carrying on any lawſuits for debts owing to Great Britain: however, this reſolution was never put in practice, nor adopted by the ſubſequent provincial meeting. In general, the propoſal of the Boſtonians to ſhut up the ports throughout America, was coldly received, though the behaviour of the Britiſh miniſtry was every where condemned with almoſt the ſame marks of diſapprobation, and every meaſure that could be thought of was adopted to ſhew their deteſtation of the Boſton port-bill, and their determination to oppoſe it in every poſſible manner.

On the meeting of the Boſton repreſentatives at Salem, a motion was paſſed, in which they declared the expediency of a general meeting of committees from the ſeveral colonies, and ſpecified the purpoſes for which ſuch a meeting would be neceſſary; and five of the moſt remarkable leaders of the popular faction were appointed members of a committee to repreſent the province of Maſſachuſetts Bay; at the ſame time, the ſum of 500l. was voted to enable them to diſcharge the important truſt repoſed in them. This laſt reſolution, however, being rejected by the governor, the aſſembly paſſed a reſolution to recommend to the ſeveral towns and diſtricts within the

the province, to raiſe the 500 l. in queſtion by equitable proportions, according to the laſt provincial tax. A recommendation of this kind had at preſent all the force of a law, and was as punctually obeyed as the moſt poſitive injunctions of a ſovereign. The aſſembly, therefore, conſcious that the time of their diſſolution was at hand, determined to preſcribe rules for the conduct of the people, under the ſpecious title of *recommendations*. A declaratory reſolution was accordingly paſſed, in which they expreſſed their opinion of the ſtate of public affairs, and of the deſigns of government. They ſet forth, that they, with the reſt of the American colonies, had, for a long time, been ſtruggling under the heavy hand of power; their dutiful petitions for redreſs of intolerable grievances had not only been diſregarded, but it appeared more and more to be the fixed and determined deſign of government totally to alter the free conſtitution and civil government in Britiſh America, to eſtabliſh arbitrary governments, and reduce the inhabitants to ſlavery. The non-conſumption of Indian teas was recommended in the ſtrongeſt terms, as well as the diſcontinuance of the uſe of all goods imported from Great Britain, or the Eaſt Indies, until the grievances complained of ſhould be totally redreſſed; and, that this might be the more effectually put in execution, it was recommended to uſe every poſſible means of encouraging the American manufactures.

As it was well known that ſuch reſolutions muſt prove very offenſive to the governor, the utmoſt care had been taken to keep the tranſactions of the committee by which they were made a profound ſecret. By ſome means or other, however, General Gage obtained intelligence of what was going forward, and therefore ſent his ſecretary to diſſolve them on the very day the committee intended to give in their report. The aſſembly were aware of his intention, and kept the doors ſhut. The ſecretary then acquainted the Houſe, that he had a meſſage from the governor,

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governor, and desired admittance to deliver it; but on this being refused, he read the proclamation for dissolving the assembly on the stairs leading up to the assembly-room; and this transaction put an end to the long series of contentions between the governors of Massachusetts Bay and their assemblies.

It has formerly been observed, that great part of the ministerial hopes were founded on the rivalship between the town of Salem and that of Boston, which seemed the more reasonable, as violent contests had frequently taken place among the towns of that province, with regard to their commercial interests. In this, however, as in every thing else regarding this unfortunate contest, the ministry were found to be mistaken. The inhabitants of Salem presented a most pathetic, though at the same time a spirited and manly address to the governor, in which, with regard to Boston, they express themselves in the following manner: "We are deeply affected with a sense of our public calamities; but the miseries that are now rapidly hastening on our brethren in the capital of the province greatly excite our commiseration; and we hope your Excellency will use your endeavours to prevent a farther accumulation of evils on that already sorely distressed people. By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine, that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature, in the formation of our harbour, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce to that convenient mart. And, were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruins of our suffering neighbours." In other respects they expressed the greatest regard for the mother country, as well as concern for the present unhappy differences, to conciliate which they professed themselves willing to sacrifice every thing compatible with the safety and dignity of British subjects.

Considerable

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Conſiderable dependence had alſo been placed upon the influence of the merchants, whoſe intereſt it was to oppoſe all reſiſtance to the mother country. But though thoſe had uniformly declared againſt all violent meaſures, they were found no leſs determined in their reſolutions not to ſubmit to the obnoxious acts than the reſt. Indeed, it was by no means ſafe to profeſs an intention of acting otherwiſe; for, though it had all along been induſtriouſly inculcated on this ſide of the Atlantic, that the friends of government were the ſtrongeſt party in America, an event which took place about this time made it evident, that the caſe was far otherwiſe. At the time that one of the town-meetings was held at Boſton, the friends of government attended, and made an attempt to paſs reſolutions for the payment of the tea, and for diſſolving the committee of correſpondence; but, inſtead of effecting this, they found themſelves loſt in a prodigious majority, and could only teſtify their ſentiments by proteſting againſt the proceedings of the reſt. The flame was ſtill increaſed by the news of the other coercive bills relative to the province of Maſſachuſetts Bay, rough draughts of which, as well as of one for quartering the troops at Boſton, were ſent over, and circulated through the continent with the utmoſt celerity. Even the moſt moderate now began to waver, and the ſanguine friends of government to abate of their zeal. The ſhutting up the ports now came to be a neceſſary meaſure; liberal contributions for the town of Boſton were every where recommended and collected; at the ſame time, they were commended, in the higheſt terms, for their perſeverance and patience in their ſufferings, and ſtrongly exhorted to continue in their reſolution. Theſe exhortations were not long of producing the moſt ſenſible effects. An agreement was framed by the committee of correſpondence at Boſton, in which they bound themſelves moſt ſolemnly, and in the preſence of God, to ſuſpend all commercial intercourſe with Great Britain, from the laſt day

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of

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of the month of Auguſt enſuing, until the Boſton port-bill, and the other late obnoxious acts, were repealed, and the colony of Maſſachuſetts Bay fully reſtored to its chartered rights. They alſo bound themſelves in the ſame manner, not to conſume, or to purchaſe from any other, any goods whatever, which arrived after the ſpecified time; and to break off all commerce, trade, and dealings, with any who did, as well as with the importers of ſuch goods. In the ſame manner they renounced all future intercourſe and connection with thoſe who ſhould refuſe to ſubſcribe the agreement, or ſome other ſimilar to it; to which they annexed the dangerous penalty of having their names publiſhed to the world, as enemies to the liberties of America.

Reprobated by General Gage.

This agreement, which they called *a Solemn League and Covenant*, was circulated, together with a letter from the committee of correſpondence, throughout the whole continent, and every where entered into with the greateſt eagerneſs; and indeed many ſimilar agreements were made, without any previous concert, throughout various parts of the continent. General Gage oppoſed a proclamation, in which he ſtiled the covenant an unlawful, hoſtile, and traiterous combination, contrary to the allegiance due to the king, deſtructive of the lawful authority of the Britiſh parliament, &c. at the ſame time warning all perſons againſt the pains and penalties incurred by ſuch dangerous and complicated offences, and charging all magiſtrates to apprehend and ſecure for trial thoſe who ſhould be found guilty of ſubſcribing the covenant formed at Boſton, or any other.

In return to this proclamation, the covenanters recriminated, by aſſerting, that the governor had aſſumed an unconſtitutional power; nay, a power which the ſovereign himſelf could not legally aſſume, viz. the making theſe things be conſidered as treaſon which the laws did not deem ſuch; that the people had a right to aſſemble, in order to conſider of their grievances, and the means proper to redreſs them;

to

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to form aſſociations for the purpoſe, and that the proclamation was equally arbitrary, odious, and illegal.

The neceſſity of a General Congreſs being now univerſally believed, deputies were choſen for the purpoſe throughout all the colonies. Philadelphia was fixed upon for the place, and the beginning of September for the time of its meeting. Where the Aſſembly of any province happened to be ſitting, as was the caſe with Maſſachuſetts Bay, deputies to Congreſs were appointed by them; but where this was not the caſe, the people choſe their uſual number of repreſentatives, from whom the delegates were choſen: The number was proportioned to the extent of the province, two being the leaſt and ſeven the greateſt number for any colony; but whatever the number of repreſentatives was, each of the colonies had only a ſingle vote.

Before the time appointed for the meeting of Congreſs, a petition of near 900 freeholders was preſented to Governer Penn, requeſting him to call a General Aſſembly as ſoon as poſſible; but this being refuſed, they proceeded to the election of deputies to repreſent the colony in Congreſs, who met in that city in the month of July 1774. The proceedings of this body were of ſuch a nature as ſhewed them to be well calculated to go through the arduous taſk they had undertaken, and ought to have given them a much better character in Britain than that of the leaders of an headlong mob. They ſet out with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of duty and allegiance to the King; declared their abhorrence of every idea of an unconſtitutional independence on the parent ſtate; on which account they viewed with the deepeſt concern the unhappy differences with Great Britain, as being certainly deſtructive to the intereſts of both. But, while they expreſſed the warmeſt wiſhes for a reconciliation with the mother country, they reprobated in the ſtrongeſt terms the bills relative to Maſſachuſetts Bay, and declared that they conſidered their brethern at Boſton as ſuffer ng in the common

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cauſe of all the colonies. They declared the abſolute neceſſity of a General Congreſs, to contrive a proper plan of conduct for all the colonies, in order to relieve their ſuffering brethren, obtain redreſs of grievances, and firmly re-eſtabliſh the friendſhip between Great Britain and America. They declared alſo, that though they acknowledged a ſuſpenſion of commerce with Great Britain would be a very diſtreſſing meaſure, they were ready not only to undergo that, but much greater inconveniencies, in order to preſerve their liberties: however, it was their earneſt deſire that Congreſs would firſt try the gentle mode of ſtating their grievances, and making a firm and decent claim of redreſs. The dealers alſo were requeſted not to raiſe the price of their merchandize beyond the uſual rates, on account of any reſolutions that might be taken with regard to importation; and it was alſo threatened, that the province of Philadelphia would break off all intercourſe with any city, town, or colony on the continent, or with any individuals in them, who ſhould refuſe or neglect to carry into execution any ſuch general plan as ſhould be adepted by the General Congreſs.

In Virginia ſimilar reſolves were entered into by the delegates to Congreſs for that province; to which they added a reſolution not to purchaſe any more ſlaves from Africa, the Weſt Indies, or any other place. Their non-importation agreement was to take place on the firſt of November 1774; and if the grievances were not redreſſed by the 10th of Auguſt 1775, they reſolved to export no more tobacco, nor any other goods whatever, to Great Britain. To render this laſt reſolution the more effectual, they ſtrongly recommended the cultivation of ſuch articles of huſbandry, inſtead of tobacco, as might form a proper baſis for manufactures of all ſorts. They particularly reſolved to improve their breed of ſheep to the utmoſt, and to kill as few as poſſible, in order to increaſe their number; and concluded with a reſolution to declare ſuch as oppoſed their determinations

tions to be enemies to their country. Similar reſolutions were adopted in Maryland, and even in the Carolinas, though it ſeemed difficult to conceive how the latter could ſubſiſt without exportation. CHAP. X. 1774.

Thus were the Americans, contrary to the opinion of adminiſtration, ſo far determined to reſiſtance by thoſe very means which had been judged effectual for reducing them to obedience, that a war ſeemed inevitable, unleſs government ſhould think proper to relinquiſh the affair of taxation entirely. Though various circumſtances contributed to make the people in ſome places leſs violent in their behaviour than others, they were nevertheleſs univerſally determined to ſacrifice life and property, rather than ſubmit to taxation by any foreign power. War was now begun to be ſpoken of, and preparations openly made for it. At Newport, in Rhode Iſland, a paper was ſtuck up with the motto JOIN OR DIE! in large capitals; the blocking up the harbour of Boſton was repreſented as an act of hoſtility, a ſiege, and an invaſion of the colonies. "The generals of deſpotiſm," ſaid they, "are now drawing the lines of circumvallation around our bulwarks of liberty, and nothing but unity, reſolution, and perſeverance, can ſave ourſelves and our poſterity from what is worſe than death—ſlavery." Surpriſing union of the colonies.

The Boſtonians, in the mean time, felt ſeverely the the effects of ſhutting up their port. Liberal contributions had, indeed, been raiſed for them throughout the continent, but theſe were inſufficient to keep off diſtreſs. Indeed it may eaſily be conceived, that in a town containing upwards of 20,000 inhabitants who had ſcarce any other means of ſubſiſtence than by commerce, it would be no eaſy matter to counteract the inconveniencies ariſing from a total deprivation of trade. Even the rich had their ſhare in the calamity, as moſt of their property conſiſted in wharfs, warehouſes, ſhades, and other erections for the purpoſe of commerce, which the ſhutting up of their port rendered totally uſeleſs. Theſe diſtreſſes, however, far from

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having any tendency to ſoften their minds, or diſpoſe them to ſubmiſſion, only inflamed them the more againſt the partiſans of government; nor were the news of them received with leſs indignation throughout the continent. Exhortations to perſeverance, and congratluations on their magnanimous conduct, were ſent from every quarter; while thoſe towns who might have drawn ſome advantage from their diſtreſſes, by reaſon of the vicinity of their ſituation, generouſly offered them the uſe of their ſtores and wharfs, and to tranſact buſineſs for them without expence.

Notwithſtanding this ſo univerſal combination, the governors of the colonies, and even the Britiſh miniſtry, ſeem to have been infatuated with a notion that the whole was only the proceeding of a mob, inflamed by ſome deſigning perſons, and which muſt of courſe ceaſe in a very ſhort time. They ought to have conſidered that the oppoſition to government in America was compoſed of the moſt numerous, as well as the moſt reſpectable claſs of people there, viz. the landholders, who were too many to be bribed, and by far too daring, and full of enterpriſe, to be ſafely deſpiſed. Leaders they no doubt had; but though theſe leaders had been cut off, others would inſtantly have ſucceeded in their place; nay, ſo univerſally was the common cauſe underſtood, and ſo much did one ſpirit pervade the whole, that almoſt every man was capable of becoming a leader, had he been called to the ſtation. The friends of government indeed were compoſed of the opulent and wealthy, but they were without that influence which attends thoſe in ſimilar circumſtances on this ſide the Atlantic. Addreſſes were preſented from ſome of theſe to Governor Hutchinſon on his departure from Britain, and to General Gage on his arrival; but they were far from being able to cope with the immenſe number who oppoſed, and whom, as they took care to keep their tranſactions as ſecret as poſſible, the Governor ſuppoſed to have no exiſtence. How little influence General Gage poſſeſſed at this time may indeed be collected

collected from the following circumſtance. By one of the late acts of Parliament, town-meetings were ſtrictly forbid without the Governor's leave. About the middle of Auguſt 1774, the General called ſome of the ſelect men of Boſton to attend him; and on their appearance, gave them the act of parliament to read; after which his Excellency told them, that he was ready, on application, to give liberty for a town-meeting, if he ſhould judge it expedient; and on the their reply, that the provincial laws had been the rule of their conduct in theſe matters, he ſaid he was determined to put the acts of parliament in execution, and they muſt be anſwerable for any bad conſequence which might enſue. So little regard was paid to this, however, that printed notifications were paſted up at Salem, only five days after, deſiring the merchants, freeholders, and other inhabitants, to meet at the town-houſe, in order to confer with deputies from the neighbouring towns, on the late acts of parliament; and it was added, that this intimation was given at the deſire of the committee of correſpondence. This produced a proclamation, in which theſe meetings were declared illegal, and all perſons warned againſt the conſequences of attending them. To ſuch warnings, however, the people paid no regard. The committee avowed the paſting up of the paper containing the notification, when queſtioned on the ſubject. On being told that they muſt abide by the conſequences, and deſired to diſperſe the inhabitants now aſſembled, they replied, that the inhabitants, being already met, would do whatever they thought proper, and that the committee could not oblige them to diſperſe. The General then declared it a ſeditious meeting, which being denied by the committee, his Excellency, in a paſſion, told them that he was come to execute the laws, not to diſpute about them; the ſheriff would firſt go to the meeting, and deſire them to diſperſe; if he was diſobeyed, the governor would ſupport him.

1774. General Gage attempts in vain to ſuppreſs town-meetings.

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It is poſſible, that by a well-timed exertion of military power at ſuch a critical juncture, ſome degree of terror might have been ſtruck, as people did not yet ſuppoſe themſelves wholly removed from under the juriſdiction of Britain. But the governor, inſtead of apprehending the committee-men on the firſt appearance of the printed notices, allowed the meeting to be begun before he ſent for the committee; and while he was in conference with them, the meeting diſpatched their buſineſs, and diſperſed, before the ſoldiers could reach them. Some of the committee were afterwards arreſted; but the legiſlative power was by far too weak to inflict any puniſhment upon them.

This dilatorineſs in ſupporting the ſmall remains of civil power by the military, ſeems, indeed, to have been one great cauſe of the total loſs of America to Great Britain. The colonies were now in actual rebellion as much as at the time that hoſtilities were commenced; nevertheleſs, there was no care taken to ſend over a number of forces ſufficient to give efficacy to the acts of parliament. Two regiments had, indeed, been landed at Boſton, with a ſmall detachment of artillery, ſoon after the arrival of Governor Gage, and theſe were in a ſhort time reinforced by others from different parts. Their arrival was conſidered by the inhabitants as another ſtep in the progreſs of the miniſterial plan to enſlave them. Actual hoſtilities were conſidered as on the point of being begun, and the inhabitants of the adjacent country held themſelves ready, at a moment's warning, to fly to the relief of the Boſtonians.—Trial was made of their reſolution, by the ſpreading of a report, (contrived perhaps for this very purpoſe) that a regiment had been poſted at Boſton Neck, in order to cut off all communication with the country, that ſo the inhabitants might be ſtarved into a compliance with the miniſterial meaſures. On this, a great number of the country people aſſembled, and diſpatched two meſſengers to town, by whom

whom the inhabitants were informed, that had the report been true, ſeveral thouſand armed men were in readineſs to march to their aſſiſtance; but that, ſhould the people of Boſton be diſpoſed to ſurrender their liberties, the country people would not think themſelves included in the act. By the late acts of parliament, and the bills ſtill in dependence there, the charter of Maſſachuſetts Bay was utterly vacated, and the compact between Great Britain and the people of Maſſachuſetts Bay entirely deſtroyed, ſo that the people were left at liberty to combine in any manner they thought proper for their mutual ſecurity.

General Gage, ſtill willing to try what effects might be produced by his authority as governor, iſſued a proclamation for the encouragement, as he ſaid, of piety and virtue; and the puniſhment of vice, profaneneſs, and immorality. This proclamation was worded in a very unhappy manner, and looked rather like an accuſation of the people to whom it was addreſſed, than any thing elſe. They conſidered it accordingly as an inſult; eſpecially, as the writer of the proclamation had unluckily inſerted the word *hypocriſy* among the immoralities, which no doubt implied a reflection on the general character of the Boſtonians, whoſe affected ſanctity of manners ſubjected them to the ridicule of their neighbours.

July 21.

About this time a formal notification of the new laws was ſent over; and Governor Gage received a liſt of thirty-ſix new counſellors choſen by the Crown, in conformity to the new regulations, and contrary to the old method preſcribed by charter, by which they were to be elected by the members of the Houſe of Repreſentatives. About twenty-four of thoſe accepted their office, which was a ſufficient number for carrying on the buſineſs of the province; the remaining twelve, either through fear or principle, declined the acceptance of their ſeats. Thoſe who had the courage to accept, were ſoon made ſenſible of

The Boſtonians refuſe ſubjection to the new laws.

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the dangerous error they had committed. Their houſes were ſurrounded by great bodies of people, who compelled them to reſign their newly-accepted office. Moſt of them ſubmitted to the conditions impoſed upon them, and ſigned whatever the people were pleaſed to preſcribe; while thoſe who had the reſolution to hold out, unleſs they had the good fortune to eſcape to Boſton, were threatened with the utmoſt violence both to their lives and properties. The new judges were in the ſame diſagreeable ſituation. They were every where prevented from executing their office. The great and petty juries throughout the province unanimouſly refuſed the oaths, referring the Court for their reaſons to a paper which one of them had in his hands, which, however, was refuſed a hearing. In ſome places the people aſſembled in numerous bodies, and filled the court-houſe in ſuch a manner that neither the judges nor officers could find acceſs; and on the ſheriff's commanding them to make way for the court, they replied, that "they knew of no court, nor other eſtabliſhment independent of the ancient laws and uſages of the country; nor would they ſubmit or give way upon any terms whatever."

The conſtitution of Maſſachuſetts Bay was thus entirely deſtroyed; the old government being taken away by acts of parliament, and the new one rejected by the people. Amidſt this anarchy, however, it was ſurpriſing to obſerve the efficacy of long eſtabliſhed habit and ſubmiſſion to laws. No particular exceſſes were committed; nor did the people diſcover any inclination to deviate from the eſtabliſhed laws of order and juſtice, except ſuch as aroſe from the oppoſition to the Britiſh legiſlature, and the violences conſequent upon that diſpoſition.

General Gage, in the mean time, began to prepare for that criſis to which matters were ſo rapidly tending. The frequent diſertion of the ſoldiers under his command furniſhed the firſt pretence for guarding the iſthmus which connects the peninſula of

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of Boſton with the main land, and is called *Boſton Neck*. The continued outrages of the people, and their determined oppoſition to the Britiſh legiſlature, now manifeſting itſelf by military preparations, was an additional reaſon for fortifying the neck of land juſt mentioned. The people, notwithſtanding their own preparations for war, thought it unreaſonable that the general ſhould take any ſteps for his defence. They complained of his deſigning to cut off the communication betwixt the town and country, which, however, he denied in the ſtrongeſt terms: and as they aſſured him that they had no intention of declaring war againſt his Majeſty's troops; ſo he, on his part, gave them the moſt ſolemn aſſurance that he would not commit any act of hoſtility againſt them. Another ſtep which he ſoon after took could not be ſo eaſily excuſed to them, however neceſſary it might be in the poſture of affairs at that time. It was cuſtomary to make an annual muſter of the militia of the province, and the general having conceived ſome ſuſpicions of their conduct when aſſembled, ſeized upon the ammunition and ſtores lodged in the provincial arſenal at Cambridge, and cauſed them to be brought to Boſton. At the ſame time, a quantity of powder was ſeized upon, which had been lodged in the magazines at Charleſtown and ſome other places, though partly private property. This conduct the Americans imputed to ſecret adviſers and tale-bearers, on whom indeed they laid the blame of all that had happened; but whatever might be the cauſe, it is certain that no proceeding of the governor had hitherto tended ſo much to increaſe the popular rage. Some thouſands of people inſtantly aſſembled, and it was not without the greateſt difficulty that they were prevented by ſome of the more moderate, from marching directly to Boſton, demanding the powder, and, in caſe of a refuſal, commencing directly an attack upon the troops. A report having at the ſame time been ſpread, that the ſhips and troops had atacked the town of Boſton, and were then firing

Boſton Neck fortified.

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firing upon it, a vaſt multitude of people under arms immediately aſſembled, and marched towards the city, in order to relieve their diſtreſſed brethren; nor could they be undeceived until they had marched a conſiderable part of the way.

Every thing now began to wear the moſt gloomy aſpect. The governor's company of cadets diſbanded themſelves, and returned him the ſtandard, which, according to cuſtom, he had preſented them with on his acceſſion. This company conſiſted entirely of gentlemen of Boſton, who had hitherto been well-affected to government. They offered this affront to the general on account of his having deprived Mr Hancock of his commiſſion as their colonel. At the ſame time, one Colonel Murray having accepted of a ſeat in the new council, twenty-four of his officers reſigned their commiſſions in one day.

Meeting of the Suffolk delegates.

A meeting of delegates was now held from all the principal towns in the county of Suffolk, of which Boſton is the capital, with a view to take public affairs under conſideration, particularly the late tranſactions of fortifying Boſton Neck, and the ſeizing of the powder. In this aſſembly the declarations of allegiance were more faint than uſual. Still, however, they declared their loyalty to the King; but at the ſame time they inſiſted, that it was their duty, by all lawful means, to defend their civil and religious rights and liberties. The late acts they declared to be groſs infractions of theſe rights, and that no obedience was due from the province to theſe acts, or any part of them; on the contrary, they conſidered them as attempts of an abandoned miniſtry to eſtabliſh deſpotic government in America. They engaged that the county ſhould indemnify thoſe who ſuffered for diſobedience to the new government; nay, that if the counſellors themſelves did not very ſoon reſign their ſeats, they ſhould be conſidered as incorrigible offenders, and enemies to their country. Reſolutions were alſo paſſed againſt the Quebec bill, the fortifications at Boſton Neck, for the ſuſpenſion of commerce,

commerce, the encouragement of arts and manufactures, and eſpecially the holding of a Provincial Congreſs, and the payment of all due ſubmiſſion to the reſolves of the approaching continental one.

At this meeting alſo it was reſolved, that the people ſhould perfect themſelves in the art of war; for which purpoſe the militia were to exerciſe themſelves once a week. It had been reported that ſeveral gentlemen who had rendered themſelves moſt conſpicuous by contending for the violated rights of their country, were about to be apprehended; but in caſe ſuch an atrocious meaſure ſhould be carried into execution, they recommended it to the people to ſeize all the officers of ſuch a cruel and tyrannical government, and keep them in ſafe cuſtody, until the former ſhould be reſtored in ſafety to their families. To the collectors of taxes, and receivers of the public money, it was recommended, that they ſhould not pay it, as uſual, into the treaſury, but detain it in their own hands until the civil government of the province was reſtored to its former footing, or until it ſhould be otherwiſe determined by a provincial congreſs. With all thoſe formidable reſolutions, however, they declared that they meant not to declare war, but to act entirely on the defenſive; they exhorted the people in the ſtrongeſt manner to avoid all riots and diſorderly proceedings; and, by a ſteady, manly, and uniform oppoſition to the tyrannical meaſures of government, to merit the approbation of the wiſe, and the admiration of the free, in every age and country.

General Gage calls a general aſſembly, and countermands it by a proclamation. Sept. 28.

General Gage, in the mean time, willing to oblige the people as far as poſſible, had iſſued a proclamation for holding a General Aſſembly; but the alarming height to which the general reſentment of the people was carried, with the extraordinary reſolves of the delegates of Suffolk county, now determined him to alter his reſolution. He therefore iſſued another proclamation, by which the Aſſembly was forbid to meet. He had now the mortification, however,

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1774. The assembly meets, and votes itself a Provincial Congress.

however, to find that his authority was totally at an end. The proclamation was deemed illegal, and the election of members every where went on as though nothing had happened. The assembly met at Salem on the time appointed, where, having waited a day in vain for the governor, they voted themselves into a Provincial Congress, and proceeded to business without him.

In this new assembly we are not to suppose that any thing could be done at all agreeable to the mind of General Gage, or favourable to the interest of Britain. Mr Hancock, so obnoxious to the government party, was chosen chairman; and the congress adjourned to Boston, at the distance of twenty miles from Salem. Still, however, they were willing to recognize the governor's authority. They remonstrated to him, that the distressed situation of the province had rendered it necessary to hold the present assembly, in order to consider what could be done to prevent the ruin with which is was threatened, and provide for the public safety. The most grievous complaints were made of the measures pursued by administration, as well as of the method of putting them in execution; which last, they said, exceeded, in the case of the port-bill, the rigour even of that oppressive act itself. The late laws, they said, were calculated not only to abridge the rights of the people, but to license murders. They complained of the number of troops in the capital, which was daily encreasing by reinforcements brought from every part of the continent; a measure which, as well as that of fortifying Boston Neck, tended to endanger the lives and properties of the people, not only of Boston, but of the whole province; and they concluded by adjuring the governor, as he regarded his Majesty's honour and interest, the dignity and happiness of the empire, and the peace and welfare of the province, to desist immediately from a fortress he was constructing at Boston Neck, and to restore the isthmus to its natural state.

In

In anſwer to this remonſtrance the General expreſſed his indignation at the ſuppoſition of ſuch a black deſign being harboured by the Britiſh legiſlature, as that of wantonly deſtroying the lives and properties of any people, excepting avowed enemies; he complained of the hoſtile behaviour of the town's people towards the troops; that every neceſſary had been with-held from them, notwithſtanding which they had never expreſſed any reſentment againſt them for ſuch unfriendly behaviour. In return to the complaints made about the alteration of the provincial charter by government, he replied, that they themſelves were acting as much in oppoſition to their charter as the Britiſh legiſlature, and ſtrongly warned them againſt ſuch illegal and unconſtitutional proceedings.

The friends of government obliged to take refuge in Boſton.

This was the laſt correſpondence between General Gage and his province, in which the ſemblance of friendſhip was kept up. Every thing now wore the appearance of enmity and war. The cuſtom-houſe-officers had already found it neceſſary to abandon Salem and return to Boſton, to which they carried the apparatus of a cuſtom-houſe, though an act of parliament had put an end to all trade in the place. No reſidence was found throughout the province for any of the friends of government; nor was the behaviour of the Boſtonians themſelves more friendly, had the terrors of the military power been removed. Every token of hatred and contempt that with impunity could be ſhewn, was poured upon the ſoldiers; a piece of very bad policy on the part of the Americans, as they could not but expect that the former would revenge themſelves by innumerable cruelties, as ſoon as a declaration of war gave them full liberty to vent their paſſions. The approach of winter rendered it neceſſary to provide quarters for the troops; and as General Gage rightly ſuppoſed, that the greateſt diſturbances would be occaſioned by an attempt to quarter them on the inhabitants, he thought of erecting temporary barracks

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racks for them. Even this, however, was opposed with vehemence; the select men obliged the labourers to desist from their work, though government had engaged to pay them. He sent to New York for carpenters, but the rulers of that city refused to suffer any to depart. Nor was his success better in an attempt to procure winter cloathing from thence; the merchants, to a man, returning for answer, that they never would supply any article for those who were sent as enemies to their country. In every other respect, the greatest disgust, apprehension, and animosity, subsisted between the two parties. The Bostonians pretended to be under continual apprehensions of immediate danger to their lives and properties; while, on the other hand, the soldiers considered themselves as in an enemy's country, and prepared for the worst extremities.

This universal discontent and jealousy was heightened by a measure on the part of government, which seemed not to be dictated by any immediate necessity. This was the landing of a detachment of sailors by night, who spiked up all the cannon on one of the principal batteries of the town. Such an evident indication of the governor's suspicion of hostile intentions, could not fail to impress the Americans with an idea of his entertaining designs equally hostile with regard to them. The Provincial Congress continued their sittings, and, under the title of *Recommendations*, had, in fact, established a new government. They had settled the militia, regulated the public treasures, provided arms, and appointed a day of public thanksgiving, in which, among other blessings, they particularly returned thanks to the Almighty for the general union which prevailed among the colonies. To all this General Gage opposed the ineffectual remedy of a proclamation, dated November 10. in which he indirectly charged them with treason and rebellion, prohibiting the inhabitants, in the King's name, from complying with the requisitions of such an unlawful assembly.

Nov. 10.

This

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This proclamation was not attended with the ſmalleſt effect either on the proceedings of the Provincial Congreſs in particular, or the conduct of the people in general; and as expreſſes were continually paſſing between the provincial congreſs at Concord, and the general one at Philadelphia, there is no doubt that the ſentiments of the former were regulated by thoſe of the latter.

Schemes for the relief of Boſton.

Among the objects taken into conſideration by this aſſembly, a principal one was the ſituation of the capital, for the relief of whoſe inhabitants various ſchemes were propoſed. One was, ſimply to remove the inhabitants; another, to ſet a valuation upon their eſtates, and reimburſe the proprietors for their loſſes: but both theſe were found to be ſo much incumbered with difficulties, that it was impoſſible to put either of them in execution; and it was thought improper as yet to have recourſe to force. Great numbers of the principal inhabitants, however, now quitted the town, from the apprehenſion, as they pretended, of immediate violence from the troops, or of being kidnapped and ſent over to England to be tried for their ſuppoſed offences. In this ſtate, things continued till the commencement of hoſtilities in 1775, when the city being cloſely blocked up on all ſides, both parties began to experience great diſtreſs; and as the inhabitants had now no other means of ſubſiſtence but from the King's ſtores, the provincials were the more ſtrict in preventing any ſupplies, as being in hopes that the want of proviſions would lay the governor under a neceſſity of conſenting to their departure from the town; or at leaſt, ſuffer the women and children to depart, which had been repeatedly applied for. At laſt, from what motives cannot well be aſcertained, he entered into a capitulation with the inhabitants, by which, on condition of delivering up their arms, they were to have free liberty to depart with all their effects.—This condition was punctually fulfilled on the part of the inhabitants; but, when they came to demand leave

General Gage accuſed of breach of faith with the inhabitants.

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leave to depart, as had been promiſed, to their utter confuſion and aſtoniſhment, it was refuſed. This piece of treachery did not fail to add to that general opinion of Britiſh want of faith, which the Americans, from the very beginning, had entertained, and which appears to have remained with them to the laſt. Many inhabitants, indeed, from time to time, obtained leave to depart, but they were obliged to leave all their effects; and the General Congreſs complained, that paſſports were granted or refuſed in ſuch a manner that families were broken, and the deareſt connections ſeparated; part of them being obliged to depart, while the reſt were retained againſt their will. Of this tranſaction, ſo diſgraceful to government, no account was ever publiſhed by the miniſterial party; that juſt now given, therefore, and which is collected from the American accounts, muſt be ſuppoſed to be the true one.—The poor and helpleſs, however, were all ſent off.

While theſe tranſactions were going forward, the miniſtry beheld their unhappy ſchemes of dividing the colonies, terminate in the moſt extraordinary union the world had ever ſeen ſince the union of the Arab tribes by Mahomet. The twelve old American colonies, inhabiting a coaſt extended for more than 2000 miles in length, claſhing in manners, intereſts, and religious principles, had with one voice appointed delegates to meet in a General Congreſs at Philadelphia. This extraordinary Aſſembly ſat down for the firſt time in that city, September 5. 1774. Several of the colonies had given inſtructions to their deputies. In general, they contained the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of loyalty and allegiance, as well as of affection and gratitude to the mother country, and a deſire of conſtitutional dependence on her, with other things to the ſame purpoſe. At the ſame time, however, they unanimouſly concurred in declaring, that they never would give up thoſe rights and liberties, which, they ſaid, had deſcended to them from their anceſtors; and which, by all laws divine and human, the

General Congreſs meets at Philadelphia. Sept. 5. 1774.

they were bound to tranſmit whole and pure to their poſterity. They maintained that they were entitled to all the rights and privileges of Britiſh ſubjects; that the power lately aſſumed by parliament was unjuſt, and the only cauſe of the diſturbances which had taken place; and the late acts reſpecting the province and capital of Maſſachuſetts Bay were unconſtitutional, oppreſſive, and dangerous. Others were more violent; but all concurred in complaining of their grievances, and in an abſolute determination never to ſubmit to the obnoxious acts of parliament. Some propoſed terms of reconciliation, which, on their part, were an obedience to all the trade-laws paſſed or to be paſſed, excepting ſuch as were ſpecified; the ſettling an annual revenue on the Crown for public purpoſes, and to be diſpoſed of by parliament. In every thing, however, they were to adhere to the deciſion of the majority; and this majority was to be determined by conſidering each of the colonies as having a ſingle vote, without any regard to the number of deputies they ſhould ſend.

Their declaratory reſolution with reſpect to Maſſachuſett's Bay.

The firſt public act of Congreſs was a declaratory reſolution with reſpect to the people of Maſſachuſett's Bay, in which they expreſſed, in the moſt pathetic terms, their concern for the ſufferings of that people under the operation of the late unjuſt, cruel, and oppreſſive acts of the Britiſh parliament; and a thorough approbation of the wiſdom and fortitude with which their oppoſition to theſe miniſterial meaſures had hitherto been conducted, as well as of the conduct of the Suffolk delegates; earneſtly recommending, at the ſame time, a perſeverance in ſuch conduct, with a continuance of the contributions from the other colonies for the relief of the city, as long as their neceſſities might require. By ſome after declarations they formally approved of the oppoſition ſhown to government in that province, and hoped that all America ſhould ſupport them in caſe there was occaſion. To the province in general they recommended to ſubmit to a ſuſpenſion of the adminiſtration of juſtice until the

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effect of their petition to the King for the repeal of obnoxious acts ſhould be known. They determined alſo, that every perſon who ſhall accept, or act, under any commiſſion or authority derived from the late act of parliament, changing the form of government, and violating the charter of that province, ought to be held in deteſtation, as the wicked tool of deſpotiſm. To the inhabitants, however, they recommended to behave themſelves peaceably towards General Gage and his troops, as far as could poſſibly be done conſiſtently with public ſafety; and they concluded that an attempt to tranſport any perſon beyond ſea, in order to try him for offences done in America, is contrary to law, and deſerves to meet with reſiſtance and repriſal.

Letter to General Gage.

The Congreſs next wrote a letter to General Gage, in which, after the uſual complaints relative to the blocking up Boſton harbour, &c. they declared the determined reſolution of the colonies to unite for the preſervation of their common rights, in oppoſition to the late acts of parliament, under the execution of which the unhappy people of that province had been ſo much oppreſſed. The Congreſs had been appointed guardians of the liberties of America; and they regretted that while they purſued every dutiful and peaceable meaſure for reſtoring friendſhip between Great Britain and her colonies, his Excellency ſhould adopt a behaviour ſo exceedingly hoſtile, that it did not ſeem to be warranted even by the oppreſſive acts of parliament themſelves. Such conduct, they ſaid, muſt have a tendency to provoke the people ſtill more, and ultimately bring on all the horrors of a civil war. To prevent thoſe evils, they intreated that the General would diſcontinue the fortifications at Boſton Neck, prevent any further invaſions of private property, reſtrain the irregularities of the ſoldiers, and give orders that the communication between the town and country ſhould remain open and free.

Declaration of rights.

A declaration of rights was afterwards publiſhed, to which they ſaid the Britiſh colonies were entitled by

by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, and their ſeveral charters or compacts. Their anceſtors, at the time of their migration, were entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free natural born ſubjects; and by ſuch emigration, they neither forfeited, ſurrendered, nor loſt any of their rights. They then ſtated, that the foundation of Engliſh liberty, as well as of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legiſlative council. They next proceeded to ſhew, that as the coloniſts were not, and from various cauſes could not be repreſented in the Britiſh parliament, they were entitled to a free and excluſive power of legiſlation in their ſeveral provincial legiſlatures, where their right of repreſentation could alone be preſerved, in all caſes of taxation and internal policy, ſubject only to the negative of their ſovereign, in ſuch manner as had been heretofore uſed and accuſtomed. To qualify this extenſive demand of legiſlation, however, they conſented to the operation of ſuch acts of the Britiſh parliament as were, *bona fide*, reſtrained to the regulation of their external commerce, for the purpoſe of ſecuring the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its reſpective members, excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raiſing a revenue on the ſubjects in America, without their conſent.

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Their other reſolves, in this declaration, had an immediate reſpect to the late acts of parliament. They maintained, that the colonies were entitled to the common law of England, but more eſpecially to the great and ineſtimable privilege of being tried by their peers: That they were entitled to the benefit of ſuch of the Engliſh ſtatutes as exiſted at the time of their colonization, and which by experience they had found applicable to their ſeveral local and other circumſtances. They were likewiſe entitled to all the immunities and privileges granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or ſecured by

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their ſeveral codes of provincial laws. They had a right to aſſemble peaceably to conſider of their grievances, and to petition the King for redreſs; and all proſecutions, and prohibitory proclamations againſt thoſe who do ſo, are illegal. The keeping up of a ſtanding army, in time of peace, in any colony, without the conſent of its legiſlature, was declared to be contrary to law. It was eſſential to the Engliſh conſtitution, that the conſtituent branches of the legiſlature ſhould be independent of each other; that therefore the exerciſe of legiſlative power, by a council appointed during the pleaſure of the Crown, is unconſtitutional, and deſtructive to the freedom of American legiſlation. Theſe articles they claimed as their undoubted rights and liberties, which could neither be legally taken from them, abridged, or altered, without their own conſent by their repreſentatives in the ſeveral provincial legiſlatures. They then enumerated eleven acts of parliament, ſome part, or all of which, were declared to be infringements and violations of their rights, and the repeal of which was deemed abſolutely neceſſary to the reſtoration of harmony between Great Britain and them. Among the acts thus reprobated, that for blocking up the port of Boſton, and for eſtabliſhing the Catholic religion in Canada, held a diſtinguiſhed place. The latter they termed "An act for eſtabliſhing the Roman Catholic religion in the province of Quebec, aboliſhing the equitable ſyſtem of Engliſh laws, and eſtabliſhing a tyranny there."

Aſſociation of Congreſs.

Having thus declared their rights, and ſpecified their grievances, they proceeded to conſider of a proper remedy. This conſiſted, in the firſt place, in a non-importation, non-conſumption, and non-exportation agreement; and concerning this they came to the following reſolutions, for the performance of which they bound themſelves in the name of their conſtituents.

1. That, after the beginning of December following, they would import no Britiſh goods or merchandize-

dize whatever, nor any Eaſt India tea, from any part of the world; nor would they import any product of the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands; nor wines from the Madeira or Weſtern Iſlands; nor any foreign indigo.

2. That, after the ſame date, (Dec. 1.) they would wholly diſcontinue the ſlave trade, and neither hire veſſels, nor ſell commodities or manufactures, to any concerned in that trade.

3. That, from the preſent date, they will uſe no tea on which a duty has been, or ſhall be paid; nor after the 1ſt of March, any Eaſt India tea whatever, nor any Britiſh goods imported after the 1ſt of December, excepting ſuch as come under the rules and directions mentioned in the 10th article.

4. By this article the non-importation agreement was ſuſpended until the 10th of September 1775; after which day, in caſe the obnoxious acts were not repealed, all exportation to Europe was to ceaſe, excepting that of rice.

5. The Britiſh merchants were exhorted not to ſhip any goods in violation of this aſſociation, under penalty of their never holding any commercial intercourſe with them afterwards.

6. Owners of ſhips were warned to give ſuch orders to their captains as might effectually prevent their receiving any prohibited goods.

7. They agreed to improve their breed of ſheep, and to increaſe their number as far as poſſible.

8. Frugality, induſtry, and œconomy, were to be encouraged to the utmoſt; agriculture, arts, and manufactures promoted; all expenſive ſhows, games, and entertainments diſcouraged; the expences of funerals leſſened; the giving of ſcarfs and gloves diſcontinued, or the wearing of any other mourning than a piece of crape or ribbon.

9. Venders of goods were to ſell them at the uſual prices, without taking any advantage of the ſituation of affairs at that time.

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10. A conditional importation was permitted for two months longer, at the option of the owner, who, if he will deliver up any goods that he imports before the firſt of February, to the committee of the place they arrive at, they are to be ſold under their inſpection, and the prime coſt being returned to the importer, the profits are to be applied to the relief of the ſufferers at Boſton. All goods arriving after that day to be ſent back without landing, or breaking up of the packages.

The other articles related to the appointment of committees, in order to prevent any violation of thoſe already mentioned; to the publiſhing of violators names, &c. and by the 14th and laſt article, it was determined, that any colony or province which ſhould not accede to, or might afterwards violate the aſſociation, ſhould be branded as inimical to the liberties of their country; and all dealings and intercourſe whatever with ſuch colony was interdicted.

After appointing another meeting of Congreſs to be held in Philadelphia on the 10th of May enſuing, unleſs grievances ſhould be redreſſed before that time, and making proper acknowledgments to the Britiſh patriots who had with ſuch noble zeal, though ſo little ſucceſs, pleaded their cauſe in parliament, they ſet about framing a petition to the King; a memorial to the people of Great Britain at large; an addreſs to the colonies, and another to the inhabitants of the province of Quebec. All theſe papers were drawn up in a maſterly manner, and in ſuch a way as to do great honour to the American leaders, and ought to have given a much more favourable opinion of them, than what was entertained by the generality of people in this country.

Petition to the King.

But, of all the papers iſſued at this time by Congreſs, the addreſs to the inhabitants of Canada was the moſt artful. They declared, however, that they did not require them to commence acts of hoſtility againſt the government of their common Sovereign; that they only invited them to conſult their own glory

Letter to the Canadians.

glory and welfare, and not to ſuffer themſelves to be inveigled or intimidated by infamous miniſters, ſo far as to become inſtruments of their cruelty and deſpotiſm. They concluded by informing them, that the Congreſs had, with univerſal pleaſure, and by an unanimous vote, reſolved, that they ſhould conſider the violation of their rights by the act for altering the government of that province, as a violation of their own; and that they ſhould be invited to accede to the confederation, which had no other objects than the common ſecurity of the natural and civil rights of all the conſtituent members, according to their reſpective circumſtances, and the preſervation of a happy and laſting connection with Great Britain, on the ſalutary and conſtitutional principles they had before mentioned. CHAP. X. 1774.

Having iſſued theſe papers, the Continental Congreſs broke up on the 26th of October, and left the Americans in great expectations, as well from the petition to the King, as the addreſs to the inhabitants of England. The indifference, however, with which this addreſs was generally received, quickly convinced them, that nothing was to be hoped for from that quarter. This apparent indifference, ſo contrary to the expectations of the colonies, had ariſen from ſeveral cauſes. The American conteſts were no longer new. They had engaged the attention of Parliament, with very little intermiſſion, for a period of ten years. Moſt of the ſubjects in diſpute were exhauſted by endleſs altercations; and the paſſions excited by them, however violent at firſt, had now ſubſided, and been ſucceeded by that liſtleſſneſs and langour conſequent on violent agitations of the mind. The former non-importation agreement had been diſſolved, without producing any ſerious conſequences, owing moſt probably to the diviſions occaſioned by the repeal of the ſeveral new taxes in 1767. Moſt people, therefore, flattered themſelves, that as things had ſo frequently appeared at the verge of a rupture, without actually arriving at it, ſome Congreſs breaks up, Oct. 26.

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means would ſtill be found for accommodating this diſpute; or, at worſt, it was ſuppoſed, that the Americans themſelves would grow tired. An opinion was alſo circulated, with great induſtry, that a ſhew of reſolution on the part of the Britiſh miniſtry, if perſevered in for ſome time, would certainly put an end to the conteſt, which, it was ſaid, had been wholly nouriſhed by former conceſſions. The generality of people, therefore, were inclined to leave the trial of the effects of perſeverance and reſolution to miniſtry, who valued themſelves on theſe qualities. The Court itſelf had alſo adhered to this plan with great obſtinacy for many years, and thus had gained frequent victories, not only over the regular Oppoſition, but even over parties in the miniſtry itſelf, who, either through fear or weakneſs, or change of opinion, had been likely to waver. Thus adminiſtration, being little oppoſed at home, was left at leiſure to proſecute ſuch meaſures againſt America as had either been already adopted, or were as yet in embryo. A very unexpected meaſure, however, was this year adopted, viz. the diſſolution of Parliament, for which the patriots had ſo often petitioned in vain.

Britiſh Parliament diſſolved, with the probable reaſons.

For this diſſolution various cauſes were aſſigned. The Parliament at that time had but one ſeſſion more to run before its diſſolution took place of courſe, of which the popular party had deſigned to take advantage, and, in ſome few places, teſts had already been framed, which the future candidates were to ſign, previous to their receiving any aſſurance of favour or ſupport from the electors. At a meeting of the freeholders of the county of Middleſex, a teſt was propoſed to Mr Wilkes and Serjeant Glynn, and by them ſigned, in which they engaged to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to promote bills for ſhortening the duration of Parliaments, for the excluſion of placemen and penſioners from the Houſe of Commons, with other patriotic reſolves, as well as for the repeal of the obnoxious American acts. Other teſts

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on a ſimilar plan had been propoſed; and it was the opinion of ſome people, that the miniſtry, being afraid of a formidable oppoſition, had taken this meaſure of diſſolving the Parliament, and getting another called, before the popular party could have time to frame teſts, and go through the regular ſteps of their plan. CHAP. X. 1774.

The moſt probable reaſon of this diſſolution, however, is, that as the iſſue of American affairs became every day more precarious, it was proper that the election ſhould be over before the minds of the people were irritated by any ſiniſter event. Should the news of any misfortune arrive about the time of the general election, there could be no doubt that every thing would fall before the popular party. A ſaving of expence to the friends of government, by ſhortening the time of conteſt, had alſo, in all probability, its ſhare. Oppoſition, indeed, complained of unfair play; that ſome places were loſt by ſurprize; and that thoſe in the ſecret had vaſt advantages, by ſetting out for the ſcene of action in proper time, and taking the neceſſary meaſures to ſtrengthen their own intereſt, before there was even a ſuſpicion of any ſuch deſign on the other ſide.

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New Parliament——Addreſs——Irreſolution of Miniſtry——Lord Chatham's motion to recal the troops rejected——American papers——Falſehood of the Miniſter——Lord Chatham's conciliatory motion——Petitions——Lord North's plan——Marquis of Rockingham's motion——Maſſachuſetts Bay reſtraining bill——London merchants petition——Quakers petition——Houſe of Lords——Lord North's conciliatory plan——Other conciliatory plans rejected——London petition to the King——Petition of New York——Lord Effingham's ſpeech and reſignation——Seſſion concludes.

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WHATEVER the reaſons might be for the diſſolution of Parliament, it is certain, that, to the great ſurpriſe of the nation in general, a proclamation for this purpoſe was iſſued on the 30th of September, and the writs made returnable for a new one on the 29th of November following. The elections, however, notwithſtanding the ſhortneſs of the time, were conteſted with extraordinary vigour; and it was obſerved by the curious, that a greater number of the old members were thrown out than is uſual at general elections. In London, the popular party carried every thing before them. Mr Wilkes was again elected member for Middleſex, as well as Lord Mayor of London; and the miniſtry were now too wiſe to give him any diſturbance. The Court, however, did not ſeem inclined in the leaſt to relax from its former plan of coercive meaſures, notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs that had hitherto attended them. The ſpeech from the throne, at the meeting of Parliament, ſet forth the conduct of the Americans, particularly the inhabitants of Maſſachuſetts Bay, in the moſt atrocious light; and a firm reſolution

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tion was announced of withſtanding to the utmoſt every attempt to oppoſe the ſupreme legiſlative authority of Great Britain over all the dominions of the Crown, the maintenance of which was held to be eſſential to the welfare, ſafety, and dignity of the empire in general.

Debates on the addreſs.

An addreſs, in anſwer to the ſpeech, was propoſed in the uſual form, by the miniſter: but the oppoſite party inſiſted, that a requeſt ſhould be made to his Majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to communicate the whole intelligence he had received from America, as well as the letters, orders, and inſtructions relative to that buſineſs. This amendment was oppoſed by miniſtry, on the grounds of addreſſes being merely complimentary; that there was not then time for entering into a full diſcuſſion of American affairs; but that they would come before the Houſe in their due order, &c. After a warm debate, the original addreſs was carried by a prodigious majority, no leſs than 264 to 73.

In the Houſe of Lords, the debates were no leſs warm than in the Houſe of Commons. Thoſe in oppoſition argued, that they could not, in the preſent critical ſituation of affairs, agree to a mere complimentary addreſs, which might lead into meaſures deſtructive of the lives, properties, and liberties of a great part of their fellow-ſubjects. They objected to it as implying an approbation of the unfortunate ſyſtem adopted by the laſt Parliament with regard to America; and it afforded a melancholy proſpect of the diſpoſition of the Lords, in the preſent Parliament, to ſee them ſo ready to adopt the proceedings of the former Houſe, which had been productive of ſo much miſchief, without any rational proſpect of advantage. On the miniſterial ſide it was replied, that the proceedings in America had been ſuch, that if they were not inſtantly oppoſed by a ſpirited declaration of Parliament, the cauſe would ſeem to be given up. The ſooner, therefore, the new Parliament ſpoke out, the better; and it was hoped that this Aſſembly would ſhew the

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same regard for its dignity that had done so much honour to the former.

By the division on this debate, it appeared, that the Opposition had not gained any increase in numbers, the division being sixty-three to thirteen. The dispute, however, was remarkable for a protest, being the first mentioned in the English history upon an address. It concluded thus, "But, whatever may be the mischievous designs, or the inconsiderate temerity, which leads others to this desperate course, we wish to be known as persons who have ever disapproved of measures so pernicious in their past effects and their future tendency, and who are not in haste, without inquiry or information, to commit ourselves in declarations which may precipitate our country into all the calamities of a civil war."

Irresolution of the ministry.

Notwithstanding all the hostile declarations of ministry, however, their activity in pushing forward their schemes in Parliament did not keep pace with what might have been concluded to be their design. The national estimates were entirely formed upon a peace establishment. The land-tax was continued at three shillings in the pound, the army on its former footing, and only 16,000 instead of 20,000 seamen were voted for the ensuing year. This gave fresh occasion to the members in Opposition to pour forth their censure. They represented the conduct of their adversaries as so inconsistent, that it was impossible to know what to make of it. The speech from the throne had announced matters to be in the most alarming and dangerous situation; and yet, instead of taking such measures as coincided with that vigorous plan they had so much insisted upon, they had begun with reducing the naval force of the kingdom. This had all the appearance of a ministerial trick. They formed estimates, in the first place, only to serve as waste paper, and never to be adhered to; after which they were to surprise the House with grants of an improper and burdensome nature: for, to talk of enforcing acts upon a reduced establishment, was a sort of language

language only fit to be uſed to children. In the miniſterial anſwer, beſides the uſual arguments, that there was no information to be laid before the Houſe; that it was not time as yet to conſider the affairs of the colonies, &c. the American power was held in the utmoſt contempt. The miniſter of the naval department publicly aſſerted in the Houſe of Lords, that, to his certain knowledge, the low eſtabliſhment propoſed would be fully ſufficient for reducing the coloniſts to obedience. They *were* not, and *could* not be diſciplined: ſo that their boaſted numbers were entirely uſeleſs; nay, would add to the facility of their defeat.

On this occaſion, however, the moſt wary ſilence was obſerved by the miniſters with regard to their deſigns againſt the Americans; being, in all probability, afraid that they would meet with a violent oppoſition from the mercantile intereſt; and in this they were not deceived. A general alarm had been ſpread during the receſs; the merchants of ſeveral towns had met and prepared petitions to Parliament; and Lord Chatham, though now broken with age and infirmities, once more appeared in the Houſe of Lords, to teſtify his diſapprobation of miniſterial meaſures. By him a motion was made, Jan. 20. 1775, for recalling the troops from Boſton. He repreſented this meaſure as a matter not of choice, but of neceſſity. An hour loſt in allaying the preſent ferment might produce years of calamity, as the ſituation of the inhabitants and troops, with regard to one another, rendered them continually liable to events which might cut off all poſſibility of a reconciliation: whereas, ſuch a conciliatory meaſure on the part of Britain would remove all jealouſy and apprehenſion on the part of the colonies, and inſtantaneouſly produce the happieſt effects to both countries. He ſeverely reproved Adminiſtration for refuſing to take the American affairs inſtantly into conſideration; for deluding and deceiving the people by miſrepreſentations of facts; perſuading them that Boſton ſtood unconnected with

Lord Chatham's motion for recalling the troops rejected. Jan. 20.

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with the other colonies in the diſpute with Great Britain, and that quiet would be reſtored to that city by the appearance of a ſingle regiment, &c. After condemning, in the moſt explicit manner, the whole ſeries of miniſterial conduct with regard to America, he is ſaid to have concluded his ſpeech with the following words: "If the miniſters thus perſevere in *miſadviſing* and *miſleading* the King, I will not ſay that they can alienate the affections of his ſubjects from his crown; but I will affirm, that they will make the crown not worth his wearing.—I will not ſay that the King is betrayed, but I will pronounce that the kingdom is undone."

But, whatever might have been the hopes entertained by Lord Chatham of the importance of the motion he had made, or the good effects reſulting from an adoption of his meaſure, it is certain, that the majority paid very little regard to it. The queſtion was loſt by a majority of ſixty-eight to eighteen; and, on this occaſion, the Duke of Cumberland divided with the minority. Such a deciſive victory, however, as it diſcovered to the miniſter the true diſpoſition of the new Parliament, ſo it was thought to have given him confidence to go farther in his plan of coercion than he would otherwiſe have ventured to have done. The American papers, at leaſt ſuch of them as the miniſter at this time choſe to produce, were now laid before the Houſe. He did not, however, pretend to ſay, that they contained all the intelligence relating to America; nor would he make known the names or opinions of the perſons who wrote them; thus laying himſelf open to the innuendo of a celebrated gentleman in oppoſition, who having in vain called for the reſt of the information, charged the miniſter with making public only ſuch extracts of letters as beſt ſuited his purpoſe. To charges of this kind, however, he was now too callous to pay any regard. The papers, conſiſting chiefly of mutilated letters between the governors of the colonies and the Britiſh miniſtry, were taken into the

American papers laid before the Houſe.

the conſideration of a committee of the whole Houſe; but, leſt they ſhould be diſturbed in their deliberations upon them, a manœuvre was fallen upon to ſuppreſs that multitude of petitions which was about to invade them from all quarters. It was now diſcovered, that the whole affair was to be conſidered in a political, and not in a commercial light; though it was upon account of the commercial intereſts of the kingdom the miniſtry had ſo violently eſpouſed the quarrel. As the views of the Houſe, therefore, according to this new declaration of the miniſterial party, were very different from thoſe of the mercantile part of the kingdom, it would be the higheſt abſurdity to employ a committee, whoſe thoughts were totally occupied with the former, in conſidering the latter. A ſeparate committee was therefore propoſed for conſidering the petitions of the merchants, and this committee was to begin its ſittings on the 27th of January, the day after that for taking the American affairs into conſideration.

A ſeparate committee appointed to examine petitions, January 27.

On this occaſion very violent debates enſued, in which the utmoſt aſperity of language was made uſe of, eſpecially on the part of Oppoſition. The miniſtry, beſides the reaſons already given, repreſented, that the committee of the whole Houſe was appointed for the more ſpeedy diſcuſſion of American affairs: That the reſtoration of peace depended as much on the immediate application, as upon the vigour of the meaſures determined: That the great variety of facts, and maſs of matter, which of courſe muſt come under the petition-committee, would render it a matter too difficult and tedious in the preſent ſituation of affairs, when every poſſible diſpatch in the way of buſineſs was required. Theſe reaſons were treated with the utmoſt contempt by Oppoſition. The pretence of appointing a committee, they ſaid, was a pitiful ſhift to defeat the petitions, which they durſt not openly reject. Granting it to be true, that the American diſputes were merely of a political nature, yet it was certain, that the merchants, whoſe correſpondence

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dence was so extensive, and their information on all subjects so large, might be of use to the House, especially as the minister had refused to communicate all the knowledge that he himself had on the subject; and it was a contradiction to pretend loss of time in the consideration of the petitions, when so much had been wantonly thrown away already. The question for the separate committee, however, was carried by a majority of one hundred and ninety-seven to eighty-one.

Thus were consigned to the *Committee of Oblivion*, as it was named by the members in opposition, the petitions from London, Bristol, Glasgow, Norwich, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Woolverhampton, Dudley, &c. The London merchants presented another petition in the strongest language, setting forth, that the connection betwixt Great Britain and America was of the commercial kind; and that the benefits derived from thence were entirely of the same nature: That observing the constant attention which the British legislature had, for more than a century, given to these valuable objects, they had been taught to admire the regulations by which that connection had been preserved, and those benefits secured, as the most effectual institution which human wisdom could have framed for these salutary purposes: That presuming, therefore, on that opinion, and supported by that observation, they represented, that the fundamental policy of these laws of which they complained, and the propriety of enforcing, relaxing, or amending them, were questions inseparably united with the commerce between Great Britain and America; and consequently, that a decision on the one, could not be entered upon without a full discussion of the other. They lamented the late decision, referring their petition to a separate committee; by which, they said, they were precluded from such a hearing in its support, as could alone procure them the relief demanded by the importance and present deplorable state of their trade. They concluded by praying,

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praying, that they might be heard by themſelves or their agents, in behalf of their former petition; and that no reſolution reſpecting America might be taken by the Houſe, or by any committee thereof, until they ſhould be fully heard. A motion was then made, that this ſecond petition ſhould be referred to the committee of the whole Houſe; but, after a moſt violent debate, it was rejected by a majority of two hundred and fifty to eighty-nine.

Falſehood of the Miniſter with regard to the Eaſt India Company expoſed.

In the courſe of this debate, Lord North having riſen to reply to the charges brought againſt him by the minority, ſaid, among other things, That it was impoſſible for him to have foreſeen the proceedings in America reſpecting the tea: That the duty had been quietly collected before: That the great quantity of teas in the warehouſes of the Eaſt India Company, as appeared by the report of the Secret Committe, made it neceſſary to do ſomething for the benefit of the Company. It was to ſerve them that ninepence in the pound weight drawback was allowed; and it was impoſſible for him to foretel, that the Americans would find fault with being able to drink their tea at ninepence *per* pound cheaper than before.

This called up Governor Johnſon, a gentleman long celebrated for his knowledge of India affairs, and of great weight with the Company. He ſaid, he aroſe merely to ſpeak to a matter of fact: That he could not ſit ſtill and hear the noble lord plume himſelf upon actions which, of all others, were the moſt reprehenſible in his train of political abſurdities: That it was unbecoming to alledge, that this dangerous meaſure had been adopted to ſerve the Eaſt India Company, when it was notorious, that the Company had requeſted the repeal of the threepence *per* pound in America, and felt and knew the abſurdity of giving a drawback here, and laying on a duty there: That the Company offered their conſent, that government ſhould retain ſixpence in the pound on the exportation, if the threepence was remitted in

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America: That he himſelf had formerly, in his place, requeſted and entreated the noble lord to remove the cauſe of diſpute; and that he then foretold to him the conſequence of perſevering in error. The Company, he ſaid, had thus preſented the happieſt opportunity that could be offered for removing with credit the cauſe of the American diſcontents. The ſupporting the authority of parliament was the only cauſe aſſigned by the miniſter himſelf for retaining the duty on tea; at the ſame time he acknowledged it to be as anti-commercial a tax as any of thoſe which he had repealed upon that principle. Here, then, ſprung the happieſt occaſion of doing right, without interfering with the claims on either ſide. The Eaſt India Company aſked, their ſituation required the relief. It could not be alledged, that this was done at the inſtance of American diſcontent.—New contrivances were ſet on foot to introduce the tea into America. Various intrigues, ſolicitations, and counter-ſolicitations, were uſed to induce the chairman and deputy-chairman of the Company to undertake this raſh and fooliſh buſineſs. It had been proteſted againſt as contrary to the principles of their monopoly; yet the power of miniſtry prevailed, and they would, notwithſtanding, cover all thoſe facts, which were ready, from their conſequences, to convulſe the whole empire, under a pretence merely of ſerving the Eaſt India Company.—The facts urged by this gentleman never were denied by the miniſterial party, either at that time or afterwards.

Petition of Congreſs rejected.

A petition was next preſented by Mr Bollan, Dr Franklin, and Mr Lee, three American agents, ſetting forth, That they were authoriſed by the American Continental Congreſs to preſent a petition from the Congreſs to the King, which petition his Majeſty had referred to that Houſe. They were enabled, they ſaid, to throw great light upon the ſubject; and prayed to be heard at the bar in ſupport of it. Their application had the ſame fate with the reſt. The motion

tion for receiving the petition was rejected by a majority of two hundred and eighteen to ſixty-eight. The merchants of London alſo made another effort to get ſome notice taken of their petitions, but in vain. Two contrary petitions arrived from Birmingham, the one praying for the enforcement of the American penal laws, the other againſt it. A motion was made to inquire into the manner of procuring and ſigning both petitions; and alſo how far the perſons ſeverally ſigning them were concerned in the trade to North America; but this was over-ruled, as uſual, and the miniſter left completely maſter of the field.

Lord Chatham's conciliatory motion refuſed a hearing, Feb. 1.

In the Houſe of Lords the matter was no leſs violently diſputed than in the Commons. Lord Chatham brought in a bill, entitled, "A proviſional act for ſettling the troubles in America, and for aſſerting the ſupreme legiſlative authority and ſuperintending power of Great Britain over the colonies." By this bill, the holding of a Congreſs in the enſuing month of May was allowed, for the double purpoſe of duely recogniſing the ſupreme legiſlative authority and ſuperintending power of parliament over the colonies, and for making a free grant to the King, his heirs and ſucceſſors, of a certain and perpetual revenue, ſubject to the diſpoſition of parliament, and applicable to the alleviation of the national debt; taking it for granted, that this free aid would bear an honourable proportion to the great and flouriſhing ſtate of the colonies, the neceſſities of the mother-country, and their obligations to her. On theſe conditions it reſtrained the powers of the admiralty-courts to their ancient limits; and without repealing, ſuſpended for a limited time thoſe late acts, or parts of acts, which had been complained of in the petition from the Continental Congreſs. It placed the judges upon the ſame footing, as to the holding of their ſalaries and offices, with thoſe of England; and ſecured to the colonies all the privileges, franchiſes, and immunities granted by their ſeveral charters and

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conſtitutions. This propoſal was treated with the utmoſt indignity and contempt; not being allowed even to lie upon the table. On this occaſion, as on a former, the duke of Cumberland divided with the minority.

Various petitions rejected, Feb. 2.

The day after the rejection of Lord Chatham's conciliatory plan, a petition was preſented to the Commons by the Weſt India planters, and the merchants trading to theſe colonies, in which it was ſet forth, "That the Britiſh property in the Weſt Indies amounted to more than thirty millions Sterling: That the plantations were ſubject to many more contingencies than any other ſpecies of property, from their neceſſary dependence on external ſupport; conſequently, ſhould any interruption happen in the general ſyſtem of their commerce, the great national ſtock thus veſted and employed muſt become precarious and unprofitable: That the profits ariſing from thoſe iſlands, in the ſtate they were at that time, depended in a great meaſure on a free and reciprocal intercourſe between them and the ſeveral provinces of North America, from whence they were furniſhed with proviſions, and other ſupplies abſolutely neceſſary for their ſupport, and the maintenance of their plantations. They proceeded then to ſhow, that they could not be ſupplied from any other markets, in any degree proportionate to their wants, with thoſe articles of indiſpenſible neceſſity which they derived from North America; and that if the agreement and aſſociation of the Congreſs ſhould take full effect, which they firmly believed would happen, unleſs the former harmony between Great Britain and her colonies ſhould be reſtored, the iſlands would be reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs."—This petition, like all the reſt, was conſigned to the Committee of Oblivion, and the miniſter at length opened his plan with regard to America.

Ld. North's plan with regard to America. Feb. 2.

The meaſures now propoſed by the miniſter were entirely of the coercive kind. A greater force was to be ſent to America, and a temporary act paſſed

to

to put a ſtop to all the foreign trade of the New England colonies, particularly their fiſhery on the banks of Newfoundland, until they returned to their duty; at the ſame time declaring, that whenever they ſhould acknowledge the ſupreme authority of the Britiſh legiſlature, pay obedience to the laws of this realm, and make a due ſubmiſſion to the King, their real grievances, upon their making proper application, ſhould be redreſſed. The other colonies, he ſaid, were not ſo culpable, and he hoped might yet be brought to a ſenſe of their duty to their mother-country by more lenient meaſures. The queſtion now lay within a very narrow compaſs, and was ſimply, Whether we ſhould abandon all claims on the colonies, and at once give up all the advantages ariſing from our ſovereignty, and the commerce dependent on it? Or, Whether we ſhould have recourſe to the meaſures indiſpenſibly neceſſary in ſuch circumſtances, and thereby enſure both?—An addreſs to the following purpoſe was then propoſed:—"To return thanks for the communication of the American papers, and to declare, that having taken them into moſt ſerious conſideration, they found, that a part of his Majeſty's ſubjects in the province of Maſſachuſetts Bay had proceeded ſo far as to reſiſt the authority of the ſupreme legiſlature, and that a rebellion actually exiſted at that time within the province: That with the utmoſt concern they perceived, that they had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful engagements and combinations entered into in ſeveral of the other colonies, to the injury and oppreſſion of many of their innocent fellow-ſubjects in Great Britain and the reſt of his Majeſty's dominions: That this conduct appeared the more inexcuſable, when it was conſidered, with how much temper his Majeſty and both Houſes of Parliament had acted in ſupport of the laws and conſtitution of Great Britain: That they never could ſo far deſert the truſt repoſed in them, as to relinquiſh any part of the ſovereign authority over all the dominions

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which by law is veſted in his Majeſty and the two Houſes of Parliament; and, that the conduct of many perſons in ſeveral of the colonies, during the late diſturbances, was of itſelf ſufficient to convince them of the neceſſity of that power, for the protection of the lives and fortunes of his Majeſty's ſubjects.—They ever had been, and would be ready to pay attention and regard to any real grievances of his Majeſty's ſubjects, which in a dutiful and conſtitutional manner ſhould be laid before them; and whenever any of the colonies ſhould make a proper application to them, they ſhould be ready to afford them every juſt and reaſonable indulgence; but, at the ſame time, they conſidered it as their indiſpenſible duty, humbly to beſeech his Majeſty, that he would take the moſt effectual meaſures to enforce due obedience to the laws and ſupreme authority of the legiſlature; and begged leave, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to aſſure his Majeſty of their fixed reſolution, at the hazard of their lives and properties, to ſtand by his Majeſty againſt all rebellious attempts, in the maintenance of his juſt rights, and thoſe of the two Houſes of Parliament."

Great debates with regard to it.

By this formidable addreſs, the reſentment of Oppoſition was not only excited to the utmoſt, but even ſome of the moſt moderate friends of adminiſtration were ſtaggered. It was denied, that what the miniſter called *acts of treaſon and ſedition* were ſo in reality; nor did they ariſe from rebellious motives; on the contrary, they were occaſioned by the conduct of thoſe who had attempted to eſtabliſh deſpotiſm among the Americans, as a prelude to the realizing the ſame wicked ſyſtem in the mother-country. An oppoſition to arbitrary meaſures was not only juſtifiable, but eſtabliſhed by precedent. At any rate, it was a matter of little importance, whether the tranſactions in America might properly be called *rebellion* or not. The queſtion was, Whether or not it was prudent in the Houſe to declare them ſo? If, in the courſe of events, it ſhould be found neceſſary

neceſſary to make any conceſſion, or propoſe a treaty, ſuch conduct with regard to rebels would be highly diſhonourable to parliament; and, if no treaty ſhould take place, their arms would never be the more powerful for diſtinguiſhing the war by the name of *a rebellion*. Such a declaration could have no other tendency than to make a great number, if not the whole people in America, deſperate. It was in vain to think that the other colonies could be blinded by ſingling out the colony of Maſſachuſetts Bay as the only ſeat of rebellion. On the other hand, this could only ſerve to unite them the more firmly in one common cauſe, which, indeed, had been already done in a great meaſure by the coercive acts paſſed by the laſt parliament. There was a neceſſity, therefore, either for attempting ſomething to effectuate a reconciliation with the coloniſts, or to provide for a war with the whole. CHAP. XI. 1775.

The miniſterial reply conſiſted in making law-diſtinctions, at that time abſurd in the extreme, between thoſe who had actually reſiſted the laws by force, and thoſe who had not yet proceeded to that length. The declaration of parliament, it was ſaid, did not preclude the mercy of the Crown; on the contrary, the addreſs itſelf was an act of mercy, in warning an ignorant and obſtinate people of their danger. It was not neceſſary to puniſh univerſally; the puniſhment of Hancock, with ſome of the principal ringleaders, would be ſufficient. The boaſted union of the colonies would diſſolve the moment the parliament ſhewed itſelf reſolved to act with vigour and ſeverity. The whole of their political confederacy, as well as their commercial aſſociations, were founded upon principles of ſelf-denial, ſuffering, and rigour, not to be indured by human nature; and, therefore, muſt inſtantly fall to the ground. It was alſo aſſerted, that the Americans neither were ſoldiers, nor ever could be made ſo; being naturally of a puſillanimous diſpoſition, and utterly incapable of any ſort of order or diſcipline: That, by their

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lazineſs, uncleanlineſs, or radical defect of conſtitution, they were incapable of going through the ſervice of a campaign; but would melt way with ſickneſs before they could face an enemy; ſo that a very ſlight force would be more than ſufficient to reduce them completely.

A gentleman, (Mr C. Fox,) who had not long before ſat at the Treaſury Board, moved to leave out all but the preliminary words of the addreſs, and to ſubſtitute after them the following, "But deploring, that the information which they (the papers laid before the Houſe) had afforded, ſerved only to convince the Houſe that the meaſures taken by his Majeſty's ſervants, tended rather to widen than to heal the unhappy differences between Great Britain and America." This amendment, however, was rejected by a very great majority, of no fewer than three hundred and four to one hundred and five; after which the queſtion being put upon the original motion for the addreſs, was carried by two hundred and ninety-ſix to one hundred and ſix. Another motion was made to recommit the addreſs, on account of its threatening to involve the nation in the horrors of civil war. This occaſioned a very violent debate, attended with great animoſity and aſperity of expreſſion on both ſides: The miniſters were charged with acting uniformly and ſyſtematically upon Tory and arbitrary principles, ſubverſive of the conſtitution, deſtructive of the rights of the people, and which had thrown the whole empire into a ſtate of diſtraction and confuſion. By a purſuance of theſe diſgraceful and ruinous meaſures, they had tarniſhed the luſtre of the Crown, alienated the affections of the people, and ſunk the nation from the higheſt pinnacle of power and glory, to a degree of contempt in the eſtimation of the reſt of Europe, which, only a few years ago, it would have been deemed impoſſible for the accumulated misfortunes and diſgraces of an age to have accompliſhed. But that, in the true ſpirit of a Tory adminiſtration, they had ſacrificed the honour

nour and intereſt of the nation in all tranſactions with foreigners; and reſerved all the ſpirit, the pride, the dignity and force of government, to be played off againſt the liberties of the people at home. A bitter day of retribution, however, it was predicted, would inevitably come, when they muſt anſwer to the juiſtce of their country, for the miſchief they had already done, and for the irretrievable ruin into which they had plunged the nation. CHAP. XI. 1775.

On the other ſide, all the evils and diſturbances in America were, directly or indirectly, attributed to the Oppoſition. Great complaints were made of a faction at home, a republican ſpirit and principles, and that the Americans were ſpirited up to their violence and rebellion by incendiary writers and ſpeakers in England. In the courſe of this violence and altercation, Sir W. Mayne, having ſpoken ſomething of *Catalines* at home, who ought to be dragged forth to public diſgrace and puniſhment, was called to by the Right Hon. T. Townſhend to point them out. He was told, that the imputation was undoubtedly juſt; but he ſeemed to miſplace it: That if he meant by Catalines, thoſe who were involving their country in all the horrors of civil war, they could eaſily be found; but it would be on that ſide on which he did not wiſh the ſearch to be made. The queſtion, however, being at laſt put on a recommitment of the addreſs, the motion was loſt by two hundred and eighty-eight to one hundred and five.

Next day, February 7. a conference was held with the Upper Houſe, at the requeſt of the Commons, to propoſe their joining in the addreſs. This buſineſs being over, the Marquis of Rockingham ſtood up to preſent a petition from he Weſt India planters to the Lords, juſt at the very moment that the Earl of Dartmouth aroſe to ſpeak on the affairs of that country. A debate having enſued who ſhould be firſt heard, the preference was at laſt given to the Earl of Dartmouth, on account of the importance

Marquis of Rockingham's motion rejected, Feb. 7.

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portance of the ſubject on which he was to ſpeak. This, however, took up but little time; he having only made a motion to inſert the words "the Lords Spiritual and Temporal" in the addreſs of the Commons, that ſo it might jointly come from the two Houſes.

The Marquis now introduced the ſubject of the petitions; and in his ſpeech, after ſtating the importance of the ſubject, offered inſtantly to bring evidence, that ſome of the Weſt India iſlands could not ſubſiſt after the preſent addreſs had once had its full operation in America. He alſo denied that any real information could be obtained, concerning the affairs of that continent, from papers ſo imperfect, and avowedly curtailed, as had been laid before parliament by the miniſter. He likewiſe maintained, that even if the papers had been in their original ſtate, they were inſufficient to convey that full information which was neceſſary in the preſent caſe. The ſervants of the Crown were much more liable to be impoſed upon than the merchants, as was evident from the falſe information which had already been given, and by which the miſchievous acts of parliament, ſo much complained of, had been produced.

Theſe, and other arguments, were anſwered by miniſtry in the uſual ſtile,—That there was a neceſſity either to relinquiſh America entirely, or inſtantly to compel ſubmiſſion by every poſſible method. The diſtreſſes of people of all ranks were acknowledged, but treated as a matter of little conſequence, in compariſon of the vaſt advantages to be derived from a ſucceſsful war. Even if fortune ſhould declare for the Americans, and Britain be obliged at laſt to relinquiſh her claim of ſovereignty, ſtill it was her duty to aſſert it. The prize was great, and well worth contending for. The event of all human affairs is uncertain. No plan, however well concerted, can inſure ſucceſs: The queſtion, however, was, Whether it were better inſtantly to give up our rights without any conteſt, or abide the utmoſt inconvenience

convenience that would attend our aſſertion of them? CHAP. XI. 1775.

In the courſe of this debate, Lord Camden, who had been very ſevere in his charge againſt the Americans, to the great ſurpriſe of the Houſe, condemned, with the utmoſt aſperity, the meaſure of laying on the duties in 1767, which he declared to be the moſt abſurd and pernicious that could be deviſed, and the cauſe of all the evils which at preſent threatened the ſtate. This unexpected declaration was followed by one ſtill more ſurpriſing. Three lords, who at that time had been cabinet counſellors, and held the firſt offices in the ſtate, declared ſeparately, that they had no ſhare in that meaſure, nor had ever given it any approbation: two of them condemned it in expreſs terms; and the other, who was ſtill in high office, did not by any means ſeem to approve of it.

This piece of intelligence was received with the greateſt marks of aſtoniſhment. That any meaſure ſhould be adopted by miniſtry, contrary to the inclination and judgment of miniſters, ſeemed a paradox to be explained only on the ſuppoſition of an unſeen and ſecret influence over the national councils, ſo often complained of by the patriots. This notion was accordingly revived and lamented; much altercation, arraignment, and recrimination took place: however, no material change happened in the general ſentiments of the Houſe; the Marquis of Rockingham's motion was loſt, and the petitions refuſed a hearing, by a vaſt majority of one hundred and four to twenty-nine. A proteſt was ſigned by eighteen lords, in which the meaſures of adminiſtration were ſeverely condemned, and which concluded in the following manner: "Becauſe the means of enforcing the authority of the Britiſh legiſlature is confided to perſons of whoſe *capacity* for that purpoſe, from abundant experience, we have reaſon to doubt; and who have hitherto made uſe of no effectual means of conciliating, or of reducing thoſe who oppoſe that authority: This appears in the conſtant failure of all their

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their projects, the insufficiency of all their information, and the disappointment of all the hopes which they have for several years held out to the public. Parliament has never refused any of their proposals, and yet our affairs have proceeded daily from bad to worse, until we have been brought, step by step, to that state of confusion, and even civil violence, which was the natural result of these desperate measures.

"We, therefore, protest against an address, amounting to a declaration of war, which is founded on no proper parliamentary information; which was introduced by refusing to suffer the presentation of petitions against it, (although it be the undoubted right of the subject to present the same); which followed the rejection of every mode of reconciliation; which holds out no substantial offer of redress of grievances; and which promises support to those ministers who have inflamed America, and grosly misconducted the affairs of Great Britain."

Massachusetts Bay restraining bill passed.

Thus the ministry, having proved ultimately victorious, no farther obstacle remained to the entering upon decisive measures with regard to America. In answer to the address, a message was sent from the throne, demanding an augmentation of the forces by sea and land. This being referred to the usual Committee of Supply, a project was next formed of laying farther restrictions on the province of Massachusetts Bay; it being deemed absurd to send a military force thither, without making proper coercive laws, of which the military were to enforce the execution. For this purpose, the minister declared he would make choice of a punishment so universal, that all ranks and degrees of men could not but be affected by it, which, of course, he supposed, would produce obedience to the former laws. A bill was therefore brought into the House of Commons, to restrain the trade and commerce of the provinces of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and Providence Plantation

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Plantation in North America, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the Britiſh iſlands in the Weſt Indies; and to prohibit ſuch colonies and provinces from carrying on any fiſhery on the banks of Newfoundland, or other places therein to be mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a limited time. The extreme ſeverity of this act, however, might be alleviated by ſuch proviſions as would not deſtroy its main object; for which reaſon he would only propoſe it as temporary, to continue either to the end of the year, or the next ſeſſion of parliament; and he would alſo propoſe, that particular perſons might be excepted, upon their obtaining certificates from the governor of the province in which they reſided, of their good behaviour; or upon their ſubſcribing a teſt, acknowledging the rights of parliament.

The debates on this bill were long and violent; all the arguments which had been uſed on former occaſions by the members in Oppoſition were now collected and urged with the utmoſt vehemence. They were attended, however, with their uſual want of ſucceſs, the queſtion being carried in favour of the bill by two hundred and ſixty-one to eighty-five.

Petition of the London merchants, &c. rejected.

In the further progreſs of this bill, a petition was preſented by the merchants and traders in London, intereſted in the American commerce. The purport of it was, That, by its conſequences, the bill muſt overwhelm thouſands of his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects in poverty and diſtreſs, by depriving them of the only means by which they ſupported their families; and, that it would be injurious to the commerce of Great Britain, by diſabling the colonies from paying their debts. It would increaſe the diſturbances already exiſting in America, and probably prove the immediate cauſe of hoſtilities. It would induce the French to extend their fiſheries; and it would add to the ſufferings of the Americans, which, from the other oppreſſive and partial acts of Parliament, were already very ſevere, and would beſides invite them to a contraband trade.

This

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This petition had the ſingular good fortune to be heard; and it was even agreed, that the petitioners ſhould be allowed counſel in behalf of their allegations. In conſequence of this, a great number of witneſſes were examined at the bar, from whoſe depoſitions it appeared, that ſo long ago as the year 1764, the four provinces of New England employed, in their ſeveral fiſheries, no leſs than 45,880 ton of ſhipping, and 6002 men; and that the produce of their fiſheries in the foreign markets, for that year, amounted to the ſum of 322,220 l. 16 s. Since that time, the fiſheries had increaſed very much. The New England fiſh was much better than that taken by ſhips fitted out by Great Britain. All the materials uſed in the fiſheries, except ſalt, and the timber of which the veſſels were built, were taken from this country, and the nett proceeds of the fiſhery remitted here. It was alſo proved, that neither the whale nor cod fiſhery could be carried on to any degree of equal advantage and extent, either from Newfoundland or Great Britain, as from North America. In favour of the latter, there were ſeveral local and ſome natural advantages, which could neither be ſupplied nor counteracted. It was impoſſible to transfer the fiſheries from New England, either to Nova Scotia or Quebec, on account of the deficiencies both of men and money; nor could the natural diſadvantages of theſe places be counteracted any where elſe but in New England. At any rate, the ſtopping of one fiſhery, and eſtabliſhing another, muſt take up ſo much time, that the trade would be inevitably loſt; and the people belonging to the American fiſheries had ſuch an abhorrence of the military government of Halifax, as well as the manners of the people, that they would not be induced, by any conſideration, to remove thither, even ſuppoſing them reduced to the neceſſity of emigration. It appeared likewiſe, that there was nearly a million of money owing by the people of New England to the city of London only.

On

On the part of adminiſtration, Mr B. Liſter, of Pool, who had long traded to Newfoundland, was examined. He endeavoured to ſhew, that though the New England fiſhery ſhould be ſtopped, the foreign markets might nevertheleſs be ſufficiently ſupplied; in ſupport of which poſition, he urged, that the fiſhery from Great Britain might be extended to any degree whatever, as this iſland poſſeſſed men, money, and ſhips ſufficient for the purpoſe. He, however, cautiouſly evaded ſuch queſtions as might tend to overthrow the doctrine he meant to eſtabliſh. Being aſked, "Whether the ſhips fitted out for the Newfoundland fiſhery from Great Britain were not fitted out at one third more expence than thoſe of North America?" he anſwered, "That he was no judge of that matter:" And to another, "How many hundred ton of ſhipping had been employed on an average in the trade?" he replied, "That he had not conſidered the ſubject." In other matters, he ſeemed to have ſufficient information. His evidence, however, did not appear ſufficiently ſatisfactory to overthrow the teſtimony of all the reſt of the witneſſes. It appeared, that about 400 ſhips, carrying in all 36,000 tons; 2000 fiſhing ſhallops, of 20,000 tons burthen; and 20,000 men, were employed in the fiſhery from Great Britain to Newfoundland: That above 600,000 quintals of fiſh were taken annually, which, upon an average of ſeven years, were worth fourteen ſhillings per quintal; and, with the other amounts, conſiſting of ſalmon, cod-oil, ſeal-oil, and furs, exceeded half a million annually; and that of the 20,000 men from Great-Britain and Ireland, employed in that fiſhery, 8000 neceſſarily continued in Newfoundland all the winter.

Quakers petition in favour of Nantucket.

On this occaſion, ſome other petitions were preſented, particularly one from the Quakers, ſetting forth, That a great number of innocent perſons, particularly in the iſland of Nantucket, would, by the prohibitory bill, be reduced to extreme diſtreſs. The inhabitants

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inhabitants of this iſland amounted to between five and ſix thouſand in number: The ſoil of it was ſo barren, that, though fifteen miles in length by three in breadth, its produce was ſcarce ſufficient for the maintenance of twenty families. From the only harbour this iſland contains, without natural products of any ſort, the inhabitants, by an aſtoniſhing induſtry, kept an hundred and forty veſſels conſtantly employed. Of theſe, eight were occupied in the importation of neceſſary proviſions, and the reſt in the whale fiſhery; which, with invincible courage and perſeverance, they had extended from the frozen regions of the North, to the coaſt of Africa, the Brazils, and even as far ſouth as Falkland Iſlands; and ſome of their fiſhing voyages continued twelve months. The petition, after expatiating on the innocence, induſtry, and utility of this colony, the great hazards attending their occupation, and the uncertainty of their gains, ſhewed, that if the bill paſſed into a law, they muſt in a ſhort time be expoſed to all the dreadful miſeries of famine. The ſingular ſituation and circumſtances of theſe people occaſioned ſome attention to be paid to them. Mr Rice, a gentleman on the ſide of adminiſtration, declared, That, on a principle of humanity, he would move, that a clauſe ſhould be added to the bill, to prevent its operation being extended to any whale ſhips which ſailed before the 1ſt of March, and were at that time the property of the people of Nantucket.

Theſe petitions occaſioned a vaſt deal of diſputes in both houſes. A petition, ſimilar to that preſented to the Commons by the London merchants, was introduced into the Upper Houſe by the Marquis of Rockingham; and two of the witneſſes who had appeared at the bar of the other Houſe, were re-examined before the Lords.

Debates on the petitions in the Houſe of Lords.

In the preſent evidence, ſome new ground was taken in favour of the merchants, and the vaſt importance of the American commerce at large inſiſted upon. The former witneſs from Pool, with another

other who had been captain of a ſhip, from the ſame place, were alſo examined; and the teſtimony of two officers of rank in the ſea ſervice, both of whom had ſerved on the Newfoundland ſtation, was alſo received. By this evidence it was intended to prove, that the Britiſh Newfoundland fiſhery might be extended to ſuch a degree as to ſupply all the European markets; that if an abſolute prohibition took place, ſo as to exclude the Americans totally and perpetually from the fiſhery, it would be of the greateſt benefit to this nation; and, that upon every principle of policy and commerce, both to ſtrengthen our navy and increaſe our trade, it ſhould be confined entirely to our own people.

After the ſecond reading, the Maſſachuſett's bill was very ably oppoſed by the marquis of Rockingham. In the courſe of his ſpeech he entered into a very minute detail of the American trade, and took a comparative view of that of New England at different periods. In the year 1704, he ſhewed that the whole amount of the exports to New England was only about 70,000 l. annually; that in 1754, it had increaſed to 180,000 l. and in the ſucceeding ten years to 400,000 l. and that in the laſt ten years it had been nearly doubled. He concluded his ſpeech with a total diſapprobation of the meaſures purſued relative to the colonies, ſince the repeal of the ſtamp-act; and foretold, that an uſeful and conſtitutional agreement in ſentiments, and coalition of intereſts, could never take place between them and the mother country, unleſs the former meaſures preceding the laying on of any duties on the Americans were recurred to and adopted.

As yet, however, the efforts of Oppoſition ſerved only to ſhew the weakneſs of their cauſe. The prohibitory bill was carried by one hundred and four to twenty-nine. An amendment was propoſed, by which the colonies of New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, ſhould be included in the ſame reſtrictions with the New England colonies, and carried by ſeventy-three to twenty-one.

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But as this amendment produced a difference between the title and body of the bill, which would have occaſioned great embarraſſment to the officers who were to carry it into execution, it was rejected by the Commons; which rejection being agreed to by the Lords, in a conference held between the two houſes, it received the royal aſſent in its original form.

Lord North's conciliatory plan.

The New England reſtraining act was accompanied with a demand of two thouſand additional ſeamen, and four thouſand three hundred and eighty-three land forces; and the laſt demand followed by an explanation from the miniſter, that the force at Boſton would be augmented to ten thouſand men, which was deemed ſufficient for enforcing the laws; and that the appointment of a number of additional officers, (which, however, was complained of as a meaſure inducing needleſs expence,) was neceſſary, as it was intended to carry on the operations of America by means of detachments. Theſe propoſals drew forth the fierceſt wrath of Oppoſition; the inconſiſtency, folly, and cruelty of miniſters reſounded through the houſe. But while both parties were exhauſting themſelves in fruitleſs debates, Lord North ſurpriſed the whole nation by his conciliatory motion, afterwards ſtiled his *Olive Branch*. By this it was propoſed, that when the governor, council, and aſſembly of any province, or the general court, ſhould propoſe to make proviſion according to their reſpective conditions, circumſtances, and ſituations, for contributing their proportion to the common defence, ſuch proportion to be raiſed under the authority of the general court, or general aſſembly of ſuch province or colony, and diſpoſable by parliament; and ſhall engage to make proviſion alſo for the ſupport of the civil government, and the adminiſtration of juſtice in ſuch province or colony, it would be proper, if ſuch propoſal ſhould be approved of by his Majeſty in parliament, and for ſo long as ſuch proviſion ſhall be made accordingly, to forbear, in reſpect of ſuch province or colony, to levy

levy any duties, tax, or aſſeſſment, except only ſuch duties as it may be expedient to impoſe for the regulation of commerce; the nett produce of the duties laſt mentioned to be carried to the account of ſuch province, colony, or plantation reſpectively. CHAP. XI. 1775.

Such a propoſition from the miniſter involved him in the moſt violent conteſts, even with thoſe of his own party. However, he ſoon convinced the malcontents, that the appearances of lenity and conceſſion contained in his conciliatory motion, were by no means inconſiſtent with the moſt rigid meaſures; nay, ſo well did he ſucceed in the explanation of his own propoſal, that he acknowledged he had no expectation of its being well received by the generality of the Americans; but that, if it did no good there, it would in Britain: it would unite the people of England, by holding out to them a diſtinct object of revenue; and, as it united this country, would diſunite America: That whatever province came firſt to make a dutiful offer, would be kindly and gently treated; and if only one province accepted the offer, the whole confederacy would be broken.

By the members in Oppoſition this bill was reprobated in the moſt violent manner. All their eloquence, however, was by no means ſufficient to carry the point even here, when the miniſter had been deſerted by ſome of his ſtaunchеſt friends. The bill was paſſed by a majority of 274 to 88.

Reſtraining bill of the ſouthern colonies.

This bill was followed by another, ſeemingly of a contrary tendency, being a ſupplement to the New England Fiſhery Bill, and included theſe colonies which had been inſerted in the amendment formerly mentioned. No debate of any conſequence enſued on this ſubject; but the diſcuſſion of another petition from the Weſt India planters, proved the means of rendering the importance of theſe iſlands more generally underſtood than it had formerly been. From the evidence adduced at this time, it appeared, that the capital in theſe iſlands, conſiſting of cultivated

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lands, buildings, negroes, and ſtock of all kinds, did not amount to leſs than ſixty millions Sterling. Their exports of late years to Great Britain had run to about 190,000 hogſheads and puncheons of ſugar and rum annually; amounting in weight to 95,000 tons, and in value about four millions; beſides a great number of ſmaller articles, as well as their immenſe export to North America. So rapid was the improvement of theſe iſlands, that, within a very few years, their export of ſugar to Britain had been increaſed by 40,000 hogſheads annually, amounting to near 800,000 l. in value; and it ſeemed probable, that no leſs than thirty millions of Weſt Indian property belonged to people in Britain; and that the revenue gained above 700,000 l. annually upon the direct Weſt India trade, excluſive of its eventual and circuitous products, and of the African trade. It was alſo fully ſhown, that this immenſe capital and trade, as well as the African, neither of which could ſubſiſt without the other, were both from nature and circumſtance totally dependent upon North America.

Mr Burke and Mr Hartley's conciliatory plans rejected.

This petition, as well as another from Waterford in Ireland, produced no good conſequences. The miniſterial plan was unalterably determined. Conciliatory motions were propoſed by Mr Burke and Mr Hartley; but, whatever ingenuity might be diſplayed in the deviſing and framing of theſe motions, very little regard was paid to them by adminiſtration. The only thing remarkable was the immenſe value of North America to Britain, as appeared from Mr Burke's comparative view of the trade of this country at different periods. From thence it was ſhown, that, in 1704, the exports to North America, Weſt Indies, and Africa, amounted only to 569,930 l. That in the year 1772, which was taken upon a medium, as being neither the higheſt nor the loweſt of thoſe which might have been applied to of late, the exports to the ſame places, including thoſe from Scotland, (which, in the year 1704, had no exiſtence) amounted to no leſs than 6,024,171 l. being in the proportion

proportion of nearly eleven to one. He alſo ſhewed, that the whole export trade of England, including that of the colonies, amounted, at the firſt period of 1704, only to 6,509,000 l. Thus, the trade to the colonies alone was, at the latter period, within leſs than half a million of being equal to what this great commercial nation carried on at the beginning of the preſent century with the whole world. And, ſtating the whole export commerce of this country at preſent at ſixteen millions, that to the colonies, which in the firſt period conſtituted but one twelfth of the whole, was now very conſiderably more than one third.

However aſtoniſhing this general increaſe of the whole colonies may appear, the growth of the province of Pennſylvania appeared ſtill more extraordinary. In the year 1704, the whole exports to that colony amounted only to 11,459 l. and in 1772 they were riſen to 507,509 l. being nearly fifty times the original demand, and almoſt equal to the whole colony export at the firſt period.

The conciliatory propoſals of Mr Burke and Mr Hartley having proved ineffectual, ſeveral petitions were brought forward from the manufacturing towns in Great Britain, from the Britiſh ſettlers in Canada, from the Quakers, and at laſt from the city of London, who, notwithſtanding their bad ſucceſs for a number of years paſt, now ventured to approach the throne, with an addreſs, petition, and remonſtrance, as little calculated to obtain a favourable reception as any they had formerly made uſe of. As Mr Wilkes was now Lord Mayor, the petition was of courſe delivered by him. Leſt the forward diſpoſition of that gentleman, however, ſhould prompt him to imitate the example of Mr Beckford, he had been previouſly informed, that his Majeſty expected he would not ſpeak to him; to which he replied, that the caution was needleſs, as he never expected or deſired to have that honour. Next day, the Lord Chamberlain wrote a letter to Mr Wilkes, in which he acquainted him from his Majeſty, that he would

Petition from the city of London to the King, April 19.

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not receive on the throne any addreſs, petition, or remonſtrance, of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, but in their corporate capacity. This produced a long letter in anſwer from Mr Wilkes; but the miniſtry were too wiſe to enter into any conteſt.

New York petition refuſed a hearing.

Towards the cloſe of the ſeſſion, Mr Burke acquainted the Houſe, that he had received a paper of great importance from the aſſembly of New York. It was in the form of a remonſtrance, indeed, and complained of ſeveral acts of parliament, but was expreſſed in very decent and reſpectful language. This being the caſe, he ſaid, that a mere miſtake upon any one point ought not to prevent its being received, and accordingly moved, that it ſhould be brought up. Lord North then moved an amendment to the motion, "That the ſaid aſſembly claim to themſelves rights derogatory to, and inconſiſtent with, the legiſlative authority of parliament, as declared by an act of the 6th of his preſent Majeſty." This amendment was carried by a majority of 186 to 67; after which the queſtion being put upon the amended motion, the petition was rejected without a hearing.

New York and Quebec memorials rejected.

A ſimilar fate attended a memorial from the aſſembly of New York to the Houſe of Lords, introduced by the Duke of Mancheſter; another from the Britiſh inhabitants of Quebec, preſented by Lord Camden; and a third from the inhabitants of Quebec at large. The only remarkable circumſtances attending theſe, were the two royal brothers voting in the minority, and the animated ſpeech of Lord Effingham in the Upper Houſe, when he declared his reſignation of the military command he held *.

Lord Effingham's reſignation.

The

* "I confeſs," ſaid he, "I wiſh to avoid the diſcuſſion of our right to ſuch a power as we are intending for, that is to ſay, a power of taxing a ſet of ſubjects who are not repreſented amongſt us, and who have full power to tax themſelves in the ordinary and conſtitutional manner. Was any particular province among the Americans to refuſe grants of money in proportion to others, or to commit any act in abuſe of their charters, I think that ſupreme controuling power, which the province in queſtion allows in its full extent, would give us the charge, *Ne quid detrimenti reſpublica capiat:* And in that caſe, my Lords, almoſt the whole empire would be united againſt the wrong-headed few, who would ſoon be brought to reaſon. But I am ſatisfied

The ſeſſion concluded with the paſſing of the money-bills in the uſual form. The Speaker, in his addreſs to the King, ſtated the heavineſs of the grants which, however, had been readily complied with, on account of the particular exigence of the times; at the ſame time aſſuring his Majeſty, that ſhould the Americans perſiſt in their reſolutions, and thus render it neceſſary to draw the ſword, the Commons would do every thing in their power to ſupport the dignity of the Britiſh legiſlature.

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ſatisfied, that without ſuch neceſſity we have no more power of taxation in that country, than a Roman Dictator had to begin his office with a declaration, that his power ſhould be perpetual, and was neceſſary in the ordinary buſineſs of government. Therefore, my Lords, whatever has been done by the Americans, I muſt deem it the mere conſequence of our unjuſt demands. They have come to you with fair arguments; you have refuſed to hear them: they have made the moſt reſpectful remonſtrances; you anſwer them with bills of pains and penalties. They know they ought to be free; you tell them they ſhall be ſlaves. Is it then a wonder, if they ſay in deſpair, "For the ſhort remainder of our lives we ſhall be free!" Is there one among your Lordſhips, who, in a ſituation ſimilar to that which I have deſcribed, would not reſolve the ſame? If there could be ſuch an one, I am ſure he ought not to be here.

"To bring the hiſtory down to the preſent ſcene—Here are two armies in preſence of each other; armies of brothers and countrymen; each dreading the event, yet each feeling that it is in the power of the moſt trifling accident, a private diſpute, a drunken fray in any public houſe in Boſton, in ſhort, a nothing, to cauſe the ſword to be drawn, and to plunge the whole country into all the horrors of blood, flames, and parricide!

"In this dreadful moment, a ſet of men more wiſe and moderate than the reſt, exert themſelves to bring us all to reaſon. They ſtate their claims and their grievances; nay, if any thing can be proved by law and hiſtory, they *prove* them. They propoſe oblivion; they make the firſt conceſſion We treat them with contempt; we prefer poverty, blood, and ſervitude, to wealth, happineſs, and liberty!

"What weight theſe few obſervations may have, I do not know; but the candour your Lordſhips have indulged me with, requires a confeſſion on my part which may ſtill leſſen that weight. I muſt own, I am not perſonally diſintereſted.

"Ever ſince I was of an age to have any ambition at all, my higheſt has been to ſerve my country in a military capacity. If there was on earth an event I dreaded, it was to ſee this country ſo ſituated, as to make that profeſſion incompatible with my duty as a citizen.

"That period is, in my opinion, arrived; and I have thought myſelf bound to relinquiſh the hopes I had formed, by a reſignation, which appeared to me the only method of avoiding the guilt of enſlaving my country, and embruing my hands in the blood of her ſons.

"When the duties of a ſoldier and citizen become inconſiſtent, I ſhall always think myſelf obliged to ſink the character of the ſoldier in that of the citizen, till ſuch time as thoſe duties ſhall, by the malice of our real enemies, become again united.

"It is no ſmall ſacrifice which a man makes who gives up his profeſſion; but it is a much greater, when a predilection, ſtrengthened by habit, has given him ſo ſtrong an attachment to his profeſſion as I feel. I have, however, this conſolation, that by making that ſacrifice, I at leaſt give to my country an unequivocal proof of the ſincerity of my principles."

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American colonies determined to reſiſt——Skirmiſh at Lexington——Congreſs provide for war——Ticonderago and Crown Point taken——General Gage declares the Americans to be in rebellion——Battle of Bunker's Hill——Canadians and Indians refuſe to aſſiſt Britain——General Waſhington choſen Generaliſſimo——Articles of confederation of the colonies——Expedition againſt Canada——Fort St John's taken——General Montgomery attacks Quebec, is defeated, and killed——Governor Dunmore leaves Virginia——His hoſtilities——Norfolk deſtroyed——Governors of both Carolinas driven out——Diſtreſs at Boſton——It is evacuated by the Britiſh.

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1775. The Americans become more and more determined to reſiſt.

WHILE the rulers of Britain were thus pluming themſelves on their own wiſdom and prudence in conducting the affairs of the empire, the Americans were preparing for a final ſeparation. Whatever had been wanting to fill up the meaſure of hatred and oppoſition to Great Britain, ariſing from the proceedings of the parliament of 1773, was fully ſupplied by thoſe of 1774. As ſoon as the reſolutions of Congreſs had been made public, the ſentiments of that aſſembly had been adopted from one end of the continent to the other. Great hopes were, indeed, for ſome time, entertained of the good effects that would in all probability reſult from the petition to the King, and the addreſſes to the inhabitants of Great Britain and Canada; but as theſe were uncertain, the leading men took care that they ſhould be as little indulged as poſſible. The ſouthern colonies began to take up arms as well as the northern; and as ſoon as news were received of a proclamation

proclamation having been iſſued in Britain to prevent the exportation of arms and ammunition to the colonies, every method was taken to ſupply that defect. Powder-mills were erected at Philadelphia and Virginia, and encouragement given for the fabrication of arms throughout the whole continent. The people of Rhode Iſland, however, bolder than the reſt, or not having equal reſources, ſeized upon the ordnance belonging to the Crown, amounting to above forty pieces of cannon of different ſizes; while the aſſembly paſſed reſolutions for the procuring of arms and military ſtores by every means, and from every quarter in which they could be obtained, as well as for training and diſciplining the inhabitants. Their example was followed by the people of New Hampſhire, who, with the ſame view, ſurpriſed a ſmall fort called William and Mary, from whence they were ſupplied with as much powder and ammunition as enabled them to put themſelves in a poſture of defence.

The determination of the colonies was confirmed by the news of the King's ſpeech, and the addreſs in anſwer to it. The aſſembly of Pennſylvania unanimouſly approved and ratified the acts of Congreſs; the aſſembly of Maryland appointed a ſum of money for the purchaſe of arms and ammunition. A Provincial Convention held at Philadelphia in the end of January, recommended the encouragement of the moſt neceſſary manufactures; particularly ſalt, gunpowder, ſaltpetre, and ſteel; at the ſame time declaring their reſolution to reſiſt, in caſe the petition of Congreſs to the King ſhould prove ineffectual.—The only exception to this general determination was the aſſembly of New York, in which, January 10. 1775, it was carried by a very ſmall majority not to accede to the reſolutions of Congreſs; and at this meeting they drew up, with the conſent of their lieutenant-governor, the paper afterwards preſented by Mr Burke, and which, as we have already ſeen, the parliament refuſed to hear read.

Dec. 14.

New York alone diſſents from the reſt of the colonies, Jan. 10. 1775.

The

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The receſs of the Provincial Congreſs of Maſſachuſetts Bay, in the beginning of November 1774, had afforded an opportunity to the friends of government, or loyaliſts, as they now began to be called, to try their ſtrength in various places. Aſſociations for mutual defence were accordingly formed, and reſolutions taken to oppoſe the Provincial Congreſs; but the aſſociators were every where overwhelmed with prodigious majorities, and their attempts had no other effect than to miſlead the governor, and through him the people of Great Britain, with regard to the general diſpoſition of the people.

Hoſtile reſolves of the Provincial Congreſs, Feb. 1.

On the 1ſt day of February 1775, the Provincial Congreſs met, according to appointment, at the time of the diſſolution of the former. They now expreſſed their fears, that the reaſonable and juſt applications of the colonies would not meet with a favourable reception in Great Britain; but that, on the contrary, from the large augmentation of the forces expected, as well as from the general appearances of things, and the tenor of intelligence received from Great Britain, there was reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the deſtruction of this particular colony was intended. Every method of providing for the worſt extremities was therefore recommended. The militia were requeſted to ſpare neither time, pains, nor expence, to perfect themſelves in diſcipline; a number were ſelected under the name of *Minute-men*, whoſe buſineſs it was to hold themſelves in readineſs, at a moment's warning, to engage in whatever enterpriſe ſhould be neceſſary. Other reſolutions were paſſed for the providing and making of fire-arms and bayonets; and they renewed, with greater ſtrictneſs, the prohibition formerly iſſued againſt ſupplying the troops at Boſton with neceſſaries, particularly of the military kind; though the markets of Boſton were ſtill open for proviſions.

Commencement of hoſtilities prevented by a clergyman.

Thus both parties were prepared for hoſtilities, which indeed had already been begun on the part of the Americans, by the ſeizure of the cannon and fort above

above mentioned. Theſe injuries, however, General Gage had not thought proper to reſent, as they did not come under his immediate inſpection; but, on the 26th of February, an accident happened which had almoſt begun the conflagration for which materials had been ſo largely provided. On that day, General Gage ſent a detatchment of troops under the command of a field-officer, on board a tranſport, in order to ſeize and bring to Boſton ſome braſs cannon which had been depoſited in the town of Salem. Being diſappointed in finding the ordnance at Salem, and having ſome reaſon to imagine they had been only removed that morning, they marched further into the country, in hopes of finding them. In this enterpriſe they arrived at a drawbridge over a ſmall river, where a number of country people had aſſembled, and taken up the bridge to prevent their paſſage. This produced a diſpute, in which the commanding officer inſiſted on having the bridge let down. This demand was as peremptorily refuſed by the people, who ſaid that it was a private road, and he had no right to paſs. The officer then attempted to make uſe of a boat, in order to ferry over his men; but a number of the people having jumped into it, cut holes in the bottom, which rendered it impoſſible for him to accompliſh his deſign. This could not be done without ſome ſcuffle, which would certainly have ended in bloodſhed, had not a neighbouring clergyman remonſtrated with the commanding officer on the fatal conſequences of uſing force, and at the ſame time prevailed with the people to let down the bridge, as the day was evidently too far ſpent for the troops to accompliſh their purpoſe. Matters being thus accommodated, the colonel took poſſeſſion of the bridge, and having marched a little way farther into the country, returned without the cannon.

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1775. Feb. 26.

Though this affair happily ended withour bloodſhed, it however appears, that both parties were greatly irritated by it. A civil war was ſuppoſed to be

Skirmiſh at Lexington.

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be inevitable. The people looked upon the ſoldiers as thoſe who were ſoon to become their butchers; and they, on the other hand, are ſaid to have betrayed their wiſhes of entering upon this dreadful part of their office, by ſome general and wanton inſults, as well as particular outrages. In ſuch a ſituation, it was impoſſible that matters could long continue in quiet. The 19th of April 1775, was the fatal day remarkable for the diſmemberment of the Britiſh empire, and the final ſeparation of the American colonies. General Gage, the preceding night, had given orders to Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn of the marines, with a detachment of the grenadiers and light infantry, to deſtroy ſome ſtores which the Americans had collected in conſiderable quantities at Concord; beſides which, it was alſo thought, that he deſigned to ſeize the perſons of Meſſ. Hancock and Adams, who had become ſo peculiarly obnoxious to government. The detachment, conſiſting of about nine hundred men, embarked at midnight, and having landed at a place called Phipps's Farm, proceeded with great ſilence and caution, hoping to reach Concord by day-break. As they marched along, ſeveral officers on horſeback ſcoured the roads, and ſecured thoſe whom they met, in order to avoid a diſcovery. They had not, however, proceeded far, before they found, by the ringing of bells, and firing of guns, that their precaution was vain, and the people had begun to aſſemble in the neighbouring towns and villages before day-light. They did not arrive at Lexington, five miles from Concord, before five in the morning; at which early hour they found the company of militia belonging to that town aſſembled on a green near the road. On this an officer in the van, having called out to them by the appellation of *rebels*, to diſperſe, and throw down their arms, and the ſoldiers running up at the ſame time with loud huzzas, ſome ſcattering ſhots were fired, and theſe immediately ſucceeded by a general diſcharge, which killed eight of the militia, and wounded ſeveral

April 19.

ral others. The troops then proceeded to Concord; six companies being previously dispatched to possess themselves of two bridges which lay at some distance beyond the town. A body of militia, which occupied an hill in the way, retired at their approach; and the troops meeting with no interruption, proceeded to execute their commission, by rendering unserviceable three pieces of iron cannon, and throwing several barrels of flour, gunpowder, and musket-balls into the river. Mean time, the sight of several fires, which were supposed to be houses in flames, brought back the militia, who had retired on the approach of the troops, to the bridge which the infantry had already passed, and which lay in the way to Concord. All this time, the militia seemed studiously to have avoided every hostile appearance, and assumed only the semblance of common travellers; but the King's troops instantly fired upon them, and killed two men. The provincials now returned the fire, drove back the soldiers, with the loss of several killed and wounded, and a lieutenant and some others taken. The country people now assembled from all quarters; the troops were exceedingly annoyed in their march from Concord back to Lexington, and would in all probability have been destroyed, had not General Gage luckily detached Lord Piercy, early in the morning, with sixteen companies of foot, a body of marines, and two pieces of cannon, to support Colonel Smith's detachment. As these had arrived at Lexington from Boston, by the time that the others had returned thither from Concord, they effectually checked the ardour of the Americans, and by the field-pieces obliged them to keep at a distance. No sooner, however, did the troops resume their march, than the Americans renewed their attacks, which, by the increasing numbers of the assailants, became continually more dangerous, until the troops arrived at Charlestown, from whence they crossed over to Boston, under the protection,

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tection, as the Americans gave out, of the Somerſet man of war.

In this firſt action, the loſs was inconſiderable on both ſides; that of the King's troops, who were the greateſt ſufferers, conſiſted of ſixty-five killed, two lieutenants and twenty private men taken priſoners, and one hundred and eighty-ſix wounded.

On this occaſion, both parties were at great pains to ſcreen themſelves from the imputation of beginning hoſtilities. It was ſaid in the Gazette, that the Americans were the aggreſſors; but, from the depoſitions of ſome of the Britiſh priſoners, as well as the nature of the circumſtances, there is the greateſt probability that the caſe was otherwiſe. Both parties alſo complained of cruelty and inhumanity being exerciſed upon the wounded and helpleſs; though, upon proper enquiry, there ſeems to have been very little occaſion for complaint on either ſide. Be this as it will, the affair at Lexington inſtantly called up the whole province in arms. Boſton was ſurrounded by an army of at leaſt twenty thouſand men, commanded by Colonels Ward, Pribble, Heath, Preſcot, and Thomas; and theſe were ſpeedily joined by Colonel Putnam, an old and brave provincial officer, who had acquired great reputation in the two laſt wars, with a large reinforcement of Connecticut troops; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that their commanders could prevail upon other crowds, who were marching from all quarters, to refrain from making a direct attack upon the city—with ſo much hatred of the King's troops, and ſuch confidence of ſucceſs were they now inſpired.

The commencement of hoſtilities was followed by a manifeſto from the Provincial Congreſs, addreſſed to the inhabitants of Great Britain; in which, after exculpating their own party, they complained of the ravages committed by the troops in their retreat; appealed to the wiſdom and integrity of Britons; made great profeſſions of loyalty, and declared they would not ſubmit to the perſecution of a cruel and tyrannical

tyrannical miniſtry; appealing to Heaven for the juſtice of their cauſe; and concluding with a proteſtation, that they were determined to die or be free. CHAP. XII. 1775.

The ſame Congreſs alſo now began formally to provide for war. They paſſed a vote for the ſupport and clothing of an army; fixed the pay of the officers and ſoldiers, and publiſhed orders for its regulation and government. A conſiderable ſum, to be iſſued in paper currency, was alſo voted for the military expence, to be received in all caſes as money, and the faith of the province pledged for its repayment. General Gage was adjudged, by another vote, to have utterly diſqualified himſelf from ſerving the colony in the capacity of governor, or any other; and therefore no allegiance was declared to be due to him; on the contrary, that he ought to be conſidered as an unnatural enemy, and guarded againſt as ſuch. As this Congreſs was to riſe on the 30th of May, another was appointed to ſit down the day following, and to continue ſitting for ſix months and no longer. The Congreſs provide for war. May 5.

The flame of civil diſcord now broke out with all its fury. The bravery ſhown by the American militia in their firſt eſſay at Lexington, and the advantages they imagined themſelves to have gained, afforded great matter of exultation. Thoſe who fell in the action were deeply regretted, and honoured, not only as patriots, but as martyrs, who had died bravely in the cauſe of their country. Preparations for war were made every where, as if the moſt inveterate enemy had been already at the door. In ſome places, the magazines were ſeized; in New Jerſey, the treaſury; and a conſiderable part of the money therein was appropriated to the payment of the troops they were raiſing. A ſtop was generally put to the exportation of proviſions, without any previous concerted plan; and, in ſome places, all exportation was ſtopped till the opinion of Congreſs ſhould be known. Lord North's conciliatory plan was utterly

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terly rejected by the aſſemblies of Pennſylvania and New Jerſey, nor was it received any where.

1775. Reſolves of the Continental Congreſs, May 10.

On the meeting of the Continental Congreſs at Philadelphia, May 10th 1775, proper meaſures were taken to put the oppoſition to Britiſh power on a ſettled and permanent baſis. Reſolutions were paſſed for the raiſing of an army, and the eſtabliſhment of a large paper currency for its payment; THE UNITED COLONIES, by which name the North Americans now diſtinguiſhed themſelves, being made liable for the value. All ſupplies to the Britiſh fiſheries were ſtrictly prohibited; and to make this prohibition the more effectual, all exportation was ſtopped to ſuch places as ſtill profeſſed to retain their allegiance. Though ſuch a meaſure might very readily have been apprehended in England, not the leaſt notion of it ſeemed to have been entertained, either by the miniſtry, or thoſe concerned in the Newfoundland fiſhery. Hence ſuch diſtreſs was occaſioned, that to prevent an abſolute famine, ſeveral ſhips were obliged to return empty from their ſtation, in order to carry out proviſions from Ireland to thoſe who remained.

That ſpirit of moderation which had ſo long diſtinguiſhed the people of New York, now ſeemed to forſake them altogether. A Provincial Congreſs was elected, and a very numerous aſſociation formed in favour of the liberties of the people; but, as ſome regiments were expected from Ireland, the ſituation of the place was likely to become very precarious. A body of Connecticut troops, therefore, poſted themſelves in the neighbourhood, expreſsly with a deſign to protect the city; but as theſe were too few to anſwer the purpoſe, application was made to Congreſs for inſtructions how to act on the arrival of the King's forces. They were, by that body, adviſed to act on the defenſive with regard to the troops; to ſuffer them to occupy their barracks as long as they behaved quietly, but by no means to allow them to erect any fortifications, or cut off the communication between the town and country: That if hoſtilities were

were attempted they ſhould repel force by force: at the ſame time, they recommended to them to provide a retreat for the women and children, to remove the arms and ammunition to a place of ſafety, and to keep an armed force on foot ſufficient for the defence of the place. In conſequence of theſe inſtructions, New York was deſerted by the greateſt part of its inhabitants, and, by general conſent, devoted to the flames. However, their apprehenſions for the time were diſſipated by the troops being landed at Boſton.

Ticonderoga and Crown-Point taken by the Americans.

In Maſſachuſetts Bay the ſpirit of reſiſtance had ever been moſt daring, and it now diſplayed itſelf by a greater degree of enterprize than what was manifeſted by the other colonies. An expedition againſt the forts of Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and ſome others ſituated on the lakes between New England and Canada, was undertaken and executed with equal boldneſs and ſucceſs. This enterprize, it appeared, had been ſet on foot by ſeveral private adventurers at the ſame time, without any previous knowledge of the deſigns of each other; and accordingly, many of them accidentally met by the way. Theſe adventurers at laſt united under the command of a Colonel Eaſton and Colonel Ethan Allan, forming a body of two hundred and forty men; and, having ſurpriſed the ſmall garriſons in the forts above mentioned, returned in triumph to New England. They found in them upwards of two hundred pieces of cannon, beſides ſome mortars, howitzers, and large quantities of ammunition and military ſtores. They took alſo two ſmall veſſels, and found materials at Ticonderoga for building others.

By this expedition, the provincials became maſters of the Lake Champlain, which ſecured them a paſſage into Canada; and ſcarce any thing now remained to Britain but the town of Boſton, where, though a very reſpectable force, under the moſt celebrated generals, was aſſembled, it ſeemed impoſſible for them to exert their powers to any advantage. In the

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month of May, two ſkirmiſhes had happened, by reaſon of ſome attempts to carry off live ſtock from the little iſlands ſcattered in Boſton Bay. In both theſe the Provincials were victorious; and an armed ſchooner being left a-ground by the tide, was fiercely attacked, the people driven out of her, and the veſſel herſelf reduced to aſhes.

Congreſs reſolves the compact between the Crown and Maſſachuſetts Bay diſſolved, June 8.

Hoſtilities were now forwarded by the reſolves of the Continental Congreſs, which, on the 8th of June, declared the compact between the Crown and people of Maſſachuſetts Bay to be diſſolved by the violation of the charter of William and Mary. They, at the ſame time, recommended to the people to eſtabliſh a new government; prohibited them from negociating any bill, or tranſacting buſineſs with the ſea or land officers of Britain, their agents or contractors, furniſhing them with ſtores or proviſions of any kind. A general poſt-office was eſtabliſhed at Philadelphia, at the head of which they placed Dr Franklin, who had been diſgraced, and deprived of the ſame place in England.

General Gage declares the Americans in rebellion, June 12.

All this was oppoſed on the part of General Gage by a proclamation (dated June 12th) of rebellion, and threats of the ſevereſt vengeance; offering, however, a pardon, in the King's name, to ſuch as ſhould inſtantly lay down their arms, and return to their reſpective habitations, excepting only Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whoſe behaviour had been too flagitious to admit of any other conſideration than that of condign puniſhment.

Both parties now, highly exaſperated againſt each other, kept themſelves in readineſs for action. The Britiſh forces, by no means deſpicable with reſpect to their numbers, were compoſed of the beſt troops Britain, or perhaps the world, could afford. They were commanded by the celebrated Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, and were, by adminiſtration, judged to be abundantly ſufficient for reducing the whole American force in that quarter. On the other hand, the Provincials were very formidable with regard

regard to their numbers; but, having never seen actual service, might be supposed incapable of coping with the veterans who opposed them. They were, besides, but slenderly provided with ammunition. Their arms had been picked up wherever they could find them; of consequence, most of their muskets were far inferior to those of their adversaries. Their difference of bore, particularly, prevented the balls from properly filling the cavity; and this could not but produce a great uncertainty in the effect. They were also almost entirely destitute of bayonets, and by no means expert at the use of the weapon, though they had been furnished with them. These were disadvantages which could not be supplied by numbers, but were partly balanced by that enthusiastic passion for liberty, and confidence in the justice of their cause, which originally urged them on to the contest; while, on the other hand, those very qualities, by rendering them more impatient of controul than was consistent with their new profession as soldiers, frequently proved very detrimental to their affairs. To the causes just mentioned, however, and not to any defect in courage or natural incapacity of the Americans, we must attribute the advantages gained over them during the course of this war; and particularly to the inferiority of their fire-arms, are we to attribute this circumstance, that almost in every instance, the number of killed and wounded on the part of the Provincials greatly exceeded those of the British.

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As the numbers who blockaded Boston daily increased, their natural impetuosity soon prompted them to attempt the forcible expulsion of the troops confined there. For this purpose, on the night betwixt the 16th and 17th of June, they sent a body of men to throw up some works on Bunker's Hill, an eminence lying just within the isthmus connecting the peninsula of Boston with the main land. Such diligence was used by the party sent on this service, that, by day-break, they had nearly completed a

Battle of Bunker's Hill, June 17.

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ſmall but ſtrong redoubt, conſiderable intrenchments, and a breaſt-work in ſome places cannon-proof; at the ſame time, they had worked with ſuch amazing ſilence, as not to be perceived by any of the people on board the men of war which ſurrounded the peninſula. In the morning, they were firſt perceived from the Lively man of war, whoſe guns having alarmed the town and the reſt of the fleet, an inceſſant fire was kept up upon their works from the ſhips and floating batteries in the bay, and from the top of Cope's Hill in Boſton. Notwithſtanding this ſevere trial of their fortitude, however, the Provincials continued their works, as though nothing had happened; ſo that, about noon, General Gage found it neceſſary to embark a body of troops, to drive them from their poſt. The detachment employed on this occaſion conſiſted of ten companies of grenadiers, as many of light infantry, with four battalions of regular troops, and a proper train of artillery. The enterpriſe was conducted by Major-General Howe, and Brigadier-General Pigot; and the troops were landed and drawn up without oppoſition, under the cannon of the men of war. On taking a proper view of the enemy, however, they were found ſo advantageouſly poſted, and ſo numerous, that the Britiſh commanders thought proper to ſend back for a reinforcement before the attack was commenced.

By the reinforcement ſent on this occaſion, the force of Generals Howe and Pigot was augmented to about two thouſand men. Theſe advanced very ſlowly, under a moſt ſevere fire of cannon and howitzers, and even halted ſeveral times by the way, in order to afford time to the artillery to ruin the works, and throw the enemy in confuſion. At laſt, when they came up to that enemy who had ſo often been characteriſed as cowards, and over whom ſuch an eaſy conqueſt had been promiſed, they met with a reception which ſtaggered the moſt reſolute. The Provincials did not return a ſhot till the King's forces had almoſt got cloſe up to the works, when a terri-

ble

ble fire took place, which did great execution; and some gentlemen, who had ſerved in the fierceſt actions of the former war, declared that, for the time it laſted, it was the hotteſt engagement they ever ſaw. The troops were thrown into ſuch diſorder, that for a few moments General Howe was ſaid to have been left almoſt alone, and all the officers near him either killed or wounded. In this critical moment, General Clinton, who arrived at the place of action from Boſton during the engagement, rallied the troops almoſt inſtantaneouſly, and brought them back to the charge. The works were now every where attacked with fixed bayonets, and, as many of the Americans were deſtitute of that weapon, they were forced to yield, though not till after an obſtinate reſiſtance. At laſt they retreated over Charleſtown Neck, which was enfiladed by the guns of the Glaſgow man of war and two floating batteries. They ſuffered but little, however, from this formidable artillery, though the fear of it had prevented ſome regiments, who were ordered to ſupport them, from fulfilling their duty.

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At the beginning of the engagement, the Provincials had thrown ſome men into thoſe houſes of Charleſtown which covered their right flank; by which means General Pigot, who commanded the left of the Britiſh, had at once to encounter the lines and thoſe in the houſes. During this conflict, the town of Charleſtown was ſet on fire in ſeveral places, and burnt to the ground. It is uncertain whether this happened from the carcaſſes thrown by the ſhips, or was done by the ſoldiers; however, the fate of the town was much lamented, and afforded matter of melancholy reflection to the moderate and peaceably inclined on both ſides. It contained about four hundred houſes, was well built, and had the greateſt trade of any port in the province, Boſton only excepted; being ſaid to clear out a thouſand veſſels annually for foreign commerce, beſides a vaſt number of coaſters. It was alſo reſpected on account of its

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having been the first settlement in the colony, by emigrants from which Boston itself had been founded.

The loss, on the part of the British, in this engagement, amounted, according to the Gazette account, to one thousand and fifty-four killed and wounded; though other accounts increased them to one thousand two hundred, most of whom, it was said, died of their wounds. The number of slain on the field of battle amounted only to two hundred and twenty-six, among whom were nineteen commissioned officers, and of these were a lieutenant-colonel, two majors, and seven captains. Seventy other officers were wounded. In one account it was said, that *all* the grenadiers, except five, were killed in the attack. The loss on the part of the Americans was, by their own accounts, stated at four hundred and fifty killed, wounded, and prisoners; though General Gage, in his letter on the subject, was confident they must have been many more, as the Americans were seen, during the engagement, conveying away and burying their dead. This, if true, must be accounted a very extraordinary circumstance, and bears some resemblance to the contests related by Homer concerning the dead bodies of his heroes. The person most lamented on their part was Dr Warren, who acted on this occasion as a major-general, and was killed in the redoubt.

Consequences of the battle.

The consequences of this victory, for such it must be called, to the British, were entirely confined to the gaining of the post at Bunker's Hill which the Americans had fortified, of which from that time they kept possession. This, though in some respects an advantage, as it afforded them more room, nevertheless kept the soldiers to much harder duty than before, on account of the more extended works they had to defend. On the other hand, the Provincials were by no means dispirited by their defeat. They maintained, that though they had lost a post, the consequences of the action had been such as would have attended

attended a complete victory. They had now not only completely ſtopped all the offenſive operations of the army ſent to ſubdue them, but kept them blocked up in a narrow ſpace; at the ſame time, they exulted in having ſo plainly wiped off the aſperſions which had been thrown upon them on the other ſide of the Atlantic. The ſituation of the Britiſh troops was indeed by no means agreeable. Beſides their being ſurrounded and inſulted by an enemy, whom they had been taught to deſpiſe, (for the Provincials, by works thrown up on Charleſtown Neck, kept them as effectually blocked up as before;) they were now cut off from all ſupplies of freſh proviſions and vegetables, which the neighbouring country afforded in the greateſt plenty. This confinement to ſalt and putrid proviſions, with the heat of the climate during the ſummer, muſt have had a very bad effect on the ſick and wounded, whoſe number now amounted to one thouſand ſix hundred; though few, in compariſon, are ſaid to have died. CHAP. XII. 1775.

Few other hoſtilities took place between the troops at Boſton and the Provincials. The former indeed ſometimes cannonaded, and threw ſhells into the works at Charleſtown, but without any effect. As, however, the live ſtock, as well as the graſs of the iſlands in Boſton Bay, was now become an object of ſome conſideration, frequent ſkirmiſhes took place between the Provincials and the parties ſent out to carry off the produce of theſe iſlands. In theſe, victory generally declared for the Americans, notwithſtanding all the protection the men of war could give; and at length they became ſo daring, as to burn the light-houſe, though a man of war lay at the time within a mile of it; and afterwards, either killed or took priſoners a detachment of marines, with ſome carpenters ſent to repair it. A like predatory war took place all along the neighbouring coaſt, in which the boldneſs of the Americans ſometimes occaſioned a ſevere chaſtiſement to their towns by the men of war; numbers of their ſhips were taken, ei-

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ther in conformity to the new laws, or the commands of the admiral; all which hoſtilities added fewel to the flame already burning with too great violence to be quenched.

Canadians refuſe to arm in the Britiſh cauſe.

Thus were the miniſterial hopes diſappointed with regard to the ſucceſs of the Boſton army; nor did they proſper much better in other reſpects. The Quebec act, from which ſuch ſanguine expectations were formed, inſtead of giving that ſatisfaction which was promiſed, had diſguſted all parties. A ſcheme had been concerted of raiſing an army of Canadians for the relief of General Gage, and twenty thouſand ſtand of arms for this purpoſe had been ſent to General Carleton governor of the province. The people, however, almoſt to a man, refuſed to interfere in the diſpute. They ſaid, they were under Britiſh government, and could not decide with regard to the claims of either party: That they would ſhew themſelves dutiful and quiet ſubjects, by an obedience to the governors under which they were placed; but that it was totally inconſiſtent with their ſtate and condition to interfere in the diſputes betwixt Government and its ancient ſubjects. In anſwer to a proclamation iſſued by the governor for aſſembling the militia, and the execution of martial law, they ſaid, they would defend the province if it were attacked; but they abſolutely refuſed to march out of it, or commence hoſtilities againſt their neighbours. The governor then requeſted the Biſhop, that he would iſſue an Epiſcopal mandate for the purpoſe, to be read by the pariſh-prieſts after divine ſervice; but he excuſed himſelf, on account of its being inconſiſtent with the canons of the Roman Catholic church. In fine, the only perſons who intereſted themſelves on this occaſion, were the French Nobleſſe, who indeed alone had reaſon to applaud the new government; and they were too inconſiderable in number, and too much ſeparated from the body of the people, to be able to effect any thing of conſequence.

Another

Another, and indeed the moſt diſgraceful part of the miniſterial plan, had been to excite the Indians who inhabited the country ſtretching along the backs of the colonies, to make a diverſion, by attacking the Americans in thoſe parts where they could be moſt ſenſibly affected. The monſtrous cruelties exerciſed by theſe wretches in their incurſions, it was thought, would ſoon induce the coloniſts to ſubmit; though ſuch a ſcheme was evidently more calculated to inflame them with inextinguiſhable reſentment and hatred of thoſe who could diſgrace themſelves by courting ſuch allies. On this occaſion, however, theſe diabolical warriors refuſed to take up the hatchet; for which they gave much the ſame reaſons as had been given by the Canadians. The Congreſs took care to improve this favourable diſpoſition of the Indians, and concluded a league with them, by which the ſavages bound themſelves to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality. Some of the tribes, it is ſaid, offered to take up arms in their favour; but this, they were told, was not required of them; it was ſufficient that they kept themſelves neutral.

The Indians refuſe to make war with the colonies.

In the beginning of the month of July, the diſtant and inconſiderable colony of Georgia joined in the general alliance againſt Great Britain. Having elected a Provincial Congreſs, that body entered at once into all the reſolutions of the two General Congreſſes, and appointed five delegates to attend that which was ſitting at the time. Reſolutions ſimilar to thoſe of the other colonies were adopted, and they declared, that though their province was not included in any of the oppreſſive acts lately paſſed againſt America, they conſidered that circumſtance rather as an inſult than a favour, as being done only with a view to divide them from their brethren. They alſo ſent a petition and addreſs to his Majeſty, in the uſual ſtile; and, from the time of this acceſſion, the General Confederacy took the title of *The Thirteen United Colonies.*

Georgia joins Congreſs.

In

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In the mean time, a military rage had ſeized the minds of almoſt all the coloniſts. Perſons of fortune and family who were not appointed officers, entered cheerfully as common ſoldiers. Even many of the young Quakers took up arms, formed themſelves into companies, and applied, with the utmoſt aſſiduity, to acquire a proficiency in military diſcipline: Nay, ſo univerſal was the ambition of diſtinguiſhing themſelves in the cauſe of liberty, that no fewer than two hundred thouſand men are ſaid at this time to have been training throughout the Continent. As it was now become neceſſary to appoint a commander in chief, the Congreſs, with the almoſt univerſal approbation of the people, choſe to this high office George Waſhington, Eſq; a gentleman of affluent fortune in Virginia, and who had acquired conſiderable military experience in the command of different bodies of the Provincials during the laſt war. For major generals, they appointed Artemus Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, Iſrael Putnam, Eſqrs. and Horatio Gates for adjutant general. Of theſe, Generals Lee and Gates were Engliſh gentlemen, who had ſerved with honour in the laſt war; Ward and Putnam were of Maſſachuſetts Bay, and Schuyler of New York.

General Waſhington choſen Commander in Chief of the American forces.

Previous to this military arrangement, the Congreſs had drawn up a declaration, ſetting forth the neceſſity of taking up arms. This, like all their other publications, was worded in a ſtrong and forcible manner, while, at the ſame time, it was uſhered in with a ſolemnity which could not fail to make a deep impreſſion on thoſe for whom it was calculated—"If it was poſſible," ſaid they "for men who exerciſe their reaſon, to believe, that the Divine Author of our exiſtence intended a part of the human race to hold an abſolute property in, and an unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodneſs and wiſdom, as the objects of a legal domination, never rightly reſiſtible however ſevere and oppreſſive—the inhabitants of theſe colonies might at leaſt

Declaration of Congreſs on the neceſſity of taking up arms, July 6.

leaſt require from the Parliament of Great Britain, ſome evidence that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body. But, a reverence for our great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common ſenſe, muſt convince all thoſe who reflect upon the ſubject, that government was inſtituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be adminiſtred for the attainment of that end. The legiſlature of Great Britain, however, ſtimulated by an inordinate paſſion for a power not only unjuſtifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very conſtitution of that kingdom; and deſperate of ſucceſs in any mode of conteſt, where regard ſhall be had to truth, law, or right; have at length, deſerting thoſe, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpoſe of enſlaving theſe colonies by violence, and have therefore rendered it neceſſary for us to cloſe with their laſt appeal from reaſon to arms. Yet, however blinded that aſſembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, ſo as to ſlight juſtice and the opinion of mankind, we eſteem ourſelves bound, by obligations of reſpect to the reſt of the world, to make known the juſtice of our cauſe," &c.

Articles of confederation of the United Colonies.

To complete the eſtabliſhment of their new empire, the Congreſs had alſo drawn up articles of confederation and perpetual union between the colonies. As Georgia had not then acceded to the general league, the number of the colonies is not ſpecified in the firſt article.* Congreſs

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.

* 1. The name of the confederacy ſhall henceforth be THE UNITED COLONIES OF NORTH AMERICA.

2. The United Colonies hereby enter into a firm league of friendſhip with each other, binding on themſelves and their poſterity, for their common defence againſt their enemies, for the ſecurity of their liberties and properties, the ſafety of their perſons and families, and their mutual and general welfare.

3. That each colony ſhall enjoy, and may retain as much as it ſhall think fit of its own preſent laws, cuſtoms, rights, privileges, and peculiar juriſdictions, within own limits; and may amend its own conſtitution, as ſhall ſeem beſt to its own aſſembly or conventions.

4. For the more convenient management of general intereſts, delegates ſhall be elected annually in each colony, to meet in general Congreſs, at ſuch time and place as ſhall be agreed on in the next preceding Congreſs. Only where particular circumſtances

do

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1775. Expedition againſt Canada.

Congreſs having thus, in effect, declared the colonies independent, unleſs Great Britain ſhould comply with their demands, and as every day preſented leſs and leſs probability of that event taking place, the martial ſpirit of the people began to diſplay itſelf in

do not make a deviation neceſſary, it is underſtood to be a rule, that each ſucceeding Congreſs is to be held in a different colony till the whole number be gone through, and ſo on in perpetual rotation; and that accordingly, the next Congreſs, after the preſent, ſhall be held at Annapolis in Maryland.

5. The power and duty of the Congreſs ſhall extend to the determining on war and peace, the entering into alliances, the reconciliation with Great Britain, the ſettling of all diſputes between colony and colony, if any ſhould ariſe, and the planting new colonies where proper. The Congreſs ſhall alſo make ſuch general ordinances as ſhall be thought neceſſary to the general welfare, of which particular aſſemblies cannot be competent, viz. thoſe that may relate to our general commerce or general currency, to the eſtabliſhment of poſts, the regulation of our common forces. The Congreſs ſhall alſo have the appointment of all officers civil and military, appertaining to the general confederacy, ſuch as General Treaſurer, Secretary, &c. &c.

6. All charges of war, and all other general expences to be incurred for the common welfare, ſhall be defrayed out of a common treaſury, which is to be ſupplied by each colony, in proportion to its number of male polls between 16 and 60 years of age; the taxes for paying that proportion are to be laid and levied by the laws of each colony.

7. The number of delegates to be elected and ſent to the Congreſs by each colony, ſhall be regulated from time to time by the number of ſuch polls returned, ſo as that one delegate be allowed for every 5000 polls. The delegates are to bring with them to every Congreſs an authenticated return of the number of polls in their reſpective colonies, which is to be taken for the purpoſes above mentioned.

8. At every meeting of the Congreſs, one half of the members returned, excluſive of proxies, ſhall be neceſſary to make a quorum; and each delegate at the Congreſs ſhall have a vote in all caſes; and if neceſſarily abſent, ſhall be allowed to appoint any other delegate from the ſame colony to be his proxy, who may vote for him.

9. An executive council ſhall be appointed by the Congreſs out of their own body, conſiſting of twelve perſons, of whom, in the firſt appointment, four ſhall be for one year, four for two years, and four for three years; the vacancies to be filled up annually; and no perſon who has ſerved the term of three years ſhall be elected a counſellor again until after the expiration of other three years. This council, of which two-thirds form a quorum, is to act the part of Congreſs during the receſs of that aſſembly.

10. No colony ſhall engage in an offenſive war with any Indian nation without the conſent of the Congreſs, or great conncil above mentioned, who are firſt to conſider the juſtice and neceſſity of ſuch war.

11. A perpetual alliance, offenſive and defenſive, is to be entered into, as ſoon as may be, with the Six Nations; their limits aſcertained and ſecured, and their lands not to be encroached upon; nor any private or colony purchaſe to be made of them hereafter to be held good, nor any contracts for lands to be made, but between the great council of the Indians at Onendega and the General Congreſs. The boundaries and lands of all the other Indian tribes to be in like manner aſcertained and ſecured; and perſons appointed to reſide among them in proper diſtricts, who ſhall take care to prevent injuſtice in the trade with them, and be enabled at our general expence, by occaſional ſmall ſupplies, to relieve their perſonal wants and diſtreſſes; and all purchaſes from them ſhall be by the Congreſs, for the general benefit and advantage of the United Colonies.

12 As

in a new and very daring enterprise. This was no less than an invasion of Canada, for which the way had been in a manner paved by the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. For this service were appointed Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, with two regiments of New York militia, a body of New England men, and some others, amounting in the whole to near three thousand men. A number of batteaux, or flat bottomed boats, were built at Ticonderoga or Crown Point, to convey the forces along the lake Champlain to the river Sorel, which forms the entrance into Canada, and is composed of the superfluous water of the lakes, which it discharges into the river St Lawrence, and would afford a happy communication between both, were it not for some rapids that obstruct the navigation. CHAP. XII. 1775.

Not above half the forces were yet arrived, when Montgomery, who was at Crown Point, received some intelligence, which rendered him apprehensive that a schooner of considerable force, with some other armed vessels, which lay at the fort of St John's, on the river Sorel, were preparing to enter the lake, and thereby effectually obstruct their passage. He thereupon, in the latter end of August, proceeded with August.

12. As all new institutions may have imperfections, which only time and experience can discover, it is agreed that the General Congress, from time to time, shall propose such amendments of this constitution as may be found necessary, which being approved by a majority of the colony assemblies, shall be equally binding with the rest of the articles of this confederation.

13. Any and every colony, from Great Britain, upon the continent of North America, not at present engaged in our association, may, upon application, join in the said association, and shall thereupon be intitled to all the advantages of our union, mutual assistance and commerce.

These articles shall be proposed to the several provincial conventions or assemblies, to be by them considered; and, if approved, they are advised to empower their delegates to agree and ratify the same in the ensuing Congress; after which the union thereby established is to continue firm, till the terms of reconciliation proposed in the petition of the last Congress to the King are agreed to; till the acts, since made, restraining the American commerce and fisheries, are repealed; till reparation is made for the injury done to Boston by shutting up its port, for burning Charlestown, and for the expence of this unjust war; and till all the British troops are withdrawn from America. On the arrival of these events, the colonies are to return to their former connections and friendship with Great Britain; but, on failure thereof, this confederation to be perpetual.

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with the forces he had, to the Iſle Aux Noix, which lies in the entrance of the river, and took proper meaſures for preventing the paſſage of thoſe veſſels into the lake. Schuyler, who at that time commanded in chief, having alſo arrived from Albany, they publiſhed a declaration to encourage the Canadians to join them; and, with the ſame hope or deſign, puſhed on to the fort of St John, which lies only about twelve miles from the iſland. The fire from the fort, as well as the ſtrong appearances of force and reſiſtance which they obſerved, occaſioned their landing at a conſiderable diſtance, in a country covered with thick woods, deep ſwamps, and interſected with creeks and waters. Here they were vigouroufly attacked by a conſiderable body of Indians, who did not neglect the advantages which they derived from it. In this ſituation, and finding that the fort was well garriſoned and provided, they were under the neceſſity of returning next day to their former ſtation on the iſland, and to defer their operations until the arrival of the artillery and reinforcements which were expected.

Sept. 6.

Schuyler, upon this retreat, returned to Albany, to conclude a treaty which he had for ſome time been negociating with the Indians, by which, and other, buſineſs he was ſo occupied, that the whole weight of the Canada expedition fell upon Montgomery. The firſt meaſure of this commander was to detach the Indians who had joined General Carleton; after which, having received the expected reinforcements and artillery, he prepared to beſiege Fort St John. The garriſon conſiſted of the greater part of two regiments, being nearly the whole number of regular troops at that time in the province; and they were beſides well provided with ſtores, ammunition, and artillery. The Provincial parties had ſpread themſelves over the adjacent country, and every where met with the moſt gracious reception from the Canadians. It now became manifeſt, that the people of the country, inſtead of arming themſelves

ſelves againſt the Americans, wiſhed in reality to join them. Conſiderable numbers did indeed enliſt under their banners, and ſupplied them with every kind of neceſſaries, both proviſions and military ſtores, as far as they could, for carrying on the ſiege. The progreſs of Montgomery, however, was for ſome time retarded by his deficiency in the eſſential articles of powder and ball. The little fort Chamblée, garriſoned by only part of the 7th regiment, promiſed an eaſy ſupply of theſe articles. To this he puſhed forward with a part of his forces, and, with the help of ſome Canadians, became maſter of the place, which put him in poſſeſſion of one hundred and twenty barrels of gunpowder, beſides a conſiderable quantity of other ſtores. CHAP. XII. 1775.

The ſiege of St John's was carried on with vigour. The garriſon, conſiſting of between ſix and ſeven hundred, of whom five hundred were regulars, made a reſolute defence, in hopes of being relieved by General Carleton. That brave officer, indeed, had been indefatigable in his endeavours for their relief; but the diſaffection of the people to the Britiſh cauſe had operated ſo effectually in favour of the Americans, that all the intereſt of the governor could collect no more than about a thouſand men. With theſe he attempted to form a junction with a Colonel Maclean, who had endeavoured to raiſe a regiment of the Scotch emigrants, that had not yet obtained ſettlements. Of theſe, with ſome Canadians, the colonel had formed a body of a few hundred men, with which he poſted himſelf near the junction of the rivers Sorel and St Laurence; but as General Carleton was on his march to join him, he fell in with a party of Provincials, by whom he was totally defeated, and the whole ſcheme of relieving the fort entirely overthrown. The Canadians, under the command of Colonel Maclean, no ſooner heard of this diſaſter, than they abandoned him to a man; ſo that, being puſhed by a ſuperior number of Provincials, he was obliged to retreat, with the emigrants,

to

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to Quebec: upon which the party who had reduced him to that neceſſity, immediately began to erect batteries on a point of land at the junction of the two rivers, and conſtructed armed rafts and floating batteries, with a view to intercept a number of armed veſſels which General Carleton had at Montreal, in caſe they ſhould attempt an eſcape.

Fort St John's taken.

The defeat of General Carleton, and the deſertion of Colonel Maclean's men, decided the fate of St John's. The garriſon, after a reſolute defence, finding themſelves cut off from all ſupply of proviſions, as well as from any hope of relief, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war on the 3d of November 1775, and, after experiencing a very polite and honourable treatment from the Provincial general, were conveyed, by the way of Ticonderoga, into the interior parts of the colonies. A conſiderable quantity of cannon and military ſtores were found in the place.

Nov. 3.

Ethan Allan's attempt on Montreal.

While Montgomery was thus ſucceſsfully employed at St John's, an uncommiſſioned adventurer, Ethan Allan, had made an attempt on Montreal. As his enterpriſe, however, was raſhly undertaken, without any adequate force, or the knowledge of the commander in chief, it was not attended with ſucceſs. On the 25th of September, he was utterly defeated, and taken priſoner by General Carleton's officers, with forty of his men, the reſt making their eſcape into the woods. On this occaſion, the Britiſh commander did not ſet Montgomery the example of humanity which the garriſon at St John's experienced on their ſurrender. The unhappy captives were, by expreſs orders of General Carleton, loaded with irons, and ſent in that condition on board a man of war, in which they were brought over to England, from whence, however, they were ſome time after ſent back again to America. It is not to be ſuppoſed, that this inſtance of haughty ſeverity to a few dozens of helpleſs wretches, could augment the American idea of Britiſh magnanimity or mercy.

General

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General Carleton himſelf had retreated to Montreal after his defeat already mentioned, from whence he had frequently attempted a paſſage down the river to Quebec; but the batteries and armed floats, conſtructed by the Provincial party, who had driven off Colonel Maclean, had effectually rendered theſe attempts abortive. He was now, therefore, in the utmoſt danger of being made priſoner, as General Montgomery inſtantly advanced to that place, after the reduction of St John's. On his arrival, the inhabitants propoſed a capitulation, or rather a kind of general treaty; but this was refuſed on the part of the American commander, as they were in no condition to make any defence, and could not fulfil their part of the agreement. However, he gave them an anſwer in writing, in which he ſays, "The Continental army have a generous diſdain of every act of oppreſſion and violence: They are come for the expreſs purpoſe of giving liberty and ſecurity: The General, therefore, engages his honour to maintain, in the peaceable poſſeſſion of their property of every kind, the individuals and religious communities of the city of Montreal.—The Continental army came into this province for its protection; they, therefore, cannot conſider its oppoſers as taking up arms for its defence," &c. In other reſpects, he provided for the ſafety and government of the country, as if it had been already ſubdued, and the province under the juriſdiction of the United Colonies; after which, his army took peaceable poſſeſſion of the place on the 13th of November 1775.

General Carleton makes his eſcape to Quebec.

Nov. 13. Montreal taken by Montgomery.

The ſituation of General Carleton, as well as of all the province of Canada, was now become extremely dangerous. The General, however, found means to eſcape the danger, by being conveyed ſafely beyond the batteries in the night-time, in a boat, with muffled paddles; and his eſcape ſaved the province, which he found now involved in an unexpected danger from a new enterpriſe of the Provincials. This was an expedition againſt the lower part of the

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1775. Arnold's expedition againſt Quebec.

province, and the city of Quebec itſelf, ſet on foot by one Colonel Arnold, who, with about eleven hundred men, made an invaſion from New England, through a way unfrequented by travellers, and thought to be altogether impaſſable to any body of forces. He ſet out from the camp at Boſton about the middle of September; from whence proceeding to Newbury Port, at the mouth of the river Meramack, his troops were conveyed to the mouth of the Kennebec, in New Hampſhire. Up this river they proceeded with great labour and difficulty, being impeded by a very rapid ſtream, with rocky ſides and bottom, cataracts, carrying-places *, and other obſtacles. Their paſſage along the banks was not leſs difficult than by water, the country being every where covered with thick woods, deep ſwamps, mountains, and precipices; ſo that their general progreſs was only from four to ten miles a-day. By this inceſſant labour many fell ſick and died, while proviſions became ſo ſcarce among the ſurvivors, that many of them killed and eat their dogs, beſides uſing any kind of food, however unwholſome, to appeaſe their hunger.

Having at length reached the head of the Kennebec, they ſent back their ſick; at which time one of the colonels, without conſent of the commander in chief, took the opportunity of returning with his diviſion, under pretence of the ſcarcity of proviſions; ſo that, of the eleven hundred who had ſet out from Boſton, ſcarce four hundred remained to proſecute the intended invaſion. Though the affair might now well be judged deſperate, Arnold, with the few who adhered to him, ſtill proceeded with great conſtancy; and having croſſed a ridge extending quite thro' that part of the continent, called the *Heights of Land*, they

* By this expreſſion is to be underſtood ſuch places of the river as were not navigable by their boats, and where, of courſe, they were obliged to carry them on their ſhoulders along the banks. One of theſe was upwards of twelve miles in length.

they arrived at length at the head of the Chandiere, a branch of the river St Lawrence, after which they ſoon approached the inhabited parts of Canada. On the 3d of November they procured ſome proviſions, and ſoon after came to a houſe, being the firſt they had ſeen for thirty-one days. CHAP. XII. 1775. Nov. 3.

On the appearance of Colonel Arnold, the Canadians manifeſted the ſame good-will to him that they had done to Montgomery; and he, on his part, aſſured them of the good wiſhes of the American colonies, whom he invited them to join in perpetual friendſhip; for which purpoſe he publiſhed a declaration, ſigned by General Waſhington. The American army, he told them, was not come to plunder, but to protect and animate them; they were requeſted, therefore, not to deſert their habitations, or fly from their friends, but to ſupply them with neceſſaries, for which he aſſured them they ſhould be amply recompenſed.

After the eſcape of General Carleton from Montreal in the manner already mentioned, General Preſcott with ſome other officers, and all the armed force, among whom were one hundred and twenty Engliſh ſoldiers, with eleven armed veſſels, fell into the hands of the Provincials. Montgomery having found plenty of woollen manufactures, and other articles of that kind at Montreal, took the opportunity of clothing his troops, and preparing for their future progreſs in his intended expedition, which was now found to be attended with very great difficulties. One of the principal of theſe aroſe from the nature of the engagements entered into by the Provincial ſoldiers. Having enliſted only for a certain time, and the term of their ſervice being nearly expired, they were deſirous of returning home to their families; ſo that it was only by mere affection to their General that they could now be kept together. Beſides this, other difficulties aroſe from the want of proper ſubordination, owing to the exceſſive paſſion for liberty, and to which they only could be trained through

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numberleſs wants and diſtreſſes of every kind.—Montgomery, however, happily poſſeſſed a genius calculated to remedy theſe evils; and having, moſtly by his perſonal influence, prevailed on his troops to perſevere in the enterpriſe he had ſo happily begun, puſhed on to join Arnold, with as many men as he could ſpare from the defence of Montreal, and thoſe detachments which were ſent into different parts of the province, in order to encourage and perſuade the inhabitants to join him.

It would probably have contributed greatly to the ſucceſs of this expedition, if neither of the commanders had approached the town of Quebec till joined by the other, as much depended on the effect of their firſt appearance before the place. Colonel Arnold, however, inſtead of waiting for his ſuperior, puſhed on directly to the capital, which he found in a very diſtracted ſituation. An univerſal diviſion and diſcontent reigned among the inhabitants, owing to the oppoſition of the Britiſh merchants and others to the Quebec act. The petitions on this ſubject had been greatly reſented by their own government; and ſo far did they appear to have been ſuſpected, that their application for leave to embody themſelves as a militia for the defence of Montreal had not even met with any anſwer. With regard to the French inhabitants, the caſe was ſtill worſe; they were univerſally known to waver, and ſome to be ſo much diſaffected, that no confidence whatever could be put in them for the defence of the city. The whole force, therefore, conſiſted of the handful of new raiſed emigrants, who had retreated from Sorel under Colonel Maclean, ſome marines which the governor had ſent for to Boſton, and the militia which had been embodied by the lieutenant-governor.

Diſtreſſed ſituation of Quebec on Arnold's arrival, Nov. 9.

In this critical ſituation of affairs, Colonel Arnold with his party ſuddenly appeared at Point Levi oppoſite to the city, and had it not been for the intervention of the river, would probably have reduced it, notwithſtanding the ſmallneſs of the force he had with

with him. But though he was ſpeedily ſupplied with boats for the purpoſe of croſſing it, and found means to elude the vigilance of the ſhips of war ſtationed there, the moment of opportunity was loſt; the divided citizens quickly united in the common cauſe; the ſailors landed from the ſhips to manage the guns of the batteries; and Arnold, with his handful of men, became the object of contempt, inſtead of terror. After an unavailing parade, therefore, he found himſelf utterly unable to attempt any thing, and was obliged to content himſelf with cutting off the ſupplies of proviſions as much as poſſible from the city, until his force ſhould be augmented by that under General Montgomery. CHAP. XII. 1775.

By reaſon of the difficulties attending a winter march, through the firſt ſnows in Canada, it was the 5th of December before the American commander reached the place of his deſtination; and before that time General Carleton had made ſuch preparations as rendered every proſpect of ſucceſs precarious, if not deſperate. Montgomery in vain threatened, and made a boaſt of his ſtrength. The Britiſh commander well knew that this parade was intended only to cover his real weakneſs, and that, unleſs by ſurpriſe, he had not the leaſt chance of ſucceeding. That no means of intimidating the enemy, however, might be left untried, the American general opened two ſmall batteries, one from five mortars, and the other from ſix cannon, againſt the place; but his artillery being two ſmall, and the ſeverities of the ſeaſon increaſing in ſuch a manner, that human nature ſeemed no longer able to reſiſt them, he determined at laſt to put all to the iſſue of a general aſſault. But whilſt he was making the neceſſary preparations for this enterpriſe, intelligence of the deſign is ſaid to have been conveyed to the garriſon by ſome deſerters; ſo that, perceiving by the motions of the enemy, that they were taking proper meaſures to fruſtrate his deſign, he was obliged to alter his mode of proceeding. On the 31ſt of December 1775, he made Provincials defeated, and their general killed, Dec. 5 Dec. 31.

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the arduous attempt under cover of a violent ſtorm of ſnow. The American army, ſcarce equal in number to thoſe they were about to attack, was divided into four bodies, of which two were directed to make falſe attacks on the upper town, while two real ones, by Montgomery and Arnold, were made on the lower town. Though by ſome miſtake the ſignal for engaging was made, and the garriſon alarmed before Montgomery with his party could reach the town, they nevertheleſs paſſed the firſt barrier, and advanced boldly to attack the ſecond, which was much ſtronger. A violent diſcharge of grape-ſhot from ſeveral cannon, together with a well-directed fire of muſquetry, here put an end to the life and hopes of this enterpriſing officer. Moſt of the officers, and others near their general, were killed on the ſpot, which ſo intimidated the officer (a Mr Campbell) on which the command now devolved, that he retired without making any farther effort. In the mean time, Arnold with his party had made a furious attack upon another part of the town, and carried a ſmall battery after an hour's engagement. Their commander, having his leg ſhattered, was carried off. His officers, however, carried on the attack with great vigour, until at laſt the garriſon having driven off the enemy in every other quarter, and directing their whole force againſt this ſmall body, entirely ſurrounded them, and prevented every poſſibility of eſcape. Even in theſe deſperate circumſtances, they did not yield till after they had continued the fight for three hours longer, during which time their numbers were greatly reduced, and, convinced that ſome misfortune muſt have befallen their friends, they ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. On this occaſion, the humanity of General Carleton was more conſpicuous than in the affair of Ethan Allen, as the priſoners were well treated, and the dead body of their general buried with all the honours due to his rank as an officer, and his character as a private gentleman.

In

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In this unfortunate attack, the Provincials loſt not leſs than half their number, as Arnold in his letter to the Congreſs ſtated the remainder only at ſeven hundred. Theſe immediately quitted their camp, and retired to the diſtance of a few miles from the city, where they ſtrengthened themſelves in the beſt manner they could, being apprehenſive of an attack from the garriſon. As there were few regular troops in the place, however, General Carleton did not chuſe to venture any attempt of this kind, as well knowing the reſolution of his adverſaries, and that any misfortune would ſtill endanger the loſs of the province. Arnold, indeed, in his preſent ſituation, diſcovered an amazing vigour of mind, as well as perſeverance in his enterpriſe. Though the ſeverity of the winter was far beyond any thing they had hitherto experienced, the ſnow lying four feet deep on a level, he made a ſhift not only to keep his troops together, but to render them formidable. An expreſs was diſpatched to General Wooſter, who was at Montreal, to come with a reinforcement, and aſſume the command; but as this could not be inſtantly done, he bore up, with the ſmall force he had, againſt the difficulties which ſurrounded him, and by obſtructing the ſupplies of proviſions and other neceſſaries into the town, rendered its ſituation ſtill precarious, ſhould any conſiderable reinforcement arrive in time to his little army.

Governor Dunmore driven out of Virginia.

While theſe tranſactions were going forward in the northern colonies, the flames of diſcord were gradually involving thoſe to the ſouthward. A long courſe of altercation had ſubſiſted between the people of Virginia and their governor, Lord Dunmore. The aſſembly had been diſſolved, and his lordſhip had refuſed to call a new one. Hence a plauſible reaſon was afforded to the people for aſſembling a Provincial Congreſs, where, by virtue of an old law of 1738, they took meaſures for arraying the militia; and, to remedy the defects of this, they recommended to

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each county to raiſe a volunteer company for the better defence and protection of the province.

1775. Such a ſuſpicious proceeding juſtly alarmed the governor, ſo that, towards the end of April 1775, he cauſed the greateſt part of the powder belonging to the colony at Williamſburg to be removed from the magazine, and conveyed aboard a man of war by a detachment of marines ſent for that purpoſe. Though this was executed in the night, and with as much ſecrecy as poſſible, intelligence of it was received by the town's people in the morning. A violent commotion enſued, much greater indeed than the occaſion ſeemed to require, as the quantity of powder removed amounted to no more than fifteen half barrels of fifty pounds each. Beſides this, however, ſome muſkets had been deprived of their locks; but theſe were too few in number to anſwer any eſſential purpoſe. Six half barrels of powder had been left behind, and a quantity of old arms and common trading guns, were not meddled with. The people nevertheleſs aſſembled in arms, and demanded the reſtitution of the powder; but, on the governor's aſſigning his reaſons for its removal, and promiſing that it ſhould be returned whenever there appeared the leaſt occaſion, they ſuffered themſelves to be perſuaded by their magiſtrates to retire.

On this occaſion, the governor and people ſeem to have been exaſperated againſt each other beyond any hopes of reconciliation. The former reſented in the higheſt degree their having aſſembled in arms, with an evident deſign to oppoſe his authority; and they, on the other hand, never forgot ſome threats he had uſed in his anger, of ſetting up the royal ſtandard, giving liberty to the ſlaves, and arming them againſt their maſters. Public meetings were held in ſeveral counties; in all of which, the meaſure of ſeizing the gunpowder became the ſubject of diſcuſſion and condemnation. Nor were mere declarations univerſally ſatisfactory. A conſiderable number of the principal people in the counties of Hanover, and others in the

the neighbourhood, assembled under arms, and marched to Williamsburg, with an avowed design both of forcing the governor to make restitution of the powder, and taking effectual measures for preserving the public treasury. When they had arrived within a few miles of the city, however, a negociation was entered into with the magistrates, by which it was finally settled, that the receiver-general should give security for paying the value of the gunpowder; and that, upon the inhabitants engaging for the future effectually to guard both the treasury and magazine, the insurgents should return to their habitations.

Notwithstanding this apparent reconciliation, it appears that an inveterate resentment had taken place between both parties. The governor immediately sent his family aboard the Fowey man of war, and fortified his palace as if expecting an attack. A proclamation was published, in which the magistrates were charged with treason and rebellion, in extorting security for the payment of the gunpowder; the commotions were attributed to disaffection in the people, and a desire of changing the government. This served only to increase the general discontent. Public meetings were held, in which the conduct of the insurgents was vindicated and applauded, and the most violent resolutions passed of indemnifying them from all suffering on that account. The charge of disaffection was denied, and that of changing the government retorted. They insisted, that they wanted nothing but to preserve their ancient constitution; that they only opposed innovations, and all disturbances sprung from the governor's conduct.

About this time, the discovery of some letters betwixt the governor and British ministry, had an effect somewhat similar to those of Governor Hutchinson at Boston. They were said to contain unfair, unjust, and partial representations of the colony in general, as well as of particular facts. All confidence was lost on both sides. False reports were circulated and believed

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believed by every body. The governor, however, in the midſt of this general commotion and diſtruſt, ſurpriſed the people, by ſuddenly calling an aſſembly.

June 1. The great motive for this meaſure appeared to be an expectation of their compliance with the terms of Lord North's conciliatory plan. In his ſpeech, therefore, he uſed his utmoſt addreſs to carry this favourite point; and the arguments he made uſe of might poſſibly have had ſome weight at another time; but at preſent, the minds of all were too much inflamed to pay any regard to them. The carrying away the powder was not yet forgot; and ſome ſubſequent meaſures had tended to augment the diſcontent on that account. Theſe, indeed, appear to have been highly unworthy the dignity of the ſupreme magiſtrate. Spring-guns had been placed in the magazine, without any warning given, and had wounded ſome people in attempting to furniſh themſelves with arms from thence during the late commotions. A committee appointed by the Aſſembly to enquire into the ſtate of the magazine, found the greateſt part of the gunpowder buried in the yard, and damaged by rain. The muſkets were now alſo firſt diſcovered to have been deprived of their locks, and the magazine itſelf naked and deficient in every reſpect. Before his lordſhip, however, could be made acquainted with the ſentiments of the Aſſembly on theſe or any other ſubjects, he ſuddenly left his palace at night, and

June 8. went on board the Fowey man of war. The reaſons for this extraordinary, and, to appearance, puſillanimous piece of conduct, were given in a paper left behind him, to be delivered to the Houſe of Burgeſſes. In this he acquainted them, that he had thought it prudent to retire to a place of ſafety, as both himſelf and his family were in conſtant danger of falling ſacrifices to the blind and unmeaſurable fury of the people; but that buſineſs might receive as little interruption as poſſible, he would render the communication between the Houſe and himſelf as eaſy and ſafe as he could; and he thought it would be more proper for them

them to ſend ſome of their members to him, as occaſion might require, than to have the trouble of moving the whole Houſe to a nearer place. In the mean time, he promiſed to attend, as uſual, to the duties of his office, and to uſe his utmoſt endeavours in conciliating the differences which had taken place. CHAP. XII. 1775.

This produced a correſpondence betwixt the Houſe of Burgeſſes and the governor, which, after mutual accuſations, terminated in a final requeſt of the former, That his lordſhip would either meet them at Williamſburg, on a certain day, to paſs ſuch bills as he thought proper, or grant a commiſſion to paſs them. To this the governor replied, That the well-grounded cauſe he had to think himſelf in perſonal danger at Williamſburg increaſed daily: He could not, therefore, comply with their requeſt of coming aſhore, but would be ready to receive the Houſe at his preſent reſidence on board the Fowey man of war. This anſwer was voted a high breach of the rights and privileges of the Houſe: That, from the unreaſonable delays in their proceedings, occaſioned by the conduct of the governor, and the evaſive anſwers given to their addreſſes, they had reaſon to believe, that a dangerous attack was meditated againſt the unhappy people of that colony; and it was therefore their opinion, that they ſhould provide for the preſervation of their property, with the reſt of their ineſtimable rights and privileges. Having then made ſtrong profeſſions of loyalty to the King, as well as friendſhip to the mother-country, they diſſolved themſelves; and their place was ſoon ſupplied by a convention of delegates, who, for the time, poſſeſſed an unlimited power over the affairs of the province. July 18.

The firſt act of this aſſembly was to give orders for the raiſing an armed force, providing means for its ſupport, and putting the colony in the beſt ſtate of defence they could. A manifeſto was next publiſhed in juſtification of the ſteps they had taken, concluding, as uſual, with ſtrong profeſſions of loyalty and allegiance, and of their determination to ſubmit to every

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very extremity rather than part with their rights; though at the ſame time they faithfully promiſed to diſband ſuch forces as they had raiſed for the defence of the colony, as ſoon as the dangers which threatned them were removed, and America reſtored to its former ſtate of tranquillity and happineſs.

Dunmore acts in an hoſtile manner againſt the Virginians.

Though Lord Dunmore had thus abandoned his government, he ſeemed ſtill to have an inclination to command, or at leaſt fight with the people of his province. Being accordingly joined by thoſe friends of government, who had rendered themſelves too obnoxious to the people to continue with ſafety in the country, as well as by a number of runaway negroes, and ſupported by the frigates of war which were on that ſtation, he endeavoured to eſtabliſh ſuch a marine force, as would enable him, by means of the rivers which render moſt part of the country acceſſible by water, to be always at hand, and ready to take any opportunity that offered of annoying the people of the colony. The utmoſt force he could collect, however, was never able to effectuate any purpoſe beſides that of depredation; and, of conſequence, could anſwer no other end than to exaſperate the coloniſts againſt him. Some degree of this indeed, they bore with patience, as they knew it was neceſſary that the governor and thoſe who were with him ſhould be ſupplied with proviſions; but theſe were ſoon followed by acts of greater hoſtility, in one of which his lordſhip deſtroyed a number of iron cannon, and carried off others, which he imagined to be provided for the purpoſes of rebellion, though the Virginians aſſerted that they were ſhip guns.

In return for this injury a detachment of the newly raiſed forces was ſent to protect the coaſts, and a miſchievous, though inneffectual war enſued, in which every neceſſary, water not excepted, was purchaſed

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by the government party at the price of blood. One of his lordſhip's principal attempts was againſt the town of Hampton, a conſiderable and important ſea-port. This town, it ſeems, had been condemned to the

the flames; but the inhabitants having conceived ſome ſuſpicion of the deſign, prevented, for one day, the approach of the ſhips of war, by ſinking boats in the mouth of the harbour, and putting other obſtacles in their way. In the night time, a paſſage was cut through the boats, large enough to allow the armed ſhips to paſs, and a furious cannonade againſt the town began next morning; but at this critical period, a detachment of rifle and minute men having marched all night from Williamſburg, opportunely arrived; and, being joined by the inhabitants, ſo annoyed the ſhips, by repeated diſcharges of their ſmall arms, that they were obliged to make a precipatate retreat with the loſs of a tender, which was taken, and ſome men killed. CHAP. XII. 1775.

Lord Dunmore now iſſued a proclamation, in which he ſet forth, that as civil law was inſufficient to prevent and puniſh treaſon, martial law ſhould henceforth take place throughout the colony: he, at the ſame time, required all perſons capable of bearing arms to repair to his Majeſty's ſtandard, and declared the negroes and indented ſervants free, provided they inſtantly enliſted themſelves under his banner. Though this meaſure, which had been long expected, produced leſs effect than it would have done, had it been ſuddenly put in execution, and though it was every where received with horror, it produced an addition of ſeveral hundreds to the force now poſſeſſed by his lordſhip; ſo that he began to entertain hopes of being able to reduce the whole province, by means of a force raiſed within itſelf. But, while he pleaſed himſelf with this expectation, intelligence was received, that a party of Provincials were marching with the utmoſt expedition againſt the new-raiſed forces, which determined Lord Dunmore to take poſſeſſion of a poſt called Great Bridge, lying ſome miles from Norfolk, and which was a paſs of great conſequence, being the only way by which they could approach that town, the inhabitants of which were generally well affected to government. Here he conſtructed a fort on the Nov. 7.

Norfolk

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Norfolk ſide, which he furniſhed with artillery, and put in as good poſture of defence as the time would admit. It does not appear, however, that his force was at all conſiderable, either as to the number or quality of the troops. He had, indeed, about two hundred regulars, including the grenadiers of the 14th regiment, and a body called the Norfolk Volunteers; the reſt were a motley mixture of blacks and whites. The enemy, greatly ſuperior in number, were alſo fortified within leſs than a cannon ſhot of Dunmore's forces, having a narrow cauſeway in their front; ſo that both parties were pretty well ſecured from a ſurpriſe. Having continued in this ſtate for ſome days, Captain Fordyce was diſpatched, on the

Dec. 9. 9th of December, at the head of the grenadiers, to force the intrenchments of the Provincials. This raſh attempt, it was ſaid, had been occaſioned by falſe intelligence from a pretended deſerter; and, as the captain's force was totally inadequate to the enterpriſe, his party was entirely defeated; he himſelf, with ſeveral officers, and a number of common ſoldiers, being killed on the ſpot, many others taken, and not one eſcaping without a wound.

After this diſaſter, his lordſhip thought proper to return on board the ſhips with his people, who were now conſiderably increaſed in number, as many of the well-affected, or *Tories*, as they were called by the Americans, were now obliged to ſeek the ſame aſylum, whither they alſo carried ſuch of their effects as could moſt eaſily be brought off. This additional number, however, inſtead of forwarding his lordſhip's operations, proved exceedingly detrimental to them. The veſſels were crowded by thoſe who could not aſſiſt even in navigating them; and diſeaſes, the certain conſequence of confinement, began to take place among the unhappy wretches thus cooped up. The Provincials now took poſſeſſion of Norfolk, and the fleet removed to a greater diſtance.

In

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Plan of Connelly againſt the colonies defeated.

In the midſt of theſe diſturbances, which gave ample ſcope for the genius of ſuch adventurers as wiſh to profit by the deſtruction of mankind, one Connelly, a native of Pennſylvania, projected a ſcheme for the ſubjection of his countrymen, by the inhuman means of ſetting the Indians againſt them. The plan was communicated to Lord Dunmore; and Connelly, with great labour and difficulty, having found means to conclude a treaty with the Ohio Indians, returned to his lordſhip, by whom he was ſent to Boſton, with proper recommendations to General Gage. Here he was inveſted with a commiſſion to act as colonel-commandant, with aſſurances of ſupport and aſſiſtance, at the time, and in the manner appointed; and here the plan was fully explained and ſettled. The purport of it was, that Connelly ſhould return to the country from whence he had come; where he ſhould excite the Indians, in conjunction with the loyaliſts, to fall upon the back parts of Virginia. The garriſons of Fort Detroit, and others in that remote country, were to co-operate with him as far as poſſible, to ſupply his troops with their artillery and ammunition; and ſome aſſiſtance was expected from the neareſt parts of Canada. Connelly himſelf was to grant all the commiſſions to the officers, and to have the ſupreme direction in every thing relative to the new-raiſed forces. As ſoon as they were in proper condition for the enterpriſe, he was to penetrate through Virginia in ſuch a manner as to meet Lord Dunmore, in the month of April, near the town of Alexandria, on the river Potowmac. His lordſhip was to bring with him a ſufficient naval force; ſo that by their joint operation, the communication between the northern and ſouthern colonies might be effectually cut off, and Virginia, in all probability, reduced to ſubjection.

This plan, ſo precarious in its nature, as depending on the ſucceſs of a ſingle man paſſing unſuſpected from almoſt one end of Britiſh America to the other, was fruſtrated by that accident, which, of all others,

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1775. others, might have been moſt eaſily ſuſpected. Connelly was met on the road by ſome perſon of his acquaintance, by whom, as he could not with ſufficient perſpicuity anſwer the common queſtions aſked at each other by travellers, he was informed on, and brought before the committee of the Provincial Congreſs of Maryland. Here his papers were ſeized; among which were found the general ſcheme of the deſign, a letter from Lord Dunmore to one of the Indian chiefs, with ſuch other authentic vouchers, as left not the leaſt room for doubt on the one part, or excuſe on the other. The papers were publiſhed by order of the Congreſs, and Connelly, with two of his aſſociates, who were taken along with him, ſent to priſon.

In the mean time, the people on board the fleet began to ſuffer greatly by want of proviſions, which could no longer be obtained from Norfolk, as the Provincial party now prevailed there. The loyaliſts, who had not indeed uſed their own power with great moderation, now began to feel the vengeance of their adverſaries; and the Provincial troops, ſtationed along the coaſt, had the cruelty to amuſe themſelves with ſhooting at the people of thoſe ſhips which approached neareſt the ſhore. This could not fail to produce the utmoſt reſentment; and, on the arrival of the Liverpool man of war, meaſures were taken to inflict a proper chaſtiſement. They were now ſimply aſked, Whether they would ſupply his Majeſty's ſhips with proviſions? which being anſwered in the negative, the inhabitants were warned to remove from the place with their effects, as a reſolution was taken to deſtroy it. The firſt day of the year 1776 was pitched upon for this ſervice; a violent cannonade from the Liverpool, two ſloops of war, and the governor's armed ſhip, called the Dunmore, demoliſhed that part neareſt the water; and ſome houſes being ſet fire to by a body of ſailors and marines, who landed for that purpoſe, the whole was ſoon involved in one general deſtruction. As the governor had removed the printing-preſs and types, together

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Dunmore carries off a printer's types and preſs, &c.

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together with two ſervants, employed in printing for one Holt in Norfolk, he was now enabled to publiſh printed accounts of his own tranſactions in a true and impartial manner, which he complained was not done before. In one of his gazettes, the rebels themſelves were charged with completing the deſtruction of Norfolk; it having been intended, on the part of the governor, only to deſtroy the lower part from whence the ſhipping were annoyed by the fire of the troops. Be this as it will, the property deſtroyed on this occaſion was ſaid not to be leſs than 300,000 l. Sterling. The rent of the houſes amounted to 10,000 l. annually.

Norfolk deſtroyed.

However neceſſary or juſt the deſtruction of this place might have been, nothing could have contributed more to render government univerſally odious through the colony. The Provincials, that they might the more effectually cut off any proſpect of ſupply from the ſhips; and, perhaps, alſo to puniſh the oppoſite party, burned and deſtroyed all the houſes and plantations within reach of the water, obliging the people to remove farther up the country with their cattle, proviſions, and ſuch effects as they could carry. Lord Dunmore, with his fleet of fugitives, continued to hover about the coaſts and rivers of Virginia for a great part of the year 1776; but every place being at laſt ſtrictly guarded, ſo that no refreſhments whatever could be had, thoſe unhappy people who had put themſelves under his protection, began to experience diſtreſſes which could no longer be borne. The heat of the climate increaſed thoſe diſeaſes which confinement had already begun; and the filth of the veſſels in which they were incloſed, produced at laſt that dreadful diſtemper known by the name of the *jail fever*, by which great havoc was made, eſpecially among the negroes, who were almoſt entirely cut off by it. After various diſagreeable adventures, ſeveral veſſels were at laſt forced on ſhore by a gale of wind, where the unhappy fugitives fell into the hands of their enra-

Miſerable end of thoſe who adhered to his lordſhip.

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ged countrymen. The remainder, driven from place to place, and from iſland to iſland, by the Virginians, were in danger of periſhing entirely, when the governor, in the beginning of Auguſt 1776, determined to burn the ſmaller and leaſt valuable part of the veſſels, and to ſend the remainder, conſiſting of between forty and fifty, with the exiles, to ſeek a retreat in Florida, Bermudas, and the Weſt Indies.

1776. Auguſt.

Thus ended the hopes entertained of ſuppreſſing the American rebellion in Virginia, by means of the negroes; a meaſure which produced the moſt violent reſentment on the part of the coloniſts, without adding any thing to the ſtrength of the Royal cauſe; for, in the engagement at Great Bridge, the only ſervice in which they were employed, the negroes are ſaid to have done more hurt to their own party than to the enemy. As for the unhappy creatures themſelves, they are ſaid to have periſhed almoſt to a man.

Governors of both Carolinas driven out.

In the other ſouthern colonies, matters alſo came to ſuch extremities, that the governors were expelled by the people of their provinces, with this mark of diſgrace attending their conduct, that they were charged with exciting, or attempting to excite, the Indians or negroes to murder thoſe whom they could not reduce to obedience by the force which the mother country had entruſted in their hands. In South Carolina, Lord William Campbell was ſaid to have entered into ſome negociations with the Indians for the ſupport of Government, as well as with thoſe banditti called *Regulators* in the back ſettlements; but before matters were ripe for execution, a diſcovery was made, which rendered it neceſſary for his lordſhip to retire from Charleſtown, on board a man of war in the river, from whence he never returned any more to his government. In the mean time, Mr Drayton, the judge of the Superior Court, and one of the moſt popular leaders in that part of the country, marched with a conſiderable force againſt the Regulators; with whom, however, he found

found means to conclude a treaty, by which, though they could not be prevailed upon to arm themſelves againſt Britain, they engaged not to impede or contravene, by word or action, ſuch proceedings as ſhould be adopted and purſued by the province in general; nor to give any information, aid, or aſſiſtance, to ſuch Britiſh troops as ſhould at any time arrive in it. In other reſpects, they were to be entirely at liberty to enjoy a free neutrality, and to ſuffer no moleſtation on account of their not taking an active part in the conteſt. CHAP. XII. 1776.

In North Carolina, Governor Martin exerted himſelf with more activity, but with as little ſucceſs as Lord William Campbell. After a long warfare with the Provincial Congreſs and its committees, he was declared an enemy to America in general, to the colony he governed in particular; and all perſons were forbid to hold any communication with him. The charges alledged againſt him were, that he had fomented a civil war, and endeavoured to excite an inſurrection among the negroes. To theſe he replied by a long proclamation, which by the Provincial Congreſs was declared a falſe, ſcandalous, ſcurrilous, malicious, and ſeditious libel, and ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. As the governor, however, expected, by means of the back ſettlers, as well as of the Scotch inhabitants and Highland emigrants, who were numerous in the province, to be able to raiſe a conſiderable force, he took great pains to fortify his palace, that he might thus be enabled to make it anſwer the double purpoſe of a garriſon and magazine. But, before this could be accompliſhed, the moving of ſome cannon occaſioned ſuch a ferment among the people, that he found it neceſſary to abandon the palace, and take refuge on board a ſloop of war in Cape Fear river. On his departure, the people found buried in the palace yard and garden, a quantity of powder, ball, and various other military ſtores and implements, which inflamed them to ſuch a degree, that

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they inſtantly proceeded to ſettle the government of the province on a plan of their own, as had already been done by the reſt of the colonies. An addreſs was made to the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland in the uſual ſtile, and with the uſual profeſſions of loyalty and affection, to which it will be almoſt needleſs to add, that no regard was paid.

Diſtreſſes of the troops and inhabitants of Boſton. October, 1775.

All this time the troops in Boſton continued to experience great hardſhips from the cloſe blockade of the American army, while their Generals ſeemed inclined to revenge theſe misfortunes on the miſerable inhabitants. In the beginning of October 1775, General Gage having returned to England, the command of the army at Boſton devolved on General Howe, who ſoon after iſſued a proclamation, condemning to military execution ſuch of the inhabitants as ſhould be taken in attempting to make their eſcape from the town without licenſe; or, if they had the good fortune to get off with their lives, they were yet to undergo the puniſhment of traitors, by having their effects forfeited. By another edict, ſuch as obtained permiſſion to go, were reſtrained from carrying any money with them beyond a ſmall ſpecified ſum. He alſo enjoined the ſigning of an aſſociation, by which the remaining inhabitants offered themſelves for the defence of the town; and ſuch of them as he approved of were to be armed, formed into companies, and inſtructed in military exerciſes and diſcipline, the remainder being obliged to pay their quotas in money towards the common defence.

It has been already obſerved, that, in order to ſupply the troops at Boſton with proviſions, it had been found neceſſary to carry on a kind of predatory war, ſimilar to that already deſcribed in Virginia. In the courſe of theſe hoſtilities, the town of Falmouth, in Maſſachuſetts Bay, having given ſome offence relative to the loading of a maſt-ſhip, was condemned to the flames. The officer, (a Captain Mowatt), employed on this occaſion, is ſaid to have produced orders for burning all the towns on the coaſt

coaſt between Boſton and Halifax. However, he gave the people two hours to remove their families from the danger, which, under pretence of a negociation for delivering up their arms, was lengthened till next morning; during which time they had removed the greateſt part of their effects. About nine in the morning, on their refuſal to deliver up their arms, a violent diſcharge of cannon and mortars took place. Above three thouſand ſhot, beſides bombs and carcaſſes, were thrown into the town, by which the principal part of it, lying next the water, and conſiſting of one hundred and thirty dwelling-houſes, and two hundred and ſeventy-eight warehouſes, together with the church, a new handſome court-houſe, the old town-houſe, and public library, were reduced to aſhes. About one hundred of the worſt houſes, favoured by their ſituation and diſtance, eſcaped without damage. In return for this injury, the aſſembly of Maſſachuſetts Bay paſſed an act, of date November 13th 1775, granting letters of marque and repriſal, and eſtabliſhing courts of admiralty, for the trial and condemnation of Britiſh ſhips. At this time, however, they declared their intention to be only to defend the coaſts and navigation of America, extending the power of capture no farther than to ſuch veſſels as brought ſupplies to the Royal army.

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Notwithſtanding all this determined ſhew of reſiſtance, the Americans were at preſent exceedingly embarraſſed. The limited time, during which the ſoldiers in the army before Boſton had engaged themſelves, was nearly expired. It was neceſſary, therefore, that proper meaſures ſhould be taken, to prevent them from diſbanding themſelves; and a Committee of Congreſs, conſiſting of its moſt reſpectable members, was ſent to the camp before Boſton, in order to conſult with General Waſhington on the ſubject. Little difficulty, however, occurred at preſent. The general military rage produced a new enliſtment of the whole army for another year. The

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greateſt difficulty was, how to procure a ſufficient ſupply of gunpowder; for, though the utmoſt diligence was uſed to procure ſaltpetre, and manufacture it into gun-powder in different parts of the colonies themſelves, the proceſs was neceſſarily ſlow and tedious, and the proſpect of aſſiſtance from that quarter too diſtant to afford relief in the preſent emergency. As to the procuring this neceſſary material from foreign ſtates, they had not yet opened a commerce with them, nor taken the meaſures which afterwards afforded them ſuch a plentiful ſupply. The ſcarcity of powder on the part of the Provincials, indeed, is ſaid to have been ſo great, that, at the battle of Bunker's Hill, the troops had not a ſingle ſhot left; and, at another time, before Boſton, ſo totally were they deſtitute of this indiſpenſible requiſite, that, had they been attacked by any force whatever, they muſt have been put to flight from mere inability to return the fire of the enemy. Nothing, however, was left undone to ſupply this ruinous defect. Among other temporary expedients, they had contrived to purchaſe, without notice or ſuſpicion, all the powder on the coaſt of Africa, and plundered the magazine of Bermuda of upwards of one hundred barrels, carried off, as was pretended, without the knowledge of the inhabitants.

Vaſt ſupplies deſtined for Boſton almoſt entirely deſtroyed.

In the mean time, the Britiſh miniſtry, apprehenſive of the conſequences of thoſe diſtreſſes to which the troops at Boſton were reduced, ſpared neither coſt nor pains to relieve them. As the want of freſh proviſions was one of their principal grievances, and had cauſed much ſickneſs amongſt them, it was one of the main objects of Government to remedy that evil. For this purpoſe, vaſt numbers of cattle of all kinds were ſhipped for Boſton. It is ſaid, that no fewer than five thouſand oxen, fourteen thouſand of the largeſt and fatteſt ſheep, with a vaſt number of hogs, were purchaſed and ſent out alive. Incredible quantities of vegetables were alſo bought up,

up, and cured by new methods. Ten thouſand butts of ſtrong beer were ſupplied by two brewers. Five thouſand chaldrons of coals were purchaſed in the river, and ſhipped off for Boſton; and even the article of faggots was ſent from London. The immenſe expence of maintaining armies at ſuch a diſtance from home, was now, for the firſt time, experimentally felt. Some eſtimate of the whole may be formed from that of the trifling articles of vegetables, caſks, and vinegar, which amounted to little leſs than 22,000 l. and the articles of hay, oats, and beans, for a ſingle regiment of light cavalry, to nearly as much more. Beſides all this enormous expence, and the charge of flour, corn, and ſalted proviſions, near half a million of money was expended in the purchaſe of Spaniſh and Portugal coin for the extraordinary and contingent articles in various branches of the military operations. The expence in every article was ſwelled to the utmoſt. Even the article of tonnage, from the multitude of tranſports uſed, was augmented to one fourth above its uſual rate. CHAP. XII. 1775.

It was not without reaſon ſuppoſed, that by ſuch unbounded ſupplies, the troops would be reſtored to health and ſpirits, and the general complaint ſilenced, that had for ſome time prevailed, concerning the bad and unwholeſome quality of the proviſions with which they had been ſupplied. Things turned out, however, in a manner directly oppoſite to every expectation of this kind. The tranſports were not in readineſs to ſail before the arrival of that ſeaſon of the year which rendered their voyage almoſt impracticable. At laſt, after every cauſe of delay in fitting out had been ſurmounted, the veſſels were detained for a long time on the coaſts of Britain, or toſſed about by contrary winds in the Channel, until the greater part of their live ſtock, particularly the ſheep, periſhed; ſo that the ſea was every where ſtrowed with their floating carcaſſes. Nor was the condition of the tranſports much mended when they got clear

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of the coaſts of Britain. They were peculiarly unfortunate as to winds and weather in the mid-ſeas; and as they approached the place of their deſtination, the American periodical winds blew full in their teeth, and drove them off the coaſts. Several of them were blown to the Weſt India iſlands, where they arrived in great diſtreſs; others were entangled with the American coaſts, where they were either taken at ſea, or in the harbours and creeks where they put in for ſhelter. A few arrived at Boſton, after having been beat about in ſtormy ſeas for three or four months, with their cargoes almoſt entirely ſpoiled, the vegetables over-fermented and periſhed, and only a very inconſiderable portion of the refreſhments, purchaſed at ſo vaſt an expence, were of any ſervice to the troops.

Misfortunes of the Newfoundland fiſhers.

The diſaſters that attended the Boſton tranſports ſeemed alſo to have waited on the Newfoundland fiſhery for the year 1775. It had not, indeed, promiſed, in any degree, to anſwer the ſanguine expectations of miniſtry, with reſpect to its eaſy tranſlation from America to Britain. For, though there was probably ſome ſmall increaſe in the number of ſhips both from England and Ireland, they were by no means able to ſupply the deficiency occaſioned by the late law, even ſuppoſing that no new obſtacles had occurred. But the American retaliation, by cutting off all ſupplies of proviſions from the ſhips employed in the fiſhery, threw every thing into diſorder, as we have already mentioned; ſo that by ſending off a number of ſhips to Ireland for proviſions, ſuch a neglect was neceſſarily occaſioned in the fiſhery, that the value of more than half a million ſterling of the uſual produce was left in the bowels of the deep. A dreadful tempeſt, which diſcharged itſelf chiefly on the ſhores of Newfoundland, contributed to render abortive the ſucceſs of thoſe who remained. The ſea is ſaid to have riſen, almoſt inſtantaneouſly, thirty feet above its level. Upwards of ſeven hundred boats, with a number of ſhips, with all on board, periſhed in

in the ocean, while the waves ſurpaſſing their uſual bounds ſo far, overwhelmed every thing with a rapid and unavoidable deſtruction. The ſhores preſented a ſhocking ſpectacle for ſome time after, and the fiſhing nets were hauled up loaded with dead bodies. Theſe diſaſters were, by ſome of the partizans of the American cauſe, aſcribed to the immediate vengeance of the Deity on the oppoſite party.

The accumulated misfortunes of the Britiſh, as they gave new life and ſpirits to the coloniſts, could not but add greatly to the diſtreſſes of the troops at Boſton. They had the mortification to ſee a number of the tranſports, loaded with thoſe neceſſaries of which they were ſo much in want, taken in the very entrance of the harbour, whilſt, from various circumſtances, the ſhips of war were prevented from affording them any relief. The loſs of moſt of the coal-ſhips, which either periſhed in the ocean, or were taken, affected them moſt ſeverely, as fuel could not be procured, though the climate rendered it altogether indiſpenſible; however, this was in ſome meaſure remedied by the deſtruction of houſes.

With regard to proviſions, matters were not in a much better ſituation. Even ſalt proviſions at laſt grew ſcarce, and it was feared the military ſtores would fail. The attempts to procure them had not been attended with any ſucceſs. Some veſſels ſent to Barbadoes had, indeed, obtained, through the intereſt of the governor, before the matter was fully known, a quantity ſo moderate that it would not at other times have been taken notice of more than any common occurrence in trade; but being now cut off from their uſual reſources, and having, as they ſaid, a famine ſtaring them in the face, with eighty thouſand blacks, and twenty thouſand whites to feed, the meaſure of parting with any proviſions was deemed ſo dangerous, that it occaſioned a direct addreſs from the Aſſembly to the King, including, along with the detail of their own melancholy ſituation, great complaints of the conduct of their governor. A detach-

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ment of marines, in an armed ſhip, with ſome tranſports, were ſent to Savannah in Georgia, with a view of obtaining rice and other proviſions. They were oppoſed, however, and their landing prevented by the militia of the province. The diſpute terminated in an engagement, in which ſeveral were killed on both ſides; and ſeven loaded veſſels, whoſe cargoes would have been highly uſeful at Boſton, were deſignedly burnt by the Provincials during the conflict.

Such was the calamitous ſtate of the troops confined in the town of Boſton. Thoſe at Bunker's Hill were ſtill worſe, being obliged to lie in tents during the whole winter, expoſed to the almoſt intolerably piercing ſnows and winds of the country, which, with the ſtrict duty required, on account of the neighbourhood and ſtrength of the enemy, rendered that ſervice exceedingly ſevere both to officers and ſoldiers. On the other hand, the Provincial army was well covered, and ſupplied with every neceſſary in their lines. It was projected by their leaders, not only to recover the town, but to deſtroy the whole Britiſh fleet in the harbour, as ſoon as the froſts, which uſually ſet in about Chriſtmas, ſhould render the intervening creeks paſſable. In this, however, they were diſappointed; for the weather, though abundantly ſevere to ſuch as were expoſed to its fury, proved yet inſufficient to freeze the creeks as uſual; though it is probable, that the expectation of this event kept the Provincials more quiet than they otherwiſe would have been. Their privateers were nevertheleſs at this time extremely active and ſucceſsful. Though as yet extremely poor and contemptible, being in general little better than whale boats, they were become very numerous, and made a multitude of prizes. Among theſe was an ordnance ſhip from Woolwich, which being ſeparated from her convoy, and of no force herſelf, was taken by a ſmall privateer. This was an acquiſition of the utmoſt importance to the American army, as the veſſel contained

tained a large quantity of ſmall arms and ammunition, with abundance of all ſorts of tools, &c. neceſſary for camps and artillery, beſides ſeveral fine pieces of braſs cannon, and a mortar on a new conſtruction. The whole value of the veſſel was computed at 50,000l. and its loſs occaſioned conſiderable diſcontent in England. CHAP. XII. 1775.

The news of the King's ſpeech, at the opening of the Parliament in November 1775, with the entire rejection of another petition of Congreſs, inflamed the provincial army at Boſton with the utmoſt rage. The ſpeech was publicly burnt; and, on this occaſion, they are ſaid to have changed the ground of their colours, from a plain red, to a flag with thirteen ſtripes, uſed as an emblem of the union of the colonies. The news of ſome further coercive acts of Parliament determined Congreſs to act with more vigour than formerly; and directions were ſent to General Waſhington, to bring matters at Boſton to as ſpeedy a deciſion as poſſible. The tranquillity which had reigned for ſome time was therefore ſuddenly diſturbed by the opening of a battery near the water-ſide, at a place called *Phipps's Farm*, on the 2d of March 1776. A ſevere cannonade and bombardment from this battery, did conſiderable miſchief for this and two or three ſucceeding days. But, while the attention of the army was drawn to this, they ſuddenly beheld a new battery make its appearance on the morning of the 5th, of which there had not been the leaſt veſtige the preceding evening. This was ſituated on the heights of Dorcheſter Point, and conſiſted of mortars and twenty-four pound cannon; by which the ſituation of the troops was now rendered very critical; and, as it was evident that new works would ſpeedily be conſtructed on ſome of the neighbouring heights, there appeared to be no ſmall danger of having even their retreat cut off, ſhould ſuch a meaſure be found neceſſary.

Boſton evacuated by the King's troops.

March 2, 1776.

The Britiſh General, perceiving the danger he was in, ordered five regiments, with the light infantry and

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1776. and grenadiers, to be ready for embarkation, with a view to ſtorm the new works; but his deſign was fruſtrated, by a violent ſtorm which came on that evening; and, next day, the attempt was judged to be deſperate, by reaſon of a new work, much ſtronger than any of the former, which had been thrown up during the interval. There was now no other meaſure practicable than that of abandoning the town, and even this could not be done without great difficulty and danger. The Provincials, however, did not, during ten days, which were occupied in the embarkation, offer to give the leaſt moleſtation, nor even to harraſs the rear of the Royal troops. It was generally believed, that ſome kind of agreement had been entered into betwixt the American and Britiſh Generals, by which the latter conſented to ſpare the town, on condition that the troops were ſuffered to paſs out of it without moleſtation. This, indeed, was poſitively denied by the miniſtry; but, in proof of it, combuſtibles were ſaid to have been laid in readineſs for firing the town, and the Select-men were permitted to go out and hold a conference with General Waſhington on the ſubject.

On this occaſion, fifteen hundred of the inhabitants, whoſe attachment to the Britiſh cauſe rendered it dangerous for them to ſtay, were taken on board the ſhips, with their families and effects. The officers had alſo purchaſed furniture which they could not leave behind; and the ſick and wounded, with the women and children, who naturally required more care than the others, added to the general embarraſſment; ſo that though one hundred and fifty veſſels were employed, and ten days, as we have ſeen, allowed for the embarkation, many things were neceſſarily left behind. Among theſe were the cannon at Bunker's Hill and Boſton Neck, with a conſiderable quantity of other artillery and military ſtores. Some mortars and pieces of cannon were thrown into the water, but afterwards weighed up by the town's people. The fleet proceeded to Halifax in

Nova

Nova Scotia, to which the voyage was more favourable than could have been expected at that time of the year. Several ships of war were left behind in order to protect the ships which should arrive from England; and the fortifications of Castle William were blown up, lest the Americans should, by their means, lock up the men of war in the harbour, and render any future attempt on the town, by sea, totally impracticable. CHAP. XII. 1776.

On the 17th of March, while the rear of the Royal army was embarking, General Washington marched into the town of Boston with all the parade of victory. Being apprehensive, however, that General Howe might make some attempt on New York, he that very day sent off some regiments for the defence of the place. The estates and effects of those who had emigrated along with the British General were confiscated, and the same punishment was inflicted on some loyalists who had staid behind, and were brought to a trial as enemies to their country. By the remaining inhabitants, who now recovered their former estates, General Washington was received with every possible mark of gratitude and respect as their deliverer, and he received the public thanks of the Assembly of the province. The greatest diligence was used in repairing and fortifying the town and harbour, in order to render it secure against any future attempts, and such was the general attachment to this service, that the inhabitants, without exception, dedicated two days in the week to it. March 17.

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Affairs in Britain——Riot at Liverpool——Another petition of Congreſs rejected——Negociations for engaging foreign troops——Mr Sayer's trial——Parliament——Change of miniſtry——Mr Penn's examination——Land-tax raiſed——Mr Burke's conciliatory plan——Prohibitory bill paſſed——Lord Mansfield's ſpeech——Militia and indemnity bills——Nova Scotia petition——Supply——Duke of Grafton's conciliatory motion——Scotch milita bill——Lord Mayor's motion——A million granted.

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State of affairs in Britain.

THE ill ſucceſs which had attended the Britiſh affairs, during the whole of the year 1775, had by no means tended to compoſe the animoſities generally prevailing on account of the American war. Even the miniſtry themſelves dreaded the clamours of Oppoſition during the enſuing ſeſſion. The charges of miſinformation, ignorance, and incapacity, they were ſure would not be ſparingly applied. The queſtions concerning the war muſt be particularly embaraſſing, particularly with regard to the delay of ſending a ſufficient number of troops to quaſh the rebellion at once. Ten thouſand men, it had been aſſerted with the utmoſt confidence, were abundantly ſufficient to reduce the whole continent; yet the event had ſhewn, that 10,000 of the beſt troops Britain could afford, were not only utterly inſufficient to ſubdue a ſingle province, but could not keep their ground in it. By what means, therefore, were the reſt to be ſubdued? or, to what purpoſe had a continued courſe of threats and provoking meaſures been uſed with the coloniſts at the time that Britain could ſcarce produce a force equal to the taſk of ſubduing them, and while even the ſending of this force

force was delayed in a moſt unreaſonable manner? The only method of anſwering theſe and other ſimilar queſtions, in a ſatisfactory manner, was to carry on the war with ſuch vigour as ſhould utterly overwhelm the rebellious Americans; and, by the brilliancy of its ſucceſs, impoſe ſilence on all the oppoſers of adminiſtration. When once the people were heartily engaged in a war, it was ſuppoſed, they would never wait to animadvert on the juſtice of the cauſe in which they were engaged, or even to think at all on the ſubject; nor would any care be taken about future burthens or conſequences of any kind, provided they were now and then gratified with accounts of glorious victories gained by the King's forces.

Beſides the decided victories which adminiſtration had gained over their opponents in the courſe of laſt ſeſſion of parliament, they had alſo the ſatisfaction to ſee the predictions of the minority, concerning the dreadful effects of the loſs of American commerce, come to nothing. Many cauſes had hitherto concurred to prevent this from being very ſenſibly felt. The vaſt remittances in corn which had been made by the Americans, during the times of ſcarcity in Britain, in diſcharge of the debts they owed to people of this country, with the much larger ſums than uſual they were enabled to pay from the advanced prices of oil, tobacco, &c. all together occaſioned a prodigious influx of money. The ſailing of the flota from Spain, preparations made by that nation againſt Algiers, and the peace concluded between the Ruſſians and Turks, occaſioned an unuſual demand for goods and manufactures of various ſorts from all theſe different nations, and inſpired the people with a vain notion, that inexhauſtable ſources of commerce were now diſcovered, capable of finally over-balancing the loſs of the American traffic. Even the very war itſelf, and the ſupplying the army with neceſſaries at ſuch a diſtance, produced ſuch a buſtle and circulation of caſh, as, for the time, had the appearance

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ance of an advantageous commerce; and the contractors had already enjoyed such a share of the profits as was sufficient to excite their well-known avidity, and to exert their utmost endeavours for the continuance of the war. On the other hand, the great bodies of the American, African, and West India merchants and planters, had already too deeply experienced the fatal effects of the contest, and with a majority of the great trading cities of the kingdom, struggled hard to have matters restored to their former state; but as no other method of redress was open except the thread-bare one of presenting petitions, it is not to be supposed they could now prevail in the smallest degree. With respect to the great body of the people, it is probable they looked on with a calm indifference, in expectation that every thing must yield to the irresistible power of their country; though in justice it must be owned, that some few were from the beginning convinced that the conquest of America was utterly impracticable, both on account of the number of the enemy, and the multitude of obstacles which arose from the nature of the country itself.

Disturbance at Liverpool.

In some places, however, the consequences of the American contest produced violent disorders. The inability of purchasing and providing for negroes in the West India islands, which the present disputes had occasioned, together with the loss of the American market for slaves, and the prohibition of exporting arms and ammunition, had almost entirely destroyed the African trade. This loss was particularly felt in the town of Liverpool, which had possessed a much greater share of that commerce than any other in the kingdom. The Guinea ships were therefore laid up, and their crews thrown destitute. The number of seamen thus out of employment, from these and other causes, were computed at no less than 3000.

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In this situation they complained that the merchants had made an attempt to diminish their wages; a violent commotion ensued; the rigging of some ships

ſhips was cut to pieces; ſome houſes aſſaulted, and other violences committed. After this they diſperſed; but ſome of them being afterwards apprehended and ſent to priſon, the diſturbances revived to ſuch a degree, as threatened the total deſtruction of the town, had not its ſafety been purchaſed by the liberty of thoſe who were impriſoned. The malcontents were now, however, ſo much enraged and intoxicated with liquor, that no reaſonable conceſſions would be accepted. They not only proceeded to deſtroy the houſes of obnoxious perſons, but made ſeveral attempts to demoliſh the Exchange. But, as this ſcheme had been foreſeen, or perhaps intimated by themſelves in their drunkenneſs, it was now barricaded in ſuch a manner as to be impregnable to their attacks. Some of the aſſailants were killed or wounded by the fire of the merchants and town's people who defended it: the inſurrection, however, was finally quelled by the arrival of a detachment of light horſe, and the cauſe of it removed by the employment of the ſailors on board the King's ſhips.

Another petition of Congreſs.

Towards the end of the receſs of parliament, another petition from Congreſs arrived from Pennſylvania with Mr Penn the late governor, and one of the principal proprietors of that province, which he delivered to Lord Dartmouth, in order to be preſented to the King. As it was known ſtill to contain the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of loyalty, and to expreſs the moſt ardent wiſhes for a reconciliation, great hopes were entertained, not only by the avowed partiſans of America, but alſo by the moderate in the cauſe of adminiſtration, that it would be liſtened to with particular attention. However, they were ſoon undeceived, as Mr Penn was told three days after delivering it, that no anſwer would be returned. This ſhort method of proceeding tended greatly to revive the diſputes concerning the juſtice of the war, which the hoſtile behaviour of the Americans had in a great meaſure laid aſleep. The ill blood betwixt the two parties was moreover increaſed by the multitude of

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addreſſes poured in from all quarters, as the time of the ſitting down of parliament approached. On this occaſion, the Scotch particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves; and, as their reſentment, on account of the aſperſions thrown upon them by Mr Wilkes, appear not to have been thoroughly eradicated, they treated the leaders of the preſent Oppoſition in ſuch a manner as greatly irritated the whole body againſt thoſe who procured the addreſſes, and thus weakened the cauſe which they intended to ſupport. In oppoſition to theſe addreſſes, petitions in no ſmall number likewiſe made their appearance; ſo that it was for ſome time doubtful to which ſide the balance would incline; though at the meeting of parliament, Octo-
Oct. 26. ber 26th 1775, all doubts were ſoon cleared, and it became manifeſt that the miniſtry had abated nothing of their former ardour for violent meaſures.

Negociations for engaging foreign troops.

The untoward accidents of the laſt compaign, the misfortunes at Newfoundland, and a ſtrange unwillingneſs in all ranks of men to engage in the military ſervice, had indeed caſt ſome damp on that ſpirit for carrying on the war which for ſome time had appeared ſo ardent; but the court had reſolutely kept their main object in view, in ſpite of every obſtacle. Several negociations for a ſupply of forces had been opened in different parts of the continent; though more than uſual difficulties were now found in obtaining ſuch an aid. The greatneſs of the diſtance, as well as the doubtful proſpect of return, was very terrifying. The only country in Europe open to this traffic was Germany; and even here, the ſending of the people to ſuch an immenſe diſtance might be ſuppoſed contrary to the conſtitutions of the empire, and perhaps reſented either by the Emperor himſelf or ſome of the Germanic body; beſides that, the voyage itſelf muſt appear terrible to the people who were to undertake it, who lived in an inland country, and ſcarcely knew the ſea even by report. Theſe difficulties occaſioned a negociation with the court of Peterſburgh for 20,000 Ruſſians, which was once

Rejected by Ruſſia.

ſaid

ſaid to have been in conſiderable forwardneſs; but the extreme diſtance of the ſervice, the difficulty of recall, with the little probability that many of them would ever return, at laſt put an end to all hopes from that quarter.

A long negociation was then carried on with Holland for the Scots Brigade in their ſervice, and, for ſome time, no doubt was entertained of its ſucceſs. Great debates, on this occaſion, took place in the aſſembly of the States General, where the ſimilarity between the preſent ſtruggles of the Americans, and their own original efforts againſt oppreſſion, was ſtrongly repreſented; and the impropriety of a republic, which had herſelf purchaſed freedom at ſuch a dear price, and by ſo long and ardous a ſtruggle, interfering in any manner in depriving others of their liberties, was placed in the ſtrongeſt point of view; ſo that at laſt the propoſal was totally rejected. Even that party which was moſt attached to the intereſt of Britain, and which in Holland is generally moſt prevalent, now declared againſt the ſending of troops to America. They exclaimed againſt a war which tended to drive the Britiſh Colonies into the protection of France, as ruinous to the intereſts both of Holland and England; and eſteemed it more eligible, by withholding the means of it, to compel the Britiſh miniſtry to purſue pacific meaſures. The city of Rotterdam, however, with ſome other towns, were an exception to this general ſentiment. In the former, the merchants of Scotland have long been eſtabliſhed, and had a great influence; and as the Scots were generally on the miniſterial ſide in the preſent conteſt, they were thought to have communicated their opinions to the rulers of that city.*

Thus diſappointed in Ruſſia and Holland, the miniſtry were obliged to have recourſe to Germany. A negociation was accordingly opened with the Princes

Entered into with Heſſe and Brunſwic,

* It was remarkable that in all the countries of Europe, in which public affairs were the ſubject either of writing or converſation, the general voice was in favour of the Americans. Even Voltaire and Rouſſeau agreed in this, though ſcarce ever in any thing elſe.

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of Heſſe and Brunſwic, and ſome other ſtates, by which a conſiderable number of troops were obtained, as we ſhall ſee afterwards; and, in the mean time, the King thought proper to ſend five battalions of his electoral troops to replace the like number of Engliſh in the garriſons of Gibraltar and Minorca, in order to augment the force in America.

Mr Saye's trial for high treaſon.

At the opening of the Seſſion, it was announced in the Gazette, that a Mr Saye, an American by birth, and at that time a banker in London, had been committed to the Tower by the Secretary of State, on a charge of high treaſon. The crime of which he was accuſed was no leſs than a deſign of ſeizing his Majeſty's perſon, at noon day, in his paſſage to the Houſe of Peers, conveying him a priſoner to the Tower, afterwards out of the kingdom, and then overturning the whole ſyſtem of government! The only means by which it was pretended that he could accompliſh this great purpoſe, was by an inconſiderable ſum of money diſpoſed in bribing a few of the Sergeants of the guard; who were alſo to diſpoſe of part of it in bribing ſome of their men; and this handful, in the face of a great majority of their fellows who were not bribed, were to execute their arduous taſk of ſeizing the Sovereign and the Tower of London at the ſame time! On ſuch an improbable and even ridiculous charge was this gentleman committed

Oct. 23.

cloſe priſoner to the Tower on the 23d of October 1775; after which, by virtue of the *Habeas Corpus* act, he was brought before the Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, to whom the matter appeared in ſuch a light, that he not only admitted him to bail, but accepted his own ſecurity in 500 l. and that of two ſureties in as much, for his appearance in anſwer to the charge. No proſecution, however, was attempted; and, the bail being diſcharged, he ſued Lord Rochford the Secretary for illegal impriſonment. The jury granted him 1000 l. damages, though liable to the future determination of a queſtion of law.

But

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But though this plot turned out in the ridiculous manner juſt mentioned, it was ſtill thought neceſſary to fill the minds of the people with ſuſpicions of conſpiracies and treaſonable correſpondences with America. The moſt diſtinguiſhed leaders of Oppoſition, both among the Lords and Commons, were directly pointed at. They were charged with having been the incendiaries who, by their dark and wicked practices, had kindled up the war. It was confidently aſſerted in the newſpapers, that a very great number of letters from the moſt conſiderable peers and members of parliament had been intercepted, and were actually in the hands of government; that they were to be produced at the time of the parliament's ſitting down; and it was even ſaid that a number of the members of both Houſes, who were deſcribed and underſtood, would not venture to abide the conſequence of attending their duty in parliament.

Unjuſt charges againſt the members of Oppoſition.

The diſcoveries of treaſon, however, after the meeting of parliament, were by no means adequate to the expectations that had been raiſed. The members in Oppoſition continued to attend as uſual, and to oppoſe the meaſures of the miniſter, who, on his part, heard them with his uſual indifference. In the ſpeech from the throne, his Majeſty complained of miſrepreſentations by the leaders of ſedition in America, who, having firſt infuſed into the peoples minds a ſyſtem of opinions contrary to their true conſtitutional ſubordination, had at length commenced hoſtilities, and uſurped the whole powers of government. His Majeſty then entered into the difference between the the views of thoſe leaders and thoſe of the Crown and parliament; from whence the former derived their preſent advantages. The latter meant rather to undeceive than to puniſh; for which reaſon only few forces had been ſent over, and along with them meaſures of a conciliating nature. The American leaders, on the other hand, had no other view than the eſtabliſhment of an independent empire. The ſpirit of the Britiſh nation, however, was too high, and its re-

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ſources too numerous, tamely to loſe what had been acquired with ſo much toil, nurſed with great tenderneſs, and protected at the expence of much blood and treaſure. A full exertion of theſe reſources was required; for which reaſon the navy had been increaſed, and the land forces greatly augmented. Foreign ſuccours were mentioned, though no treaty as yet had been concluded. The diſpoſition of the Hanoverian troops at Gibraltar and Minorca was ſpecified. At laſt, aſſurances of pardon were given as ſoon as the deluded multitude ſhould return to their duty; and, to prevent any inconveniencies which might ariſe from the diſtance betwixt the two countries, authority would be given to certain perſons on the ſpot to grant indemnities in ſuch manner as they thought proper, and to receive the ſubmiſſion of any colony or province that might be diſpoſed to ſubmit.

In anſwer to this ſpeech, an addreſs was ſoon drawn up, which, as uſual, adopted every meaſure propoſed in it. Long and violent debates enſued, in which the miniſtry were attended with their uſual ſucceſs; and the queſtion for the addreſs was carried by 176, to 72. On this occaſion the minority inſiſted, that miniſtry had ruſhed into a deſtructive war, in ſpite of the cleareſt evidence, repeatedly laid before them, and innumerable warnings which had been given by the gentlemen in Oppoſition; whoſe predictions had been ſo exactly verified, that they looked rather like the effect of ſome extraordinary inſpiration, than of ordinary reaſoning from the obſervation of facts.

The introduction of the Hanoverian troops into Gibraltar and Minorca was deemed a meaſure highly unconſtitutional; and ſo violent was the oppoſition againſt this meaſure, that the miniſter found himſelf obliged to promiſe, that he would bring in a bill of indemnity for thoſe who had propoſed it. As ſoon as the addreſs was carried, however, he ſeemed to forget his promiſe, till put in mind of it by Oppoſition, and the country gentlemen who joined them on this

this occaſion. Sir James Lowther, one of the ſupporters of adminiſtration, moved, "that the bringing in the Hanoverian troops to any part of the Britiſh dominions, without the previous conſent of parliament, is contrary to law." This ſtruck ſo directly againſt the miniſter, that he had his bill of indemnity inſtantly made ready, and brought into the Houſe that very morning.——After much debate, in which every ſhift and evaſion of miniſtry was exhauſted, the previous queſtion was loſt by a majority of 203 to 81. CHAP. XIII. 1775.

In the Houſe of Lords, the addreſs was no leſs vehemently oppoſed, and the introduction of Hanoverian troops reprobated by the minority, though the miniſterial party finally prevailed. The debates on this occaſion, however, were remarkable for the defection of General Conway in the Houſe of Commons, and the Duke of Grafton in the Houſe of Lords, from the ſide of adminiſtration, which they had hitherto uniformly ſupported. The General introduced his deſertion of the cauſe by reprobating the principle, that perſons holding places under government muſt implicitly ſupport it in all caſes whatever. He then expreſſed the utmoſt abhorrence of the American war, which he called "unjuſt, cruel, and unneceſſary; a mere butchery of his fellow-ſubjects, and to which he could not in conſcience aſſent." He declared in the moſt unreſerved terms againſt the right of taxation; and wiſhed to ſee the declaratory law repealed, (though it had been paſſed under his own auſpices, and though on abſtract legal principles he thought it right, as well as neceſſary at the time,) rather than it ſhould be employed to colour deſigns the moſt oppoſite to the publicly declared intentions of thoſe who ſupported it in parliament, and particularly ſo to the fulleſt declaration of his own at the time of his moving it. The Duke of Grafton, beſides a deciſive condemnation of all their acts for ſome time paſt with reſpect to America, as well as of the meaſures now held out by the ſpeech, de-

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clared, that he had been deceived and miſled upon the ſubject; that by the with-holding of information, and the miſrepreſentation of facts, he had been induced to lend his countenance to meaſures which he never approved. Among thoſe particularly, was that of reducing America by force of arms; an idea the moſt diſtant from his mind and opinion, but to which he was blindly led to give his ſupport, from his total ignorance of the true ſtate and diſpoſition of the colonies, and the firm perſuaſion that matters would never come to an extremity of that nature; that an appearance of coercion was all that was requiſite to eſtabliſh a reconciliation; and that the ſtronger government appeared, and the better it was ſupported, the ſooner all diſputes would be amicably adjuſted. He declared, that nothing leſs than a total repeal of all the American laws that had been paſſed ſince the year 1763, could now reſtore peace and happineſs, or prevent the moſt deſtructive and fatal conſequences: That nothing could have brought him out in his preſent ill ſtate of health, but the fulleſt conviction that he was in the right; a knowledge of the critical ſituation of his country, and a ſenſe of what he owed to his duty and conſcience. He concluded by a declaration, that though his neareſt relations, or deareſt friends, were to be affected by this queſtion; or the loſs of fortune, or any other thing he moſt valued, was to be the conſequence of his preſent conduct; yet the ſtrong conviction and compulſion operating at once upon his mind and conſcience, would not permit him to heſitate upon the part which he ſhould take.

Theſe defections were not leſs offenſive than alarming to adminiſtration. However, they were not attended with any of thoſe ſerious conſequences which had been apprehended. The general infatuation concerning the inexhauſtible ſtrength and reſources of Britain prevailed, and the coercive plan was executed with as great vigour as poſſible. The affair

of

of the Hanoverian troops was no ſooner diſcuſſed, than a new militia bill was brought in; and, after the uſual oppoſition, carried by 259 to 50. The principal objection to this bill was, that it armed the Crown with a prodigious additional power, as by it the King had a right to draw out the militia, whenever he thought proper, in caſe of a rebellion in any part of the empire. The militia-bill was followed by debates on the eſtimates for the army and navy for the enſuing year. In theſe, the obſtinacy of the miniſter, in refuſing to lay before parliament any information whatever, in relation to American affairs, had again nearly involved him in a conteſt with his own party. However, by a proper appearance of humility and condeſcenſion, they were again called to their ſtandard, and likewiſe to agree, in defiance of every argument to the contrary, that a force of twenty-five thouſand men was fully adequate to the purpoſes of ſubjugating America.

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On the 7th of November, a converſation took place on the ſecond petition from Congreſs, by the accidental circumſtance of ſeeing Mr Penn, who brought it, ſtanding below the bar of the Houſe. The affair ended in the examinatiou of that gentleman; but, as his anſwers were univerſally unfavourable to the views of adminiſtration, it was thought neceſſary to reject the evidence altogether. His examination, indeed, had by no means been agreeable to thoſe in office, though they had at laſt reluctantly agreed to it. Now, however, finding it impoſſible to reconcile their own ſchemes with the facts ſet forth by Mr Penn, they charged him with partiality and prejudice. As to the petition itſelf, it was utterly rejected by a majority of 86 to 33.

Mr Penn's examination before the Lords, Nov. 7.

Theſe debates were followed by the augmentation of the land-tax to four ſhillings in the pound. This paſſed with little oppoſition, excepting ſome complaints about the want of information. However,

Land-tax raiſed.

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ever, so many of the country gentlemen at last began to demand the indemnity bill, formerly mentioned, with such vehemence, that the minister was again obliged to promise, that it should be speedily brought forward, in consequence of which, the augmentation of the land-tax was soon agreed to.

Militia bill.

An attempt was now made to get the militia-bill restrained in its duration to the time of the present contest; but this having proved abortive, another motion was made, that "the militia should not be called out of their respective counties, unless in case of actual invasion." This being also rejected, another was made, for empowering the King to assemble the parliament in fourteen days, whenever the present act, in the event of a war or rebellion in any part of the British dominions, should begin to operate; which was agreed to without a division. At the same time, five motions were made in the House of Lords, respecting the laying before the House an account of the number of forces in Ameirca; the plans for providing for them; the number of forces in Great Britain and Ireland; and likewise the force necessary to be sent to America, &c. all of which were rejected, excepting that which regarded Britain and Ireland. The many defeats which Opposition had hitherto received, did not, however, prevent Mr Burke from attempting another plan of reconciliation, which, though it failed of success, yet shewed a considerable increase of the minority; the numbers being now 210 to 105.

Mr Burke's conciliatory plan.

Nov. 10. Changes in ministry.

In the mean time, several changes took place in the ministerial departments. The declaration of the Duke of Grafton's new sentiments was very soon followed by his resignation of the Privy Seal. He was succeeded in his office by Lord Dartmouth, and he by Lord George Germaine. The Earl of Rochford was succeeded by Lord Weymouth; and Lord Lyttleton was called to the Privy Council, and promoted to be Chief Justice in Eyre beyond the Trent;

Lord

Lord Pelham to the great Wardrobe, and Lord Aſhburnham to be Keeper of the Stole.

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Soon after the rejection of Mr Burke's conciliatory plan, Lord North brought in the famous prohibitory bill. By this, all trade and intercourſe whatever with the American colonies was prohibited; all property of the Americans, whether of ſhips or goods on the high ſeas, or in harbour, were declared forfeited to the captors, being the officers and crews of his Majeſty's ſhips of war. Several clauſes were inſerted to leſſen the expence of condemning prizes and recovering prize-money. By this bill alſo, the Boſton-port act was repealed, together with the fiſhery and reſtraining acts; their proviſions in ſome inſtances being deemed inſufficient in the preſent ſtate of warfare, and their operation in others being liable to interfere with that of the intended law. It alſo enabled the Crown to appoint commiſſioners; who, beſides the power of ſimply granting pardons to individuals, were authoriſed to inquire into general and particular grievances, and empowered to determine whether any part, or the whole of a colony were returned to that ſtate of obedience which might entitle them to be received within the King's protection; in which caſe, upon a declaration from the commiſſioners, the reſtrictions of the preſent bill were to ceaſe in their favour.

Prohibitory bill paſſed, Nov. 20.

In the courſe of the debates on this bill, a very extraordinary amendment was propoſed by Mr Fox; namely, to leave out the *whole* of the title and contents, except what related to the repeal of the Boſton-port and other obnoxious acts. This, however, was rejected by 192 to 64; ſoon after which, the bill itſelf was carried by the uſual majority. Many and violent debates enſued on the ſecond and third reading, and ſeveral amendments were propoſed; but theſe being uniformly loſt by vaſt majorities, the minority at laſt grew weary of attending, and the houſe became ſo thin, that a motion to poſtpone the laſt reading of the bill till after the

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the holidays was loſt by one hundred and twelve to ſixteen only.

House of Lords.

In the Houſe of Lords, the prohibitory bill was not leſs warmly oppoſed than it had been in the Houſe of Commons. It was particularly remarked, that by the promiſcuous and indiſcriminate rapine of the property of friends and foes, authoriſed by it, the union of North America againſt the authority of parliament muſt be thoroughly completed; and that the friends of government in that country, whoſe numbers had been ſo much boaſted of by adminiſtration, would now plainly ſee, that parliament was much more inclined to diſtreſs than relieve them. Its impolicy and injuſtice with regard to the Weſt India iſlands was ſtill more glaring; as it there inflicted a puniſhment much more ſevere than what could, by its means, reach the moſt refractory Americans. But of all the clauſes contained in this bill, that which underwent the ſevereſt cenſure was one by which all thoſe who were taken on board the American veſſels were indiſcriminately compelled, without diſtinction of perſons, to ſerve as common ſailors on board our ſhips of war. This, in a proteſt taken on the occaſion, was ſtiled "a refinement in tyranny, which, in a ſentence worſe than death, obliges the unhappy men who ſhall be made captives in this predatory war, to bear arms againſt their families, kindred, friends, and country; and, after being plundered themſelves, to become accomplices in plundering their brethren." The injuſtice and cruelty of this clauſe, they ſaid, was ſtill heightened, by rendering the unhappy perſons who were thus compelled, ſubject to the articles of war, and liable to be ſhot for deſertion. They pathetically repreſented the miſeries to which perſons in this melancholy ſituation, particularly thoſe of the better ſort, would be ſubject, from the inſolence and outrage of thoſe whom they were obliged to ſerve; who being themſelves deſtitute of liberal principles and education, would ſtill continue to treat

treat them as rebels; nor did they conſider it as the ſmalleſt part of their calamity, that they would be frequently obliged to be lookers on, when the ſpoils of their honeſt induſtry, and the natural ſupport of their ſober families, was ſquandered in riot and debauchery, by thoſe profligate comrades with whom they were at the ſame time obliged to live and ſerve. Upon the whole, this ſituation was ſaid to be the laſt degree of wretchedneſs and indignity to which human nature could be ſubjected; and a cruelty, unknown to the moſt ſavage nations, was thus to be practiſed by Engliſhmen on Engliſhmen. They inſiſted, that no man could be deſpoiled of his goods as a foreign enemy, and at the ſame time obliged to ſerve the ſtate as a citizen, upon any principle of law or right known among civilized nations: That ſuch a compulſion upon priſoners as the preſent is unknown in any caſe of war or rebellion; and the only examples of the ſort that can be produced muſt be among pirates, the outlaws and enemies of human ſociety. CHAP. XII. 1775.

To theſe, and many other charges of injuſtice and cruelty, the intolerable inſolence of the Americans was oppoſed. With regard, however, to the particular clauſe ſo much complained of, it was ſaid to be an act of grace and favour to the Americans; as, inſtead of confining them in cloſe priſons, during the continuance of the war, which muſt be the caſe if they were conſidered as alien enemies; or puniſhing them as traitors, if they were conſidered as rebels; they were now to be rated on the King's books, and put on the ſame footing with a great part of his Majeſty's moſt uſeful and faithful ſubjects, ſuffering no inconvenience but that which they were always liable to, of being preſſed into his Majeſty's ſervice; and, as to the ſuppoſed violation of their principles, which was ſo much lamented, their pay and other emoluments were ſaid to be a full compenſation for any ſcruples or delicacies of that nature. The ſuppoſed ill conſequence to the Weſt India iſlands were ſaid to

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be exaggerations; but, at any rate, theſe, as well as the loſſes which the well-diſpoſed in North America might ſuſtain, muſt be conſidered as a part of thoſe unavoidable evils which are incident to war. In the courſe of theſe debates, Lord Mansfield urged the neceſſity of the American war, upon the mere principle of ſelf-preſervation and defence. His ſpeech was, as uſual, animated and elegant, and made a great impreſſion on the Houſe; though his arguments have been conſidered by many as rather ſpecious than convincing *. The

* "Though I was ever of opinion, "ſays he, from the commencement "of this unhappy diſpute, that every "individual of the colonies was as "much bound in obedience to the "King and to the parliament of Great "Britain, as any ſubject of England "in London or Middleſex; though I "am perſuaded that the colonies of "North America, ever ſince the peace "of Paris, had concerted, or at leaſt "their rulers there and their adherents, a ſcheme of independence, "and that I think it appears even on "the evidence of Montcalm's Letters, "which, on an inquiry ſince I firſt "mentioned them, I believe to be "authentic; though I am of opinion, "that the declaratory act, if it was "proper to have made that act at all, "clearly aſſerts the ſupreme legiſlative authority of this country over "America; and though I approve the "meaſures ſince taken to oblige them "to ſubmit to the authority of the "mother country: yet, my Lords, I "am willing to reverſe all this for a "moment, and to ſuppoſe that no "ſuch plan of independency had been "concerted; that this country had no "ſuch authority over her colonies; "that the declaratory act amounted "to no more than the King's title to "the Crown of France; that all the "meaſures purſued to bring them "to obedience were oppreſſive; and "what is worſe, that the miniſters "were the worſt ſet of men that ever "exiſted: in ſhort, admitting every "thing that has been urged by the "friends of the Americans, and every "thing that has been ſaid againſt the "conduct of government at home, "prior to this time; where are we "now, my Lords? and what are we "to do? We are engaged in a war "which we muſt purſue, or run away "from it. We cannot do the latter; "for if we do not get the better of "America, America will get the better of us. They are not carrying on "a war merely defenſive. They have "invaded Canada; perhaps, (God forbid!) conquered it. The Canadians "were not their enemies; they only "deſired to obſerve a neutrality. They "threaten Halifax. The people of Nova Scotia has done them no harm; aye, "but it is a province belonging to the "government of of England, and therefore the Americans will make war "upon it. They ſeize the ſhips belonging to Ireland, yet they ſtile the "Iriſh their friends and fellow-ſubjects. Yes; but it is neceſſary to "wound England through the ſides "of theſe friends. They are preparing a naval force to carry on an offenſive war againſt you. In this "ſtate of the caſe, for God's ſake, "my Lords, what is an honeſt man "to do, who is a wellwiſher to the "honour and intereſt of Great Britain? Are we to ſit ſtill with our "hands before us, becauſe we are told "this is an unjuſt war on our part, till "they have fitted out an expedition againſt this country? My Lords, the "Dutch war, in the reign of Charles "II. was cried out againſt as an unjuſt ruinous war, till the Dutch "came to Chatham and burnt your "ſhips; then every man in England "was ready to turn out againſt the "Dutch,

The prohibitory bill having paſſed a third time, a motion was made by the Duke of Mancheſter, for delaying the commitment till after the holidays; but this paſſed in the negative without a diviſion. He next offered to preſent a petition from the merchants of Briſtol, ſetting forth the ruinous conſequences of it to themſelves in particular, and to the mercantile intereſt in general; but, as the order of the day had been already moved for, it was ſaid that the petition could not be admitted. An amendment was then propoſed in the bill itſelf, by which its operation was to be delayed from the 1ſt of January to the 1ſt of March 1776; thereby to preſerve from confiſcation the property of thoſe merchants who, under the faith of parliament in the two reſtrictive laws, had loaded veſſels with lumber in North America or the Weſt India iſlands. This alſo paſſed in the negative, without a diviſion.

Militia and indemnity bills.

The other bills carried through before the Chriſtmas receſs were thoſe regarding the militia, and the indemnity bill. In conſequence of a motion made by Sir George Saville, the former was reſtricted in its operation to ſeven years. With the indemnity bill, however, the caſe was otherwiſe. During the courſe of buſineſs in this important ſeſſion, the miniſter had frequently found it neceſſary to vary his ground. In the beginning, to prevent the defection of the country gentlemen, after the greateſt ſhew of firmneſs, and even obſtinacy, he ſuddenly ſeemed to conform to their ideas, in agreeing to bring in the indemnity bill. But, after gaining the great point of the addreſs, he ſeemed totally to forget the matter, and did not wiſh to be reminded of it. Their importunity, however, at laſt becoming troubleſome, and many important points ſtill remaining undecided, he ſeemed to fall in with their opinions, and accordingly brought

"Dutch. I care not, therefore, who "began this diſpute, or by whoſe "means it has been caried on hither-"to, or by whoſe fault it was not en-"ded: I have nothing to do with any "thing but the preſent ſituation of "things; and, in that point of view, I "conſider the bill we are about to "paſs, not only as a juſt, but as a "neceſſary bill."

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brought in the bill; though he took care to word it in ſuch a manner that it ſhould anſwer purpoſes extremely different from thoſe which they intended. At the laſt reading, a very warm and animated debate took place, the ſubject of which was the leaving out of the preamble theſe words "doubts having "been entertained of the legality of the meaſure," and ſubſtituting in their ſtead, "that the meaſure of "ſending the Hanoverian troops to the garriſons of "Gibraltar and Minorca was not warranted by law, "and was againſt the ſpirit of the conſtitution." It was contended, in ſupport of this motion, That the bill, in its preſent ſtate, carried an abſurdity glaring on its very face; its body contained an indemnity for an offence, while the preamble declared that none had been committed: That it was an inſult upon the Houſe, to propoſe the remittal of a puniſhment, and, at the ſame time, to make it acknowledge, that no offence had been committed; the mockery, they ſaid, was too groſs to be endured: That, however dangerous the meaſure of introducing foreign troops without the ſanction of Parliament was, the precedent to be eſtabliſhed by the bill was infinitely more ſo, as it was obtaining the aſſent of parliament to a downright violation of the laws, and dangerous infraction of the conſtitution. The miniſter now came before the Houſe in a ſituation no other had ever ventured: He firſt violated the laws of his country; and then had the effrontery to come to parliament, not to claim its indulgence, but to make it teſtify, that what he had done was perfectly right and unexceptionable. The miniſter, however, was now perfectly deaf to all ſuch remonſtrances. The great points he had wanted to carry were nearly gained; and moſt of the country gentlemen were abſent. He, therefore, returned to his original doctrine, from which he would not recede in the ſmalleſt degree, and declared, that, as far as his vote went, he would not ſuffer the alteration of a tittle in the bill. He wanted no indemnity; and, let thoſe who were in love

love with the meaſure take the bill in its preſent ſtate, or not at all. Thus did the majority of parliament conſent to an evident infraction of the laws of the kingdom, which, however trivial it might be in itſelf, or however innocent the motives which produced it, certainly afforded matter of uneaſineſs to the friends of government, and to thoſe who were moſt remote from party and prejudice, who could not with unconcern ſee the Court at this time ſo eager to eſtabliſh a precedent for the introduction of foreign troops without the conſent of parliament, and ſo anxious to prevent any thing like a cenſure which might in future be a clog to the meaſure. CHAP. XIII. 1775.

A petition from the colony of Nova Scotia was next laid before the Houſe. As it had been promoted by the friends of adminiſtration, and expreſsly founded on Lord North's conciliatory propoſal, it was taken into conſideration. It did not, however, eſcape the cenſure of Oppoſition, who treated it as one of thoſe mean contrivances by which miniſtry, as they ſaid, were continually in the practice of mocking the credulity and implicit confidence of parliament; and they predicted that it would come to the end which its futility and abſurdity ſeemed to merit. Nova Scotia petition.

By this petition, the Aſſembly propoſed to grant a revenue to government, to be raiſed by the payment of ſo much *per cent.* on all foreign commodities imported, bay-ſalt only excepted; by which means the amount of the revenue would always be in proportion to the opulence and conſumption of the province. The rate of this duty was at firſt to be ſettled by parliament, and afterwards to be perpetual and unchangeable, excepting only ſuch regulations as were neceſſary to preſerve the comparative value of money and goods in their original ſtate.

Many cauſes, however, concurred to leſſen the effect of this petition from Nova Scotia. The province had coſt government immenſe ſums, without producing any equivalent. It was ſtill unequal to the ſupport of its own civil government, the expence of

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which was granted by parliament. The offer of a revenue, therefore, in ſuch circumſtances, had a ludicrous appearance rather than any other. As it was alſo under the influence of a military power, its acts could not be ſuppoſed to carry any great weight as an example with thoſe colonies who abhorred ſuch an appearance, and whoſe preſent troubles, according to their own account, aroſe from their defence of their civil immunities and conſtitution.

Even the little merit which could be claimed from the propoſal of a revenue in the circumſtances above mentioned, was conſiderably diminiſhed by other parts of the petition. It contained a long liſt of grievances, for which redreſs was as earneſtly ſolicited, tho' in a more humble ſtrain, as by the other colonies; and this ſeemed to be in ſome meaſure neceſſary to preſerve the obedience and affection of the people. The Aſſembly alſo preſſed moſt earneſtly, that when at any time future exigencies ſhould require further ſupplies, the requiſition ſhould be made in the manner formerly practiſed, whereby they might have an opportunity of ſhewing their duty and attachment; their ſenſe of the cauſe for which it was made; and, by that means, and that only, of rendering the Sovereign acquainted with the true ſenſe of his people, in that diſtant part of his dominions. So that, upon the whole, excepting the profeſſion of ſubmiſſion to the ſupreme legiſlature, this petition ſeemed little different from the applications of the other colonies.

Nov. 23. Notwithſtanding theſe unfavourable circumſtances, and the ſevere ſarcaſms of the minority, Lord North propoſed reſolutions to the following purpoſe, which were paſſed in a committee as foundations of a bill, *viz.* That the propoſal of a poundage duty, *ad valorem*, upon all commodities imported, (bay-ſalt excepted) not being the produce of the Britiſh dominions in Europe or America, to be diſpoſed of by parliament, ſhould be accepted; and the duty fixed as

at 8 *per cent.* upon all ſuch commodities: That as ſoon as the neceſſary acts for that purpoſe were paſſed by the aſſembly of Nova Scotia, and had received the royal approbation, all other taxes and duties in that province ſhould ceaſe and be diſcontinued, and no others laid on while thoſe acts continued in force, excepting only ſuch duties as were found neceſſary for the regulation of commerce, the nett produce of which was to be carried to the account of the province. Parliament alſo agreed to admit an importation into that province of wine, oranges, lemons, currants, and raiſins, directly from the place of their growth. Theſe reſolutions, however, were not productive of any conſequence whatever. The miniſter, notwithſtanding all his parade about the bill he intended to bring in, ſuffered the matter gradually to die away, and ſeemed about this time to give up every pacific idea, and to depend entirely on coercive meaſures for the reduction of America. CHAP. XIII. 1775.

The remaining part of the ſeſſion, at leaſt as much of it as was taken up in the diſcuſſion of American affairs, afforded only a ſucceſſion of violent and fruitleſs debates. A conciliatory plan was again brought in by Mr Hartley. Motions were made for enquiring into the cauſe of our ill ſucceſs in America; for enquiring into the nature of the German treaties, &c. but in all theſe the miniſter carried his point by prodigious majorities. The moſt remarkable of theſe debates was occaſioned by an intimation from the Secretary at war, that he would move, at a ſhort ſpecified day, for a ſupply to the amount of 845,165 l. towards defraying the extraordinary expence of the land forces, and other ſervices incurred, between the 9th of March 1775, and the 31ſt of January 1776. Such an enormous demand called up all the fury of Oppoſition. They examined the journals to ſhew, that neither the glorious campaign of 1704, which ſaved the German empire, and broke and ruined that military force which for more than half a century

Supply moved for, March 1776.

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had been the ſcourge and terror of Europe; nor that of 1760, which gave us the vaſt continent of North America, had in any degree equalled in expence the ſhameful campaign of Boſton in 1775. They endeavoured to prove, by various calculations, that the maintenance of 8500 wretched, diſgraced, and half-ſtarved forces in Boſton, had not coſt the nation much leſs than 100 l. *per* man. They examined the ſtate of national finance, and called upon the miniſter to ſay, in what manner we were capable to ſupport, in the preſent and future campaigns, 50,000 men in America at a proportional expence, excluſive of the naval, ordnance, and other charges of our ſtanding expences, and of the hazard of a foreign war. The glorious ſucceſſes in Queen Anne's wars, and of that of 1759, were diſplayed with all the powers of eloquence; while the moſt mortifying compariſons were made with regard to the exploits of this year. The battles of Blenheim and Schellenburg were contraſted with thoſe of Lexington and Bunker's Hill; and, to complete the picture, the river Myſtic was compared to the Danube.

As the miniſterial party, however ſuperior in numbers, were very deficient in thoſe great rhetorical powers which adorned the ſpeeches of the leaders in Oppoſition, they found themſelves at preſent altogether unable to maintain their ground in fair debate, and therefore had recourſe to the ſanction of parliament. The miniſters affirmed, That they had acted in this buſineſs from the beginning, not only with the concurrence, but alſo with the approbation of parliament; they had not taken it up wantonly, but found it as a legacy left them by their predeceſſors—That whenever parliament ſhould think it neceſſary to alter its conduct or opinions, they would alſo give up or change their meaſures; but whilſt they found themſelves in full poſſeſſion of the good opinion and confidence of a great majority of that Houſe, they never would deſert the truſt repoſed in them, but would continue to fulfil their duty at all events.—

There

There were only two ſimple queſtions ariſing on the ſubject, Whether the money had been properly applied? and, Whether the meaſures that induced the expenditure were neceſſary? The former would in due time be atteſted by proper vouchers, and parliament had already repeatedly given its ſanction to the latter.—That as to the inglorious appearance of the campaign, it had the ſame origin with all the reſt of our calamities, namely, too good an opinion of the Americans. It never could have been believed, that they would be wicked enough to join with Maſſachuſetts Bay in rebellion, nor, conſequently, able to ſhut up his Majeſty's forces in the town of Boſton, and prevent the ſupply which the abundance of that country yielded. But our eyes were opened, and the meaſures taken in conſequence muſt open the way to abundance; after which it was hoped, that there would be no longer any neceſſity of ſending all their proviſions from Europe. For the time, indeed, it was unhappily neceſſary; and whatever the expence might be, they could not juſtify themſelves if they ſhould ſtarve either the army, or the cauſe in which they were engaged, but that the vigour and generoſity of the preſent ſeſſion would give repoſe and economy to the next. The queſtion for the grant was carried on a diviſion by 180 to 57.

CHAP. XIII. 1776. Nov. 3.

Granted, March 11.

The laſt propoſal of a conciliatory nature was introduced by the Duke of Grafton, and ſeems to have been deſigned to remedy the defects of the late prohibitory act, which, as the Oppoſition had all along contended, left no room whatever for accommodation. His Grace's propoſal indeed was much leſs favourable to the colonies than any that had hitherto been made. It conſiſted in a motion for an addreſs to the King, that, in order to prevent the further effuſion of blood, and to manifeſt the pacific intentions of both crown and parliament, a proclamation might be iſſued, declaring, that if the colonies, within a reaſonable time, either before or after the arrival of the troops deſtined for America, ſhould preſent a peti-

Duke of Grafton's propoſition, March 14.

CHAP. XIII. 1776.

tion to the commander in chief, or to the commiſſioners to be appointed under the late act; ſetting forth in ſuch petition, to be tranſmitted to his Majeſty, what they conſider to be their juſt rights and real grievances; that in ſuch caſe his Majeſty will agree to a ſuſpenſion of arms; and that he has authority to aſſure them from his parliament, that their petition ſhall be received, conſidered, and anſwered. This propoſal, however, was rejected by a majority of very near three to one, the numbers being 92 and 31. The miniſters and their adherents had now totally changed their ſtile; all modifications were laid aſide, and the haughty language of aſſured victory and conqueſt moſt completely adopted. A reconciliation was declared to be little leſs than impracticable, and that, if any thing could add to the difficulties of ſuch a project, it would be a conceſſion upon the part of Britain; no alternative now remained between abſolute conqueſt on our part, and unconditional ſubmiſſion on that of the Americans.

Scots militia bill thrown out.

A bill for the eſtabliſhment of a militia in Scotland had been brought in by Lord Mountſtewart, on the 8th of December 1775; but, from want of attendance, and multiplicity of other buſineſs, had been neglected during the greater part of the ſeſſion. It was now brought under conſideration; but, notwithſtanding the apparent ſanction of adminiſtration, as well as the patronage of the Scots Gentlemen, it

March 20.

was at laſt thrown out by 112 to 95. On this occaſion the miniſter divided with the minority.

About this time, a great noiſe was made concerning a clauſe in the prohibitory bill, by which the Admiralty had been enabled to grant licenſes to veſſels for conveying ſtores and proviſions to the forces in America. By this bill, it was ſaid, a monopoly had been formed in favour of ſome miniſterial partiſans. The American trade was taken from the known and reputable merchants, and given to a few obſcure perſons of no account or condition. An illicit commerce was alſo eſtabliſhed under the ſanc-

tion

tion of that bill, in ſuch a manner as evidently to defeat one of its principal objects. It was even proved, that, within a few weeks, a greater quantity of all kinds of goods had been ſhipped for the North American market than was done in any of the uſual ſeaſons of exportation. It was ſaid to be exceedingly grievous to the great body of American merchants, who had already ſuffered ſo ſeverely from the preſent troubles, and who, in obedience to the late act of parliament, were at this very time ſinking under the weight of a vaſt quantity of goods which they had purchaſed for that, and for which they could find no other market, to ſee the trade which they had, for a number of years, conducted with the greateſt reputation and fairneſs, ſmuggled out of their hands by a ſet of nominal merchants, and unknown adventurers. The injury was rendered ſtill more grievous, by being committed under the colour of law, and under the licenſe of authority.

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This matter was firſt publicly taken notice of in the Houſe of Lords, where it was introduced by Lord Effingham, a little before the Eaſter receſs; though, by reaſon of other buſineſs which intervened, it lay dormant for a conſiderable time. On the 2d of May, it was taken up by the Lord Mayor in the Houſe of Commons, who moved for a committee to inquire into the whole tranſaction. This gave great offence to miniſtry. The inquiry, it was ſaid, proceeded from ill temper and malignity; was intended only to embarraſs and diſtreſs Government; and it would come to nothing. Some ſaid, the matters complained of were too trifling for notice, and were only intended for the eaſe, benefit, and comfort of the troops; while others inſiſted, that there was no violation of the act; and that the words *proviſions and ſtores* included every thing that could adminiſter to the wants or luxuries of man or woman. The miniſter, however, at length acknowledged, that the powers given in the act had been miſunderſtood, and the licenſes abuſed; but that theſe mat-

May 2. Lord Mayor's motion.

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ters had been already rectified; inquiry, therefore, could now anſwer no purpoſe.

The miniſter now, finding himſelf preſſed by theſe facts, put in practice a manœuvre which he knew would effectually check the progreſs of the enquiry, by agreeing in part with the motion, but changing the mode of enquiry from an open or ſelect committee up-ſtairs, to a committee of the whole Houſe within doors. In this committee, ſeveral witneſſes were examined; and, among other matters, it came out, that one of theſe nominal merchants, and a principal actor in this buſineſs, who had freighted five large ſhips with the moſt valuable commodities, was ſo totally unqualified for ſuch an undertaking, that he hawked about a letter in the city from a very conſiderable officer belonging to the Treaſury, in order to obtain goods on that credit. The Oppoſition ſaid, that ſeveral of the principal witneſſes were ſent out of the way; the papers which the Houſe demanded, and which were eſſentially neceſſary for the purpoſes of the inquiry, were deſignedly held back at ſome of the public offices: They were therefore deſirous to poſtpone the affair for a few days, until proper information could be obtained; and, accordingly, moved the queſtion for adjournment, but were conſtantly overpowered by a great majority. At length, after being kept up till five in the morning, the miniſter diſſolved the committee without its coming to any reſolution whatever, by the previous queſtion, "That the Chairman do now leave the chair," which was carried by 105 to 31.—The matter, however, was revived in the Houſe of Lords by the Earl of Effingham, who moved, that the papers neceſſary for the inquiry ſhould be laid before the Houſe, in order to proſecute the matter next ſeſſion; to which the Miniſtry, at laſt, found themſelves obliged to agree; and this, with the grant of a million to anſwer any intermediate ſervice, put an end to the ſeſſion of Parliament on the 23d of May 1776.

A million granted by Parliament.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Siege of Quebec raiſed——Provincials defeated——Attempt on North Carolina——Expedition againſt Charleſtown——Succeſſes of General Carleton——Colonies independent——Great armament before New York——Provincials defeated——Unſucceſsful negociation——New York ſet on fire——The Jerſeys over-run——General Waſhington retreats——General Lee taken priſoner——Reſolution of Congreſs——Heſſians ſurpriſed at Trenton——Britiſh driven out of the Jerſeys——Indians defeated by the Provincials.

CHAP. XIV.

1776.

Siege of Quebec raiſed.

THE ill ſucceſs of the Americans, which commenced with their repulſe at Quebec, pervaded moſt of their affairs during the preſent year. Colonel Arnold indeed continued the blockade of that place for ſome time, though under great difficulties. Some reinforcements were ſent; but theſe arrived ſlowly, and ſuffered incredible hardſhips in their march, which, however, they endured with unparalleled conſtancy. The Canadians began to waver as ſoon as they obſerved fortune declaring for the royal army; and Congreſs ſeemed to be as yet unequal to the taſk of conducting ſo many and ſo difficult enterpriſes. On the other hand, General Carleton guarded with his uſual vigilance againſt every ſurpriſe; but, as all ſupplies were cut off from the country, the garriſon experienced conſiderable diſtreſſes. The ſeaſon, however, now approached, when the arrival of ſuccours from England was certainly to be expected, which rendered it neceſſary for the Americans to exert themſelves in an extraordinary manner. They again, therefore, commenced their operations by erecting batteries, and attempting

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ing to burn the fleet by means of fire-ſhips, at the ſame time making an attempt to ſtorm the town during the confuſion which they naturally imagined theſe efforts would produce. But they found this impracticable; and their utmoſt exertions could extend no farther than to the burning part of the ſuburbs, which, in the end, proved rather ſerviceable than otherwiſe to the cauſe of the town's people; for the remaining houſes of the ſuburbs being pulled down to prevent the ſpreading of the conflagration, afforded a conſiderable ſupply of fuel, which had hither been an article very much wanted.

March 25. Towards the end of March, a body of Canadians, under the command of a M. Beaujeau, undertook to raiſe the ſiege, but were utterly defeated and diſperſed by the Provincials. This ſmall ſucceſs, however, was ſoon forgot. The ſmall-pox broke out in the camp, which rendered it utterly impoſſible, not only to preſerve any proper order or diſcipline, but even, by reaſon of the terror it occaſioned, to keep up the ſhew of an army. In this diſaſtrous ſituation, according to their own accounts, they intended to raiſe the ſiege, before any reinforcement arrived from England; but before this deſign, if really meditated, could be put in execution, the Iſis man of war and two frigates, with ſuccours for General Carleton, ſuddenly made their appearance in the river, forcing their way through the ice, before ſuch an attempt had been deemed practicable. This unexpected ſight threw the beſiegers into the utmoſt conſternation, which was not leſſened when they found the communication betwixt their forces on the oppoſite ſides of the river almoſt inſtantly cut off. Of this General Carleton determined to take advantage, and therefore, putting himſelf at the head of the garriſon now

May 6. reinforced by a ſmall detachment of land forces and a body of marines, marched out to attack the Provincial camp. At the approach of the King's troops, the Provincials, who had already begun a retreat, fled with ſuch precipitation, that they could not be overtaken;

overtaken; leaving behind them all their artillery, ſcaling ladders, and other warlike implements. Only ſome of the ſick were made priſoners; but ſome other ſhips of war having made their way up the river about the ſame time, took a number of ſmall veſſels from the enemy, and retook the Gaſpee ſloop of war, which they had ſeized in the beginning of winter. CHAP. XIV. 1776.

The Provincials ſuffered extremely in their retreat. A number of their ſick and wounded were ſcattered about the woods and villages, not only deſtitute of every comfort neceſſary in their miſerable ſituation, but in the utmoſt danger of periſhing for want. To prevent the melancholy fate which threatened theſe unhappy creatures, General Carleton iſſued a proclamation, by which the proper officers were commanded to find them out, and afford them all neceſſary relief and aſſiſtance at the public expence; at the ſame time aſſuring them, that as ſoon as they were recovered, they ſhould have free liberty to depart. The reſt continued their retreat till they arrived at the river Sorel, where they joined ſome of the reinforcements that had been marching to their aſſiſtance. They were now, however, extremely dejected; the ſmall-pox continued to rage with great violence among them; and ſo many reinforcements had arrived to the Royal army from England, that its number was computed about 13,000 men. The general rendezvous was at a place called *Trois Rivieres*, or Three Rivers, which lies half-way between Quebec and Montreal, about 90 miles from each. It takes its name from the neighbourhood of a large branch of the St Lawrence, which diſcharges itſelf by three mouths into that vaſt channel. The Provincial Generals, however, notwithſtanding the many ſevere checks they had received, and the immenſe ſuperiority which threatened to overwhelm them, were not diſcouraged from acting on the offenſive. As the Britiſh and Brunſwick troops, which had lately arrived, were now ſeparated, a body of about 2000 Provincials, under the command

Defeats and misfortunes of the Provincials.

May 16.

CHAP. XIV. 1776.

mand of General Thomſon, undertook to ſurpriſe part of them. Thoſe againſt whom this enterpriſe was directed, were under the command of General Fraſer, and ſtationed at Three Rivers. Another, under the command of Brigadier-general Neſbit, lay at no great diſtance, on board the tranſports. The main body, with the Generals Carleton, Burgoyne, Philips, and Reideſel, were in ſeveral diviſions by land and water, betwixt them and Quebec. The diſtance from Sorel was about 50 miles; and ſeveral armed ſhips, with tranſports full of troops, lay full in the way. The Provincials embarked at Sorel in 50 boats, and coaſting the ſouth ſide of what is called the Lake of St Peter, where the St Lawrence ſpreads to a great extent, arrived at Nicolet, whence they fell down the river by night, and paſſed over to the other ſide, with an intention to attack the village of Trois Rivieres by a ſtrong detachment on each end at the ſame time, while two ſmaller ones were drawn up to ſupport or cover them; and, if they proved ſucceſsful, it was propoſed to deſtroy all the veſſels which lay near the ſhore.

So many circumſtances were neceſſary to render this enterpriſe ſucceſsful, that the hopes of its taking place muſt, from the beginning, have been very dubious. An hour's delay overthrew the whole; and thus, though the Provincials eſcaped the notice of the ſhips ſtationed up the river, they were diſcovered by the troops on their landing. They were accordingly attacked by General Fraſer, when entangled in ſwamps and bad grounds, which threw them at once into confuſion. Several light ſix-pounders, which were now landed for the purpoſe, played upon them with great effect; and General Neſbit landed his troops from the tranſports directly in their way back, ſo that the communication with their boats was entirely cut off. In theſe deſperate circumſtances they were ſeverely galled by the artillery, and driven for ſeveral miles through a deep ſwamp, in which they waded with prodigious toil, and expoſed to the utmoſt

June 8.

danger

danger and distress, until at last they reached a wood, which afforded them a grateful shelter, and the British troops, tired with the pursuit, returned to their former stations. On this occasion, General Thomson himself, with the officer who was second in command, and about 200 of their men, were taken prisoners. The loss on the part of the British was very trifling. CHAP. XIV. 1776.

The Provincial army in Canada being now no longer in a condition to act on the offensive, or even to keep its ground, continued to retreat with the utmost expedition; so that, though pursued with all possible diligence by the Royal army, they never could be overtaken. In their retreat they set fire to every thing combustible in the forts of St John's and Chamblée, which could not be carried off, and burned such vessels as they were not able to drag up the rapids in their way to Lake Champlain, over which they instantly retreated to Crown Point. This disastrous retreat was conducted by General Sullivan, in which he certainly shewed considerable abilities, as it was effected without any great loss. The Provincial General received the thanks of Congress for the prudence with which he had conducted himself, and for having saved their ruined army at a time, they said, when it was encumbered by a vast multitude of sick, most of them ill of the small-pox. Here they remained in security for the present, as the Royal army, for want of proper vessels, were unable to follow them. The constructing of these was a work of time and labour; and even though six armed vessels were sent from England for that purpose, it was found impossible to convey them up the falls of Chamblee, so that all operations in that quarter were of necessity suspended for the present year.

Unsuccessful attempt in favour of government in North Carolina.

As it had been generally known, that part of the ministerial plan for the year 1776, was to make an attack upon the southern colonies, no means had been left untried for putting the town of Charlestown in a proper state of defence. The colony of North Carolina

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rolina was juſtly eſteemed the weakeſt of the whole, Georgia alone excepted; and as it was beſides infeſted by thoſe banditti called *Regulators*, Governor Martin had formed a ſcheme of making a conſiderable diverſion there in favour of Government, which appeared more likely to ſucceed, as Sir Peter Parker, with a ſquadron of men of war, having on board Lord Cornwallis, with ſeven regiments, were to touch at Cape Fear in North Carolina, previous to an attempt on Charleſtown, where they were alſo to be joined by Sir Henry Clinton, with a ſmall detachment of forces from Boſton.

We have already ſeen, that this governor had failed in the execution of his former plan, and been obliged to take refuge on board a ſloop in Cape Fear river; however, this did not in any degree abate his ardour; and as he had now found means completely to attach the Regulators, as well as the Highland emigrants, who were very numerous in that province, to his cauſe, he made no doubt of ſucceſs, even independent of the force expected from England. Several commiſſions were granted to theſe people, and one Mr Macdonald was appointed general. A proclamation was alſo ſent, commanding all perſons forthwith to repair to the Royal ſtandard under General Macdonald, which was erected about the middle of February.

The new general aſſembled his troops at a place called Croſs-Creek, but was inſtantly oppoſed by the Provincial General Moore, at the head of a regiment, and ſuch militia as he could ſuddenly collect. He took his poſt at an important place called Rock-Fiſh-Bridge; and though much inferior in numbers, yet being poſſeſſed of ſome cannon, he fortified himſelf in ſuch a manner that his adverſaries durſt not attack him. On the 15th of February, General Macdonald ſent him a letter, incloſing the Governor's proclamation, and requiring him, with thoſe under his command, to repair to the King's ſtandard, or he ſhould be under a neceſſity of conſidering them as enemies.

Feb. 15.

On

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On this occaſion, however, the new general ſhewed his inexperience, by ſuffering himſelf to be amuſed by a negociation, until he was in danger of being ſurrounded by the Provincial forces, which were aſſembling from all quarters, when Moore gave his final anſwer, informing him, that he and his officers were engaged in the moſt honourable and glorious cauſe in the world, *viz.* a defence of the liberties of their country. He reminded the emigrants of their ungrateful behaviour to the people of the colony, and the general himſelf of an oath he and ſome of his officers had taken a ſhort time before, that they only came to ſee their friends and relations, without any concern whatever in public affairs; upon which declaration alone they were allowed to enter the country. In return to the proclamation, he ſent them the teſt propoſed by the Congreſs, with a proffer, that if they ſubſcribed it, and laid down their arms, they ſhould be received as friends; but, if they refuſed, ſuch conſequences as they had already held out to his people muſt enſue.

The Britiſh general now perceived his danger; and, therefore, abruptly quitted his ground, and endeavoured to diſengage himſelf as faſt as poſſible. In this he diſcovered conſiderable abilities, by making forced marches, paſſing rivers unexpectedly, and making the moſt rapid movements. The great deſign was to introduce Governor Martin, Lord William Campbell, and General Clinton, who had now joined them, into the heart of the country, by which means he hoped that all the back-ſettlers would be united in the royal cauſe, the Indians might be brought forward, and the Loyaliſts meet with encouragement to ſhew themſelves. The Royal army, however, if we may call them by that name, were ſo cloſely purſued by different bodies of Provincial troops, that M'Donald was at laſt obliged to engage a Colonel Caſwell, with about 1000 militia and minute-men, at a place called Moore's-Creek-Bridge, where they had thrown up an entrenchment. The Highlanders

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1776. Feb. 27. Highlanders began the attack with great fury; but ſome of their braveſt officers being killed in the firſt onſet, particularly M'Leod, the ſecond in command, their ardour ſoon cooled; and, according to the Provincial accounts, they deſerted their general, who was taken priſoner, with almoſt all his officers.—The reſt were totally broken and diſperſed, and the victory on the part of the Provincials every way complete. Their leaders were ſent to different priſons, and ſuch a ſtrict watch kept over the people of the province, that no effort in favour of government could ever afterwards be made.

Unſucceſsful expedition againſt Charleſtown.

This engagement happened on the 27th of February; but it was not till the beginning of May, that Sir Peter Parker's ſquadron arrived at Cape Fear. Though they had ſailed from Portſmouth in the cloſe of the year 1775, they had been delayed unexpectedly in Ireland, and afterwards by adverſe weather. Here they found General Clinton, who had already been at New York and Virginia; but finding that no ſervice could be effected at either of theſe places, had now come thither to wait for them.—It was here reſolved to make an attempt on Charlestown. A veſſel had indeed been diſpatched by General Howe from Halifax, deſiring them to proceed to the northward. The ſhip, however, unluckily met with ſuch delays, that ſhe did not arrive at Cape Fear till after their departure.

June. In the beginning of June, the Britiſh fleet anchored off Charleſtown. The naval force conſiſted of the Briſtol, the admiral's ſhip, of 50 guns; the Experiment, of the ſame force; the Active, Solebay, and Syren frigates, of 28 guns each; the Sphynx of 20; a hired armed ſhip of 22; a ſmall ſloop of war, an armed ſchooner, and the Thunder bomb-ketch. The land forces were commanded by General Clinton, Lord Cornwallis, and Brigadier General Vaughan. The Americans were commanded by General Lee, who had been the conſtant antagoniſt of Clinton ever ſince he left Boſton. When the Britiſh

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tiſh general touched at New York, ſuch was the activity and diligence of the Provincials, headed by General Lee, that he found no place open to attack. On his arrival at Virginia, he found every thing in the ſame ſtate. When he came to Cape Fear, in North Carolina, the ſame general was preſent, and in the ſame ſtate of preparation. And now, on his arrival at Charleſtown, the ſame opponent preſented himſelf, ſeemingly as well prepared for his reception as ever.

The fleet found ſome difficulty in paſſing Charleſtown bar; nor could the large ſhips, even though they were lightened by taking out their guns, effect their paſſage without touching the ground. After this difficulty was got over, they found the paſſage to Charleſtown commanded by a fort on Sullivan's Iſland, about ſix miles below the town. This fort was of ſo late a date, that the works at that time were not in any ſtate of perfection, and are ſaid to have been repreſented to the Britiſh generals as much more imperfect than they really were. It being, however, juſtly conſidered as the key to Charleſtown harbour, its acquiſition became an object of great conſequence; and it was not expected that the raw American militia, by whom it was defended, could make any great oppoſition. The troops were landed on Long Iſland, to the eaſtward of Sullivan's, from which it is ſeparated only by ſome ſhoals, and a creek called the Breach, deemed paſſable at low water, the ford being repreſented to the Britiſh officers as only eighteen inches deep in that ſtate. The Provincials had poſted ſome forces, with a few pieces of cannon, near the north-eaſtern extremity of Sullivan's Iſland, at the diſtance of two miles from the fort, where they threw up works to prevent the paſſage of the royal army over the Breach. General Lee was encamped with a conſiderable body of troops on the continent, at the back and to the northward of Sullivan's Iſland, with which he held a communication by means of a bridge of boats, and could by that means, at any time, march the

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whole or any part of his force, to ſupport the poſt above mentioned at the extremity of Sullivan's Iſland.

As Long Iſland conſiſts entirely of naked burning ſand, the troops were exceedingly incommoded by the heat of the ſun; nor did they ſuffer leſs from the badneſs of the water, and the unwholeſome quality of their proviſions. In this diſagreeable ſituation they were confined till the 28th of June, before any attack could be made; and, during this interval, the Provincials had applied themſelves with the utmoſt aſſiduity to the completing of their works. The at-

June 28.

tack was begun by throwing ſhells into the fort from the bomb-ketch; and, about eleven o'clock, the ſhips of war and frigates, having got up directly againſt the fort, commenced a moſt dreadful cannonade. The Sphynx, Acteon, and Syren, were ordered to the weſtward, to take their ſtation between Sullivan's Iſland and Charleſtown, partly to enfilade the works of the fort, and partly, if poſſible, to cut off the communication between the iſland and the continent, which would of courſe cut off the retreat, as well as all ſuccours from the garriſon, and partly to prevent any attempts that might be made by fire-ſhips or otherwiſe, to interrupt the grand attack. This deſign, however, miſcarried through the unſkilfulneſs of the pilot, who entangled all the three ſhips of war among ſhoals, in ſuch a manner, that every one of them ſtuck faſt; and the Acteon, which could not be got off, was ſet on fire next morning, leſt ſhe ſhould become a prey to the enemy.

In the mean time, the Provincials in the fort ſtood their ground with the greateſt bravery, and firing deliberately with a good aim, did proportionable execution. The ſhips were almoſt torn to pieces; the ſprings of the Briſtol's cable were cut by the ſhot, ſo that ſhe lay for ſome time expoſed to the enemies fire, and was dreadfully raked. Captain Morris, though he had received a number of wounds, ſtill kept his place, until at laſt his arm was ſhot off, in which miſerable condition he was carried off the quarter-

quarter-deck, and died in about a week after. The quarter-deck of the Briſtol was ſaid at one time to be cleared of every perſon but the Commodore himſelf; all the reſt being either killed or wounded. The ſlaughter on board the Britiſh ſhips was dreadful; but there is great reaſon to ſuppoſe, that a true ſtate of this unſucceſsful enterpriſe was never publiſhed in this country. By the Provincial and other accounts it was ſaid, that the bomb-ketch was placed at too great a diſtance to be of any ſervice; which being perceived by Colonel James, the principal engineer, he unfortunately thought to remedy the defect by putting an additional quantity of powder into each mortar; the conſequence of which was, that the mortar-beds were damaged in ſuch a manner, that no more than about 60 ſhells could be thrown. During all the time of the attack by ſea, no attempt was made by the land forces on Long Iſland to paſs over to their aſſiſtance, the reaſon of which was never underſtood. The Gazette account alledged, that they were ſtopped by too great a depth of water, where they expected to have paſſed almoſt dry-ſhod. It is impoſſible, however, to ſuppoſe, that ſo many experienced officers could have remained for ſuch a length of time in the Iſland, without taking proper meaſures for aſcertaining the depth of the channel, through which they knew very well it was eſſentially neceſſary for them to paſs. A more probable cauſe was that alledged in ſome private accounts, that General Lee had made ſuch excellent diſpoſitions of maſked batteries, &c. that the troops muſt have been cut off had they ventured an attack. During the time of the engagement the fort continued ſilent for about an hour; at which time, Sir Peter Parker and others were of opinion, that it might have been taken, if the troops could have made good their landing. The Provincials accounted for this ſilence by the want of powder in the fort; and the event ſeemed to juſtify their aſſertion, as the fire afterwards commenced as ſeverely as before, and continued till ten

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o'clock at night, when the Britiſh Commander, finding all his efforts unſucceſsful, thought proper to retire. The Americans on this occaſion boaſted of their heroes. A ſerjeant obſerving the flag-ſtaff ſhot away in the beginning of the action, jumped from one of the embraſures upon the beach, took up the flag, and fixing it on a ſponge-ſtaff, put it in its proper place, in the midſt of the dreadful fire already mentioned. For this diſtinguiſhed act of bravery he was preſented with a ſword by the Congreſs. Another, while exerting himſelf in a very diſtinguiſhed manner, was cruelly ſhattered by a cannon-ball. When about to expire, "My friends," ſays he, "I am dying, but don't let the cauſe of liberty expire with me." Colonel Moultrie, who commanded in the fort, received great applauſe for his diſtinguiſhed bravery and conduct in the defence of the place.

Succeſſes of General Carleton againſt the Provincials.

Thus failed one part of the miniſterial plan for the year 1776, viz. the attempt on the Southern Colonies. The other two were an invaſion of the Northern provinces from Canada, and an expedition againſt the city of New York. The conduct of the former was given to General Burgoyne; the latter to General Howe. From the attack on New York great advantages were expected. Its central poſition would enable the Britiſh Generals to carry on the war with equal facility, either in Connecticut or in the Southern provinces, and to quit or vary the ſcene of action as they pleaſed; while its maritime ſituation, being moſtly incloſed with iſlands, not only promiſed to enſure ſucceſs originally, but to afford an eaſy defence and protection by the ſhips of war. By a junction of the army from Canada with that under General Howe, it was alſo propoſed to diſtreſs the colonies in the moſt effectual manner, by cutting off the communication between the Northern and Southern provinces; and the abundant fertility and plenty of the province of New York, ſeemed to render it a moſt eligible ſtation for any body of troops.

While

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While the Britiſh northern army remained in Canada, General Carleton, as head of the province, took the command. The obſtacles to his progreſs we have already mentioned. The ſix veſſels which arrived from England had been taken to pieces, in order to be carried over land in thoſe places where they could not be navigated; beſides which, 24 others, 30 long boats, a number of flat-bottomed boats, a gondola weighing 30 tons, with about 400 batteaux, were to be conſtructed, in order to convey the troops acroſs the Lake Champlain. In this arduous undertaking, not only the Britiſh ſeamen and ſoldiers were inceſſantly employed, but the Canadian peaſants and farmers were taken from their rural employments, and forced into the ſervice of his Majeſty. With all the diligence, however, that ſuch a number of hands could uſe, it was not till the month of October, that the fleet was in a condition to tranſport the troops acroſs Lake Champlain. It was conducted by Captain Pringle, and the ſhips of war navigated by upwards of 700 excellent ſeamen, of whom 200 were volunteers from the tranſports. The guns were ſerved by detachments of men and officers belonging to the corps of artillery. The enemy's force was by no means equivalent, either in number or goodneſs; nor had it been in their power, notwithſtanding the great lapſe of time, to remedy any of thoſe eſſential defects, in any effectual manner, for want of timber, artillery, and carpenters ſkilled in ſhip-building.

On the 11th of October, the Provincial fleet, conſiſting of fifteen armed veſſels, was diſcovered in an advantageous poſition, between the iſland of Valicour and the Weſtern Main; by the former of which they were ſo well concealed, that, had it not been by accident, they might have been paſſed by without notice. In the engagement which now enſued, Colonel Arnold, though on a different element, ſupported the character he had juſtly acquired by land; but, being exceedingly inferior in all reſpects October 11.

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to the enemy, he was obliged to take advantage of the darkneſs of the night, in order to ſave his fleet from total deſtruction. The fate which he dreaded, however, was not diſtant. He was overtaken, in two days, and compelled to ſtand another engagement. The victory gained by the Britiſh on this occaſion was much more complete. Some of the headmoſt veſſels eſcaped to Ticonderago; one galley was taken; and thus Arnold, with a ſingle galley, and five gondolas, was left to encounter the whole Britiſh force. After a deſperate reſiſtance, finding it utterly impoſſible to cope with ſo great a power, he run the galley in which he himſelf was, with the other veſſels, on ſhore in ſuch a manner, that he could not be prevented from blowing them up, and making his eſcape, with all the people on board. General Carleton immediately took poſſeſſion of the ruins of Crown Point; for the Provincials there, on the firſt news of the defeat of their fleet, had evacuated the place, ſet fire to the houſes, and deſtroyed every thing they could not carry off. Here he continued till the end of the month, and even advanced to within a ſmall diſtance of Ticonderago; but the difficulty of forcing that ſtrong poſt, the advanced ſeaſon of the year, and the impoſſibility of keeping up a communication during the winter with Canada, induced him at laſt to retire into that province, where he cantoned his troops in the beſt manner he could.

Congreſs declares the colonies independent.

The ill ſucceſs which had attended the Provincial arms in Canada, did not in any degree damp the general ſpirit of the people. Matters had now been carried to ſuch extremities, that little hope of a reconciliation ſeemed to remain. About the middle of

May.

May, therefore, the Congreſs began to put in execution the ſcheme with which they had been ſo long charged on this ſide of the Atlantic; namely, that of declaring the colonies independent, and ſeparating from Britain entirely. As a proper introduction to a declaration of this kind, a circular letter, or manifeſto, was ſent through the different colonies, in which was

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ſet forth the neceſſity of ſuppreſſing the authority of the Crown entirely, and taking all the powers of Government into their own hands. In ſupport of this poſition, they inſtanced the prohibitory act, by which they were excluded from the protection of the Crown; the rejection of their petitions for redreſs of grievances and reconciliation; and the intended exertion of all the force of Britain, aided by foreign mercenaries, for their deſtruction. They concluded with a recommendation to thoſe colonies, whoſe government was not already ſufficiently well ſettled, to proceed to the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a form as was neceſſary to the internal peace of the country, and the preſent exigency of affairs; for the defence of their lives, liberties, and properties, againſt the hoſtile invaſions and cruel depredations of their enemies. CHAP. XIV. 1776.

This addreſs proved univerſally acceptable, except in the provinces of Pennſylvania and Maryland; and the deputies ſent to Congreſs from the latter even left the aſſembly, after voting peremptorily againſt independence. The ſituation of theſe provinces, however, was extremely embarraſſing, and the arguments on both ſides ſuch as might have puzzled the moſt quick-ſighted politicians. On the one hand, the ſeparation from Great Britain, even ſuppoſing that it could be inſtantly accompliſhed, muſt be attended with many inconveniencies. The protection of the great parent ſtate, and the utility of the power of a common ſovereign to balance ſo many ſeparate, and probably diſcordant commonwealths, beſides many politicial and commercial advantages derived from the union with Britain, were ſelf-evident. On the other hand, they conſidered their liberty as their greateſt good, without which all other advantages were of no value. Were they to ſubmit to a great ſtanding army conſiſting of foreigners as well as Engliſhmen, and even partly of their own ſlaves, what terms could they hope for? The moment they laid down their arms, they muſt be at the mercy of the enemy. But, to what purpoſe did they take up theſe arms? If to ſe-

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cure their liberty, then, ſhould they lay them down without any ſecurity, ſuch an act muſt be ſuppoſed an acknowledgment that their firſt reſiſtance was rebellion, and the pardon offered was the only ſecurity for the future, or ſatisfaction for the preſent they could expect. As Britain, therefore, had uniformly rejected their entreaties, and now abandoned them to plunder without remorſe, except on unconditional ſubmiſſion, it was plainly by war alone that their object was to be gained.

Another weighty conſideration was, that as long as they acknowledged the claims of the crown of Great Britain, their councils and generals would be equally deſtitute of authority civil or military;—— the war they carried on muſt be feeble, irregular, and unſucceſsful;——orders would be given which nobody would obey, and conſpiracies and mutinies formed which none could have a juſt power to puniſh or repreſs. Neither would any foreign power ſupport them againſt the hoſtile attempts of Great Britain, and ſo many foreign powers as ſhe had called to her aſſiſtance, as long as they held themſelves to be her ſubjects. "We do not break the connection," ſaid they; "it is already broken and diſſolved by act of parliament; and, thus abandoned, all laws, human and divine, not only permit, but demand of us, to provide every internal and external means of our preſervation."

Theſe arguments in favour of liberty, now ſeconded by the enmity againſt the mother-country, which had begun to take place in the minds of moſt people, ſoon decided the matter. The Maryland delegates were inſtructed to return to the Congreſs, and act there as they found moſt proper for the intereſts of their country. In Pennſylvania the matter had been fairly debated in their Provincial aſſemblies, where it was carried by vaſt majorities, that the delegates ſhould agree to the determinations of Congreſs. The

July 4. 4th of July 1776, announced the erection of this new empire. The declaration of independence was perfectly

perfectly conſonant to their circumſtances, and is by no means inferior to any manifeſto of that kind publiſhed in any age or in any country.

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It was not long before the conſtancy both of the rulers and ſubjects of the new ſtate were put to a ſevere trial. Immediately after the repulſe at Charleſtown, a moſt formidable armament appeared before New York. This was compoſed of the fleet and army which had left Boſton, along with the new raiſed forces in Britain, and 13,000 Heſſians and Waldeckers. The whole number deſtined to act on this occaſion was not leſs than 35,000 men; though all theſe never were at any time brought into one engagement. The force, however, was very formidable, and ſuch as had never before appeared in any part of America; nor was it perhaps ever exceeded by any European army of equal number, whether we conſider the goodneſs of the troops, the abundant proviſion of all manner of military ſtores and materials, or the excellence and number of artillery of all kinds. It was beſides ſupported by a very numerous fleet, particularly well adapted to the nature of the ſervice. The conduct of the expedition by ſea and land was given to Admiral Lord Howe, and his brother the General; men of approved valour and experience, who had already ſignaliſed themſelves in the ſervice of their country. The latter having become impatient of his ſtay at Halifax, where he not only could be of no ſervice to his country, but could not even find quarters for his troops, ſet ſail from that place on the 10th of June, and near the end of that month arrived at Sandy Hook, a point of land that ſtands at the entrance of that confluence of bays, ſounds, and creeks which are formed by the iſland of New York, Staten, and Long Iſlands, the continent on each ſide, with the North and Rariton rivers. On their paſſage they were joined by ſix tranſports, with Highland troops on board, which had been ſeparated from their companions by the way; and ſoon after they learned, that

Great armament appears before New York.

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ſeveral of the miſſing ſhips, with 450 men on board, had been taken by the American cruizers. Finding New York and Long Iſlands too well fortified for him to make any attempt with the force under his command, General Howe determined to land on Staten Iſland, which being of leſs conſequence, had not been attended to. Here, therefore, he diſembarked his men without oppoſition, to the great joy of ſuch of the inhabitants as had been ſufferers on account of their loyalty; and the troops being cantoned in villages, were plentifully ſupplied with the refreſhments of which they had ſtood very much in need. He had been met at Sandy Hook by Governor Tryon, with ſeveral well-affected gentlemen, who had taken refuge with him on board a ſhip, and from whom he received a full account of the ſtrength of the enemy, as well as of the ſtate and diſpoſition of the province. The appearance of ſixty perſons from New Jerſey, who came to take arms in the Royal cauſe, with 200 of the militia embodied for the ſame purpoſe, gave great ſatisfaction, and was thought to be an omen of future ſucceſs.

Soon after the arrival of General Howe at Staten Iſland, he was joined by his brother, who had likewiſe been at Halifax. On the 14th of July, he ſent aſhore a circular letter to the late governors of the colonies, in which he requeſted, that they would make as public as poſſible a declaration which accompanied it. In this he informed the people of the powers with which himſelf and his brother were inveſted, of granting general or particular pardons, to all thoſe who, in the general tumult and diſorder of the times, might have deviated from their juſt allegiance, and who were willing, by a ſpeedy return to their duty, to reap the benefits of the Royal favour; and of declaring any colony, province, county, town, port, diſtrict, or place, to be at the peace of his Majeſty; in which caſe, the penal proviſions of the prohibitory bill were to ceaſe in their favour. Due conſideration was alſo promiſed to the ſervices

July 14.

of

of thoſe who ſhould contribute to the reſtoration of the public tranquillity. Theſe papers being tranſmitted to Congreſs, were, by them, inſtantly publiſhed in the newſpapers, with a reſolution of their own, in which they declared, that the intention of publiſhing them was, that the people of the United States might be informed of what nature are the commiſſioners, and what the terms, with the expectation of which the Court of Great Britain had attempted to amuſe and diſarm them; and that the few who ſtill remained ſuſpended by a hope founded on either the juſtice or moderation of that Court, might now at laſt be convinced, that the valour of their country alone can now ſave its liberties.

About this time alſo, Lord Howe ſent ſome of his officers, with a letter directed *To George Waſhington, Eſq;* which, however, the Provincial General refuſed to receive, becauſe it was not directed to him with the title and form due to the rank he held under the United States. The Congreſs exceedingly applauded this ſtatelineſs of behaviour, and gave directions that, for the future, none of their commanders ſhould receive any letter or meſſage from the enemy, but ſuch as were directed to them in the characters which they reſpectively ſuſtained.

General Howe, ſtill willing, notwithſtanding the refuſal of his brother's letter, to have ſome correſpondence with his antagoniſt, and, at the ſame time, to ſave the honour of Britain, by tacitly charging him with being a rebel, ſent a letter by Adjutant-General Paterſon, addreſſed *To George Waſhington, &c. &c. &c.* The Adjutant was received by General Waſhington with great military ſtate; but, at the ſame time, with the utmoſt politeneſs; the uſual ceremony of blindfolding, as he paſſed through the fortifications, being diſpenſed with. General Paterſon regretted, in the name of his principals, the difficulties which had ariſen with reſpect to addreſſing the letters; declared their high eſteem for his perſon and character, and that they did not mean to derogate

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rogate from the reſpect due to his rank; and that it was hoped the *et cetera's* would remove any impediments to their correſpondence. It was replied, however, that a letter directed to any perſon in a public character ſhould have ſome deſcription or indication of it, otherwiſe it would appear a mere private letter: That it was true, the *et cetera's* implied every thing; but it was equally true, that they would imply any thing; and that he ſhould abſolutely decline any letter directed to him as a private perſon, while it related to his public ſtation. A long conference then enſued on the ſubject of priſoners, and the complaints that had been made concerning their treatment by both parties; after which the ſubject of reconciliation was again taken up. General Paterſon obſerved, that the commiſſioners were inveſted with great powers; that they would derive the greateſt pleaſure from effecting an accommodation; and that he himſelf wiſhed to have this viſit conſidered as an advance towards ſo deſirable an object. In his anſwer, however, General Waſhington, among other things, obſerved, that, by what had yet appeared, their powers were only to grant pardons: but that thoſe who had committed no fault wanted no pardon; and that they themſelves were only demanding what they deemed their indiſputable right. This converſation put an end to all hopes of a reconciliation for the preſent; and both parties prepared to decide the matter by the ſword.

Provincials defeated at Long Iſland.

By reaſon of the delay in collecting the Britiſh forces, it was not till towards the end of Auguſt, that any thing of importance could be attempted. Being now, however, joined by Sir Peter Parker, General Clinton, with the ſquadron and forces from Charleſtown, as well as ſome regiments from Florida and the Weſt Indies, it was reſolved to make an attempt on Long Iſland, which, by reaſon of its extent, was leſs ſtrongly fortified than that on which

Aug. 22.

New York is ſituated. On the 22d of the month,

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a landing was effected near Utrecht and Graveſend, on the ſouth-weſt end of the iſland. General Putnam was at that time encamped with a conſiderable force at Brookland or Brocklyn, at a few miles diſtance on the north coaſt. The armies were ſeparated by a range of hills, covered with wood, which interſect the country from eaſt to weſt, and, in that part, are called the *Heights of Guana*. The direct road lay through a village called *Flat-Buſh*, where the hills commence, and near which was one of the moſt important paſſes. This, with ſeveral others, the Provincial Generals had ordered to be well guarded; but, whether through their own negligence, or that of the officers to whom the charge had been committed, this one was left open. It was therefore occupied, on the night preceding the battle, by General Clinton, with the whole van of the army, conſiſting of the light infantry, grenadiers, light horſe, reſerve under Earl Cornwallis, and ſome other troops, with fourteen field-pieces. The engagement was begun early in the morning of the 27th, by the Heſſians at Flat-Buſh, and by General Grant on the coaſt, and a briſk cannonade and fire of ſmall arms was kept up on both ſides for ſome hours. The ſhips at the ſame time made ſeveral motions, and attacked a battery on Red Hook, to call off the attention of the enemy as much as poſſible from the danger which threatened them from General Clinton. Certain and inevitable deſtruction, however, now approached. The van, conſiſting of the troops above mentioned, were followed by the main-body under Lord Piercy, and having, without the leaſt danger or impediment, got between the Provincials and their lines, now advanced to attack them in the rear. The troops who were engaged with the Heſſians in the left and centre, firſt received intelligence of the march of the Britiſh army, and of their own danger. On this they inſtantly began a retreat to their camp; but, being intercepted by the King's troops, they were driven back again to the Heſſians, and thus alternately

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nately backward and forward for ſeveral hours. In this deſperate ſituation, ſome regiments forced their way to their lines, in ſpite of every difficulty; others periſhed in the attempt. Some eſcaped, but many more periſhed by ſtaying in the woods. Nor was the fate of their right wing, who were engaged with General Grant, much better. So late were they in receiving intelligence of what had paſſed, that they were alſo intercepted in their retreat by ſome Britiſh troops, who had traverſed the whole extent of country in the rear of the American army: the greater part threw themſelves into a marſh with which their flank was covered, where great numbers periſhed miſerably; though ſome made their way to the lines through a violent fire of the enemy, which greatly thinned their numbers. The whole loſs of the Provincials in killed, wounded, and priſoners, was computed at no leſs than 3000. Almoſt a whole regiment, conſiſting of young gentlemen of the beſt families in Maryland, were entirely cut off. Their diſaſter was attributed to the bad conduct of Lord Stirling, one of their commanding officers, who was himſelf taken priſoner, along with Major General Sullivan, Brigadier General Udell, and ten other field officers.

On the part of the Britiſh, this ſignal victory was very cheaply gained; their loſs in killed and wounded not exceeding 350 men, of whom the former did not amount to a fifth part. The troops, both officers and men, were acknowledged to have behaved with exemplary bravery. A letter from Lord Cornwallis, giving an account of this battle, concludes thus: "Such was the extreme judgment, the cool bravery, the recollection, and the humanity*, of thoſe gallant brothers (the brave Howes), that if this action were to be repeated, no part of their conduct

* On this occaſion, a body of Provincials were put to death after they had thrown down their arms, and aſked for quarter. The reaſon aſſigned for this piece of ſeverity was, that they had diſcharged their pieces before they had aſked for quarter. They were told, that if they had expected quarter, they ought to have aſked it before they fired; but now that they had fired, and done all the miſchief they could, they had no mercy to expect.

duct would admit of emendation, the whole being a master-piece of military greatneſs."

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During the continuance of this unfortunate engagement, General Waſhington paſſed over from New York, and is ſaid to have burſt into the moſt poignant exclamation of grief, when he ſaw the inevitable deſtruction which involved ſome of his beſt troops. His only care, therefore, now was, to preſerve the remainder; and even this ſeemed to be a matter of no little difficulty, as the victorious enemy had encamped that evening in front of the lines, and the next had broke ground in form at the diſtance of only 600 yards from a redoubt which covered the left of the Provincials. This arduous taſk, however, was executed with great ability and ſucceſs by the Provincial general. In the night of the 29th, the troops were withdrawn from their camp, and all the different parts of their works, their baggage, ſtores, and part of their artillery, conveyed to the water-ſide, and tranſported over a broad ferry to New York, with ſuch ſurpriſing order and ſilence, that the Britiſh army had not the leaſt knowledge of what paſſed, but were ſurpriſed to find the lines abandoned in the morning, and ſeeing the laſt of the rear-guard, or a party which had returned to carry off ſome ſtores which were left, in their boats and out of danger.

Aug. 29

Unſucceſsful negociation.

The Britiſh Generals, now ſuppoſing that the news of ſuch a dreadful diſaſter would intimidate the Congreſs into ſubmiſſion, or at leaſt procure ſome conceſſions, ſent General Sullivan on his parole with a meſſage from Lord Howe to the Congreſs. In this he ſet forth, that though he could not at preſent treat with that aſſembly as ſuch, yet he was very deſirous of having a conference with ſome of their members, whom he would, for the preſent, conſider only as private gentlemen, and would meet them himſelf at any place they ſhould appoint. He had full power, in conjunction with the General, to compromiſe the diſpute between Britain and America; to obtain which his

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his departure had been delayed for two months, and conſequently his arrival before the declaration of independency prevented: That he wiſhed a compact might be ſettled at this time, when no deciſive blow had been ſtruck, and neither party could ſay they were compelled to enter into the agreement. To all his propoſals, however, the Congreſs returned for anſwer, That, being the repreſentatives of the free and independent States of America, they could not, with any propriety, ſend their members to confer with him in their private capacity; but, that a committee of their body ſhould be ſent to know whether he was authoriſed to treat with perſons appointed for that purpoſe by Congreſs, and to hear ſuch propoſitions as he ſhould think proper to make. This propoſition being accepted, Dr. Franklin, Mr Adams, and Mr Rutledge, were appointed a committee on the occaſion, and waited on Lord Howe at Staten Iſland; but finding that his lordſhip was empowered only to grant pardons when he thought proper, and that his inſtructions were liable to be altered at the pleaſure of parliament, they made their report accordingly, and the negociation came to nothing.

Both parties now betook themſelves again to arms; the Britiſh army flushed with ſucceſs, eager and confident of victory; the Americans ſeverely checked and deſponding, but putting the utmoſt confidence in their general, who, well knowing the enemy he had to encounter, was henceforth reſolved never to venture an engagement, except on the moſt advantageous terms. As the Royal army was ſeparated from New York only by the Eaſt river, they became impatient to paſs that narrow barrier, and therefore were poſted along the banks, erecting batteries whereever they could front the enemy. It was now found, that all the fortifications which the Americans had raiſed were not able to reſiſt the immenſe force by which they were aſſailed. Their batteries were every where ſilenced, and ſuch of the ſmall iſlands as anſwered

New York abandoned, and afterwards ſet on fire.

anſwered the purpoſe of the aſſailants, reduced; an inceſſant cannonade was kept up for many days, until at laſt, every requiſite for a deſcent being gained, ſeveral movements were made by the ſhips in the North river, in order to draw the attention of the enemy to that ſide of the iſland; while the real object of attack was concealed, by feints made in different places. In this ſtate of uncertainty, the firſt diviſion of the army, under General Clinton, with Earl Cornwallis, Major-general Vaughan, Brigadier-general Leſlie, and the Heſſian Colonel Donop, embarked at the head of Newton Bay, which runs pretty deep into Long Iſland, and entirely out of ſight of the enemy. Under cover of five ſhips of war they entered the river, and proceeded to a place called Kepp's Bay, about three miles from New York, where, being leſs expected than in ſome other places, the fortifications were leſs ſtrong, though far from being inconſiderable. A vehement fire from the ſhips, however, ſoon drove the Provincials from their works, and the army landed without oppoſition. On this the enemy inſtantly abandoned New York, retiring towards the north part of the iſland where their principal force lay. They retreated with ſuch precipitation that they left behind them all their artillery and military ſtores, which were conſiderable, except in the article of gun-powder; ſome were killed, and a number taken priſoners; and it was agreed on all hands, that they behaved ill; owing, as was believed, to their not having yet recovered from the deſpondency occaſioned by their late defeat.

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However, though it appeared that the Americans had not courage fairly to defend the town, or even to deſtroy it while it remained in their own poſſeſſion, they no ſooner ſaw it in the poſſeſſion of his Majeſty's troops, than they formed the atrocious deſign of ſetting it on fire. Whether this was done through the mere malevolence of private incendiaries, or had been projected as a ſcheme for the *good of the country*, in order to render the conqueſt, as far as poſſible,

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possible, entirely useless to the victors, cannot now be determined. Be this as it will, a few days after 1776. General Howe had taken possession of it, the incendiaries, having prepared their combustibles with great art and ingenuity, took advantage of the dry weather, and a brisk wind, to set fire to the city about midnight, in several places at once. The flames raged with such violence, that the utmost efforts of courage and activity, made by the soldiers and sailors, were insufficient to prevent a third part of the town from being reduced to ashes. Some of the incendiaries being detected, it is said, in the commission of the execrable deed, were thrown headlong into the flames, or killed on the spot by the soldiers.

On the evacuation of New York, General Washington posted his army at King's Bridge, on the northern extremity of the island, and on the continent, in such a manner, that no attack could be made upon him with any probability of success. In a short time, however, General Howe determined on such a plan of operation as would either oblige the Provincials to quit their strong situation, or render their keeping it extremely precarious. On the Oct. 12. 12th of October, he embarked the greater part of his army on board flat-bottomed boats, and other small vessels proper for the purpose; and having successfully passed a dangerous strait, called *Hell Gate*, landed them safely on the continent, betwixt the Provincial army and Connecticut, leaving Lord Piercy encamped at Harlem, with two brigades of British, and one of Hessian troops, to cover New York.

The Jerseys overrun by the Royal army

Had General Washington commanded an army whom he could have trusted, this manœuvre would have been extremely dangerous, and the corps under Lord Piercy would have run a great risk of being cut off. Much dependence, however, was put by the British on the assistance of the fleet, which in such a narrow island, (only one mile broad, though sixteen in length) would afford the most effectual protection almost

almoſt in any ſituation to which the army could be reduced. By reaſon of the total want of a marine force on the part of the Provincials, therefore, as well as their deſpondency on account of their late misfortune, no attempt was made upon that diviſion of the Royal army, ſo that General Howe, being now reinforced by a regiment of light horſe from Ireland, and the ſecond diviſion of Heſſians, under Knyphauſen, lately arrived at New York, had leiſure to take proper meaſures for executing his deſign, either of forcing the Provincial General to a battle, or encloſing him in the ſtronghold he poſſeſſed.

General Waſhington retreats to White Plains.

The Provincials lay quiet in their camp till ſome part of the Britiſh General's deſign was put in execution, and the eaſtern road to Connecticut entirely ſhut up. A movement now became abſolutely neceſſary, as well to prevent their being totally incloſed, as on ſome other accounts. They were much reduced by ſickneſs, had very indifferent quarters, were inſufficiently clothed, and deſtitute of many neceſſaries, particularly ſalt, of which their magazine had been taken. Perceiving, therefore, that the Britiſh troops were advancing up the country to ſome high grounds called the White Plains, in order to cut off the upper road to Connecticut, General Waſhington made a grand movement, by which he altered the poſition of his army entirely, making it now face the whole line of march of the King's forces at a moderate diſtance, having the deep river Brunx in their front, and the north river in their rear; the open country betwixt them and the latter affording a ſecure paſſage for the baggage and ſtores to the upper country. A garriſon was left for the protection of Fort Waſhington, and the lines they had quitted at Harlem and King's Bridge.

Ever ſince the evacuation of New York, frequent ſkirmiſhes had taken place betwixt detached parties in both armies, which, though of little moment as to their immediate conſequence, had yet been of conſiderable importance to the Provincials, by removing

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the terror occaſioned by the great ſuperiority of the Royal army in the late engagement. Conſiderable parties now had the audacity to croſs the river Brunx, which lay in their front, in order to harraſs the Royal army in their march; nor could either the caution of the Britiſh General, or the almoſt conſtant defeats of the Provincial parties themſelves, put a ſtop to this practice, as long as the troops continued their march. On the arrival of the army at White Plains, however, the enemy quitted their detached poſts, and took a ſtrong encampment in front of the Britiſh. Here General Howe formed a deſign

Oct. 28.

of attacking them; and, on the 28th of October, began the engagement early in the morning, by driving back the advanced parties of the enemy to their works. The reſt of the day was taken up in forcing a ſtrong poſt, which covered the right flank of the entrenchments, and ſupporting a ſcattered fight among hedges and walls. All this being ſucceſsfully performed, the Britiſh troops lay on their arms all night, in full expectation of beginning the attack next morning. During the night, however, it was now diſcovered, that the enemy had drawn back their encampment, and greatly ſtrengthened their lines by additional works. On this account, it was thought neceſſary to wait for the arrival of part of the troops which had been left under Lord Piercy; after which, proper diſpoſitions were made for an attack on the 31ſt of October.

Oct. 31.

The operations were now prevented by a violent rain during that night and morning; and General Waſhington, having no mind to ſtand the attack, or, as the Provincials gave out, perceiving that the Britiſh army might take poſſeſſion of ſome hills which entirely commanded his camp, thought proper to change his poſition, and occupy a higher ground, firſt ſetting fire to the village of White Plains, as well as to all the houſes and forage near the lines. The Britiſh General, therefore, finding his deſigns of bringing the Provincials to an action, or of forcing

their

their camp, totally fruſtrated, determined to drive them out of their faſtneſſes in York Iſland, an operation which they could not now prevent. On the approach of the Royal army, ſuch of the Provincials as had remained at King's Bridge, or other places, retired to Fort Waſhington, and at firſt made a ſhew of reſolute defence. The place, however, was eaſily taken; and it then appeared, that the quantity of gun-powder which the Provincials poſſeſſed had been utterly inadequate almoſt to any defence whatever; and, conſequently, that the place was by no means tenable. Near 3000 priſoners were made on this occaſion. The garriſon of Fort Lee had a very narrow eſcape a few days after; having juſt time to evacuate the place, leaving their artillery, ſtores, and every thing elſe behind them; after which, the victorious army entirely over-run the Jerſeys, the Provincials being no-where able to make head againſt them. CHAP. XIV. 1776.

The Americans were not leſs unfortunate by ſea than by land, during this diſaſtrous campaign. At the beginning of the war, they had been totally deſtitute of any maritime force whatever. The Congreſs, however, deſirous of poſſeſſing ſomething like a marine force, cauſed a ſquadron of five frigates to be equipped in the beginning of March, under the command of one Hopkins. His firſt expedition was to the Bahama Iſlands, where he carried off from the Iſland of Providence a conſiderable quantity of artillery and ſtores; but was diſappointed in his expectations of gun-powder, 150 barrels of which had been ſent off in a ſmall veſſel the night before his landing. On his return, he fell in with the Glaſgow frigate of war, accompanied by a tender; but the former made her eſcape, notwithſtanding the extreme diſparity of force by which ſhe was attacked. During the operations at New York, he had ſtationed himſelf at Rhode Iſland; but, after the great ſucceſſes already mentioned, Sir Henry Clinton, with

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1776. Dec. 8.

ſome land forces, and a ſquadron of ſhips of war, under Sir Peter Parker, were ſent to make an attempt on the place. They arrived on the 8th of December, and ſucceeded beyond expectation: the Provincials abandoned the place at their approach, and the Continental ſquadron was entirely blocked up. The Britiſh troops continued here during the winter, where they had better quarters than any of the reſt, and were undiſturbed by any enemy.

Miſerable ſtate of the affairs of the Coloniſts.

The continued ſucceſſes of the Royal army afforded the greateſt matter of exultation in Britain. The pompous accounts publiſhed in the newſpapers excited a general expectation that ſome of the principal colonies would ſubmit; while yet a number of people, who had originally diſſented from the miniſterial meaſures, adhered inflexibly to their firſt opinion, and treated the ſucceſſes of the Royal army as far more ſplendid than important. The affairs of the Provincials were indeed in a moſt diſagreeable ſituation. The Royal army, unoppoſed by any enemy, had been at liberty to chuſe ſuch a poſition as the conſummate military ſkill of its general ſhould ſuggeſt. Their winter cantonments at length extended from New Brunſwick to the Delaware; and had it been poſſible to have paſſed the river at the time of their firſt arrival, there ſeems very little doubt that they would have made themſelves maſters of Philadelphia. The Royal army alſo threatened the northern provinces by the capture of Rhode Iſland; a dreadful invaſion from Canada was alſo expected as ſoon as the ſeaſon of action ſhould be renewed; while the army under General Waſhington, beſides the loſſes in the field, was now threatened with total annihilation by the return of the troops, whoſe appointed time of ſervice was now about to expire. So great was the deſertion on this account, that towards the end of the year 1776, it was computed that the whole Provincial force under Generals Waſhington and Lee did not exceed 2500 or 3000 men, and even thoſe were kept together chiefly by a perſonal attachment to the

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the commander in chief, who was held in the greateſt eſtimation by all ranks of men. In this deſperate ſituation matters were rendered worſe, if poſſible, by the capture of General Lee, who was ſurpriſed in his quarters by Colonel Harcourt, at the head of a detachment of light horſe. This, though in other circumſtances it might have been conſidered as an affair of little conſequence, at preſent threatened to be a very ſerious matter, not only on account of the raw undiſciplined ſtate of the forces, but alſo of the defect of military ſkill in their officers, which proved even worſe than the former. The capture of this officer was alſo attended with this diſagreeable circumſtance, that he could not be exchanged according to a cartel that had been eſtabliſhed between the generals. It was ſuppoſed, that as Lee had been exceedingly obnoxious to government, General Howe was tied down by his inſtructions from parting with him upon any terms, if he ſhould chance to fall into his power. Some animoſities had alſo been ſuppoſed to exiſt between this gentleman and ſeveral officers in the Britiſh army, as well as ſome perſons in high office at court, all which produced a degree of exultation on the part of the conquerors very unworthy of the character they bore.

As General Waſhington had not at this time any priſoner of equal rank with General Lee, he offered ſix field-officers in exchange, hoping that the number would balance the diſparity of rank; or, if this ſhould not be accepted, he required that the general ſhould be treated in a manner ſuitable to his rank, according to the practice eſtabliſhed among civilized nations, and the example already ſet by the Americans, in treating the Britiſh officers who had fallen into their hands. To this, however, it was replied, That Mr Lee being a deſerter from the Britiſh ſervice, was not to be conſidered as a priſoner of war, nor did he come at all within the cartel. A diſpute now took place, Whether General Lee, who had reſigned his half-pay in the beginning of the war, could

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be considered as a deserter? or, Whether he could with justice be excluded from the benefits of a cartel, at the formation of which no exception of persons had been mentioned? The affirmative in these questions, which was taken by the British General, excited not only the highest indignation in the breast of General Washington himself, but produced very disagreeable consequences to the British prisoners; as Congress now declared, that the future treatment of these prisoners should depend entirely on that which General Lee experienced.

That unfortunate officer, in the mean time, was confined in the closest manner, and guarded with all that watchful jealousy which attends the greatest state-criminals in the most perilous times. This severity was retaliated on Colonel Campbell, who had been taken by a mistake in entering the harbour of Boston after it was in the hands of the Provincials, and had till now experienced every kind of humanity at the hands of the captors. No sooner, however, did the news of General Lee's close confinement arrive, than he was thrown into a dungeon, and treated otherwise with the utmost rigour. Those officers also, who had been taken prisoners by the southern colonists, though treated with less severity, were abridged of their parole liberty, and deprived of other comforts which they had hitherto enjoyed.

Resolute behaviour of the Congress.

Thus the Congress in this instance manifested a spirit as yet undaunted by adversity, and kept up the dignity of the character they had assumed of Sovereigns of an independent empire. In other respects, their conduct was equally firm and unshaken; nor did the great body of the people ever manifest any thing like an inclination to yield, or even to acknowledge that the enemy had got any advantage over them. The gasconades of the British soldiers were retorted by others on the part of the Provincials, and the prowess and abilities of General Washington extolled beyond measure. Some plots in favour of the Royal cause had, indeed, been formed before the arrival

arrival of the fleet and navy; but the eaſe with which they were defeated, manifeſted at once the extreme weakneſs of government intereſt, and the extreme imprudence of the inſurgents in attempting ſchemes ſo far beyond their power. Some few executions, however, took place on this account; great numbers were confined; and many, through fear, abandoned their houſes, and were purſued as outlaws and enemies to their country, and their eſtates ſeiſed and forfeited. The greateſt defection happened in Philadelphia itſelf, where the diſcontents aroſe at laſt to ſuch an height, that General Waſhington, weak as he was, found it neceſſary to detach three regiments to quiet them, which, however, perfectly well anſwered the purpoſe, and enabled him to direct his whole attention towards the reparation of his affairs. CHAP. XIV. 1776.

The Congreſs now, ſenſible that all was at ſtake, reſolved to uſe their utmoſt endeavours in raiſing a new force capable of oppoſing the Royal army with ſome effect; and at the ſame time, perceiving the diſadvantages ariſing from the liberty granted to the ſoldiers of returning to their families at the end of the year, determined now to cauſe them enliſt on ſome other terms. About the middle of September they had iſſued orders for the raiſing of eighty-eight battalions, the ſoldiers to be bound to ſerve during the continuance of the war. The number of battalions to be thus raiſed was in proportion to the ſtrength of the province. Maſſachuſetts Bay and Virginia were to furniſh fifteen battalions; Pennſylvania twelve; North Carolina nine; Connecticut and Maryland eight; and, on account of the ſituation of New York and the Jerſeys, each of theſe provinces was rated only at four. A bounty of twenty dollars was offered to each man at the time of enliſting; lands were to be allotted at the end of the war to the ſurvivors, and to the repreſentatives of all who were ſlain in action, in different ſtated proportions, from 500 acres, the allotment of a colonel, to 150,

that

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that of an enſign; the private men, and non-commiſſioned officers, to have 100 acres each; and to prevent theſe valuable gifts from being ſquandered through the improvidence of the ſoldiers, the lands were rendered unalienable during the war; no aſſignment or transfer being admitted at the concluſion.

The Congreſs had formerly, as an encouragement to their forces, decreed, that all officers, ſoldiers, and ſeamen, who were, or might be diſabled in action, ſhould receive, during life, one half of the monthly pay to which they were entitled by their rank at the time they received their misfortune. Notwithſtanding all theſe encouragements, however, the condition of ſerving for an indefinite term, *during the war*, was ſo far from being agreeable, that in the month of November it was found neceſſary to admit another mode of enliſtment, by reſtricting the term to the ſpace of three years; the ſoldiers receiving the ſame bounty as in the former caſe, but being cut out of any allotment in lands.

To give encouragement to the people in general, who, however averſe to Britiſh government, ſeemed very little inclined to face their forces in the field, a manifeſto was publiſhed by Congreſs, dated December 10. addreſſed more particularly to the inhabitants of Pennſylvania. In this, every poſſible argument was uſed to promote the formation of the new army, on which every thing depended; and to remove that deſpondency, of which ſome ſymptoms ſeemed already to appear, and which, if once ſuffered to prevail, muſt certainly overthrow the cauſe entirely.

Dec. 10.

For theſe purpoſes, they enumerated the cauſes of the troubles; the ſuppoſed grievances they had endured; the late oppreſſive laws paſſed againſt them; dwelt much on the contempt with which all their petitions and applications had been treated; and, to ſhew that no alternative but war, or a tame reſignation of all that could be dear to mankind, remained,

they

they asserted, that even the boasted commissioners for giving peace to America had not offered, nor yet offer, any terms, but pardon upon absolute submission. From thence they deduced the necessity of the act of independency, asserting, that it would have been impossible for them to have defended their rights against so powerful an aggressor, aided by large armies of foreign mercenaries, or to have obtained that assistance from other states which was absolutely necessary to their preservation, whilst they acknowledged the sovereignty, and confessed themselves the subjects of that power against which they had taken up arms, and were engaged in so cruel a war. CHAP. XIV. 1776.

They boasted of the success that had in general attended their cause and exertions; contending, that the present state of weakness and danger did not proceed from any capital loss, defeat, or from any defect of valour in their troops, but merely from the expiration of the term of those short enlistments which had in the beginning been adopted from an attention to the ease of the people. They assured them, that foreign states had already rendered them essential services, and had given them the most positive promises of further aid; and they endeavoured to excite the indignation and animosity of the people, by expatiating on the unrelenting, cruel, and inhuman manner in which, they said, the war was carried on, not only by the auxiliaries, but even by the British forces themselves.

In the mean time, the Congress proceeded to regulate the constitution of their new empire, as if no enemy had been in the country, nor the least misfortune befallen them. New articles of confederation and perpetual union, not greatly differing from those formerly related, were published on the 4th of October, after having been most deliberately considered, line by line; though about the close of the year they were obliged to consult their own safety, by retiring Oct. 4.

to

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to Baltimore in Maryland, on account of the danger which threatened Philadelphia.

1776. Petition from New York and Queen's County.

The ſucceſſes, however, which had attended the Britiſh arms during this campaign, had not been altogether without ſome appearance of that ſubmiſſion which was held out as the main end of the warfare. About a month after the taking of New York, the inhabitants of that city and iſland preſented a petition to Lord Howe, and his brother the General, commiſſioners for reſtoring peace to the colonies, ſigned by Daniel Horſemanden, Oliver de Lancy, and 946 others, declaring their allegiance, and their acknowledgment of the *conſtitutional ſupremacy* of Great Britain over the colonies; and praying that, in conſequence of the former declarations by the commiſſioners, that city and country might be reſtored to his Majeſty's peace and protection. Another was preſented from the inhabitants of Queen's County in Long Iſland, in which they were equally forward to acknowledge what they called the *conſtitutional authority* of the mother-country; but in neither of them was the leaſt mention made of the authority of parliament, or even of the unconditional ſubmiſſion ſo much inſiſted upon. For theſe reaſons, in all probability, it was, that no notice was taken of theſe petitions; nor were the inhabitants reſtored to the rights and privileges they had reaſon to expect, in conſequence of the declarations of the commiſſioners on their firſt arrival, even though the inhabitants of Queen's County had raiſed a conſiderable body of forces for the King's ſervice, a ſtrong corps of militia for the defence of the country, and given every other teſtimony of loyalty that could be wiſhed.

Towards the end of December, matters began to take a new and very unexpected turn in favour of the Provincials; the chief reaſon of which ſeems to have been, the extreme malignity with which the Royal army was regarded in the country where they had taken up their reſidence. Complaints of the cruelties

cruelties they exerciſed were every where publiſhed, and pamphlets ſtuffed with nothing elſe than details of rapes, cruelty, rapine, and murder. That ſuch accounts were greatly exaggerated there can be no reaſon to doubt; as, on the other hand, it is equally certain, that they muſt have had ſome foundation in truth. In ſuch publications, though the Britiſh troops were far from eſcaping cenſure, the Heſſians were principally ſtigmatized. From the beginning of the campaign, indeed, the moſt violent antipathy had taken place betwixt the Heſſians and Americans. The latter, contending, as they thought, for freedom, and filled with the moſt exalted notions of the natural rights of mankind, beheld, with the utmoſt abhorrence, a people whom they regarded as the meaneſt ſlaves, reſigning, for a miſerable pittance, all their faculties to the will of a petty deſpot, and engaging in a domeſtic quarrel in which they had neither intereſt nor concern; quitting their own homes; and, not without danger even from the length of the voyage, paſſing an immenſe ocean to butcher thoſe who never did them any harm; nay, thoſe who had for a century paſt afforded an aſylum to multitudes of their countrymen, harraſſed and oppreſſed by a tyranny ſimilar to that under which theſe were now acting, and whom they would not heſitate to treat in the ſame manner they now did the Britiſh Americans. On the other hand, the Heſſians, naturally fierce and cruel, and ignorant of any rights but thoſe of deſpotiſm, were incapable of diſtinguiſhing betwixt the ravaging an enemy's country, and the reduction of a rebellious people to a due obedience to their lawful Sovereign. It was even ſaid, that in order to reconcile theſe barbarians to the undertaking of ſuch a long and dangerous voyage, they had been promiſed large portions of the lands they ſhould conquer in America; in conſequence of which, they firſt conſidered the ancient poſſeſſors as their natural enemies; but afterwards, when they found their error, they claimed a right to the moveable plunder of the country,

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try, of which they amaſſed ſuch quantities as are ſaid to have conſiderably impeded their military operations.

However diſagreeable ſuch conduct might be to the Britiſh commanders, it certainly was no eaſy matter to put a ſtop to it, conſidering the evident neceſſity of keeping friendſhip with allies nearly as numerous and powerful as themſelves. Neither was it poſſible, that the diſorderly conduct of the Heſſians, at which the commander in chief would ſo frequently be obliged to wink, could be prevented from infecting the Britiſh troops, and, of conſequence, from producing moſt violent clamours, not only throughout all America, but even in Europe, and that to ſuch a degree, as even in ſome meaſure to affect the public character of the Britiſh nation. In France, particularly, theſe accounts were received with the utmoſt avidity. Particular inſtances were even condeſcended upon, ſuch as the deſtruction of the public library at Trenton, of the college and library at Princetown, together with a celebrated orrery made by Rittenhouſe, ſuppoſed to be the beſt in the world, which were ſaid to indicate a Gothic barbarity, and an inclination to make war even with literature and the ſciences.

Heſſians ſurpriſed at Trenton.

One of the natural conſequences of this hatred to the Britiſh army, was a deficiency of proper intelligence on their part, and conſequently a continual danger of being ſurpriſed, unleſs guarded by the moſt unremitting vigilance, which their great ſucceſs was a continual temptation to relax. To this want of vigilance was owing the firſt inſtance of American good fortune. Colonel Ralli, a brave and experienced Heſſian officer, was ſtationed with a body of 14 or 1500 men at Trenton upon the Delaware, being the higheſt poſt occupied by the Britiſh army. Colonel Donop, with another brigade, lay at Bordentoun, a few miles down the river; and another was poſted at Burlington, ſtill lower down, and within 20 miles of Philadelphia. General Waſhington having got intelligence

telligence that these corps, particularly that at Trenton, lay in a state of perfect security, and despised the enemy, formed a design of surprising and cutting them off. Having, therefore, assembled his forces, consisting chiefly of draughts from the militia of Pennsylvania and Virginia, in three bodies, he appointed each to arrive at its station on the Delaware soon after it was dark, and with as little noise as possible on the night of Christmas day. Two of these were under the Generals Erving and Cadwallader; the former of which was to pass the river at Trenton-ferry about a mile below the town, and the other still lower, towards Bordentown. The principal body was commanded by General Washington in person, assisted by Generals Sullivan and Green, and consisted of about 2500 men, provided with a train of 20 small brass field pieces. CHAP. XIV. 1776.

With this body he arrived at a place called M'Kenky's ferry, about nine miles above Trenton, at the time appointed, hoping to be able to pass over by midnight, after which it would be no difficult matter to reach that place long before day-light, and effectually to surprise Ralli's brigade. By reason, however, of the impediments, arising from the ice in the river, it was near four in the morning before their passage was completed; and their march being still further delayed by a violent storm of hail and snow, it was eight o'clock before they reached the place of destination. Before the attack, the General animated them by the following speech. "My friends, It is not only the liberty of America that depends on your valour and firmness, but what ought to be much more dear to you than your lives, your honour! Think of the infamy which will attend you through life, not only here, but through the whole world, if the campaign closes without some instance that the courage with which you stand to your arms is equal to the justice of the cause which ought to animate your bosoms. For my own part, I will not survive a defeat, if that defeat arises from any inattention to your safety. Wipe

out

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out the ſtains which have been thrown upon your reputations, by ſeeking an honourable death; and give credit to me, that it will be the only means of meeting victory, life, and honour."

On this occaſion, the behaviour and ſucceſs of the troops was perfectly conſonant to the wiſhes of their General. They proceeded with ſuch ſecrecy and ſilence, that the Heſſians had not the leaſt notice of their approach, until an advanced poſt, at ſome diſtance from the town, was attacked by one diviſion, and the out-guards driven in by another. Ralli's regiment having been detached to ſupport the picket firſt attacked, met the party already retreating, was thrown into diſorder by it, and in that ſtate driven back upon the main body. Colonel Ralli, however, ſtill bravely charged the enemy; but being mortally wounded, his troops were routed and driven from their artillery, conſiſting only of ſix braſs field-pieces. At laſt, being quite overpowered, and nearly ſurrounded, the three regiments of Ralli, Loſberg, and Knyphauſen, found themſelves obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. Some made their eſcape to Bordentown, but the number of priſoners carried off amounted to 918. The killed and wounded did not exceed 30 or 40 in number: the loſs on the American ſide was only four officers and one or two private men wounded. The other two diviſions of the Provincial army found it impoſſible to croſs the Delaware by reaſon of the ice, ſo that General Waſhington was obliged to content himſelf with the ſucceſs he had already obtained, and, without loſs of time, croſſing the rivers with the priſoners and trophies of victory he had gained, entered the capital in triumph.

This firſt inſtance of ſucceſs wonderfully raiſed the ſpirits of the Americans, and contributed much more to the formation of a new Provincial army, than the commands or exhortations of the Congreſs. General Waſhington was ſpeedily reinforced by ſeveral regiments from Maryland and Virginia, as well as by freſh bodies of the Pennſylvanian militia, ſo that finding

ing himſelf once more in a condition to face the enemy, he again croſſed the Delaware, and took up his quarters at Trenton; while the Britiſh Generals were ſo much alarmed by this unexpected diſaſter, that they inſtantly aſſembled their forces. General Grant, with the forces at Brunſwick and the parts adjacent, advanced to Princetown; and Lord Cornwallis, who had gone to New York in his way to England, now returned to the defence of the Jerſeys. CHAP. XIV. 1776.

1777. The Britiſh forces almoſt entirely driven out of the Jerſeys.

On the 2d of January 1777, Lord Cornwallis marched to attack the enemy, who were ſtrongly poſted at Trenton Creek, having poſſeſſed themſelves of the bridge and other paſſages, which they had well covered with artillery. Several ſkirmiſhes enſued, and a cannonade was kept up on both ſides till night; but General Waſhington, having no more inclination to come to a general engagement than before, after taking the uſual precautions of lighting fires, &c. quitted his camp in the night time, with the greateſt ſilence and ſecrecy, marching with the utmoſt expedition towards Princetown. About ſunriſe, they fell in with a brigade of Britiſh troops, conſiſting of the 17th, 40th, and 45th regiments, under the conduct of Colonel Mawhood, who had juſt begun their march, and were as completely ſurpriſed as the Heſſians had been at Trenton. They were immediately attacked with great fury by the Provincials; but though the three regiments were ſeparated from one another, and the 17th particularly, led on by Colonel Mawhood himſelf, ſurrounded on all ſides, they maintained the fight with the greateſt bravery, and, at laſt, by means of their bayonets, forced a paſſage through the thickeſt ranks of the enemy, and purſued their march undiſturbed to Maidenhead, ſix miles from Trenton. The 55th, finding it impoſſible to continue their march, made good their retreat to Brunſwick; and the 40th retired, by another road, to the ſame place. In this attack, though the Provincials had many more killed and

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wounded, the Britiſh troops ſuffered ſeverely, having about 200 taken priſoners; and the fortune of the war was immediately reverſed in a very ſtrange manner. Lord Cornwallis now found it neceſſary to return from the Delaware, to the defence of the magazines at Brunſwick. The Provincials ſtill avoided any deciſive action; but, in a few days, over-run both the Jerſeys, ſpreading themſelves over the Rariton into Eſſex county, where, by ſeizing Newark, Eliſabeth-town, and Woodbridge, they became maſters of the coaſt oppoſite to Staten Iſland, at the ſame time that their principal poſts were taken with ſo much judgment, that it never was found practicable to diſlodge them. The Royal army retained only the two poſts of Brunſwick and Amboy, both holding a communication by ſea with New York. In theſe, the army under Lord Cornwallis continued, during the whole winter, very much ſtraitened, the troops undergoing the hardſhips of a ſevere and inceſſant duty, while their numbers were thinned by a continued ſeries of ſkirmiſhes, productive of little advantage on either ſide, farther than inuring the Americans to military ſervice, and weakening the Royal army, whoſe numbers could not be replaced with the ſame eaſe as the Provincials.

The bad effects of the late diſorderly conduct of the troops were now moſt ſenſibly felt. The whole province joined as one man, to revenge their former injuries. Every load of forage, and every article of proviſion which did not come from New York, was purchaſed at the price of blood. So hoſtile was the province now become, that ſuch as were incapable of arms acted as ſpies, and watched continually for thoſe who bore them; ſo that the ſmalleſt motion could not be made without its being diſcovered and expoſed before the intended effect could be produced. Thus was a victorious and far ſuperior army reduced to act on the defenſive, and, in a manner, beſieged in a country which it had entered with ſuch ſanguine

ſanguine hopes and appearances of conqueſt. The character of General Waſhington was exalted to the higheſt pitch among his countrymen; and even in Europe he was held in great eſtimation, being generally ſtiled the American Fabius, from the famous Roman General of that name, who oppoſed Hannibal with ſucceſs.

Cauſes of the decline of the Britiſh affairs.

On the part of the Britiſh Generals, or the troops they commanded, no fault was ever alledged with the ſmalleſt ſhew of reaſon, except the diſorderly conduct of the ſoldiers already mentioned, and which, from the employment of Heſſians in the ſervice originally, ſeemed to be altogether unavoidable. Many other cauſes, however, concurred to retard the progreſs of their arms. Among theſe, the principal may be ſuppoſed to ariſe from the vaſt extent of the American Continent, with its uncommon diviſion into large tracts of territory, ſome cultivated, and others in a ſtate of nature; the great length of ſea-coaſt in its front, and the immenſe waſtes at the back of the inhabited countries, affording ſhelter in all poſſible circumſtances; the numberleſs impregnable poſts, and natural barriers, formed by the various combinations of woods, mountains, lakes, and marſhes. To theſe, no doubt, muſt be added, the ſurpriſing unanimity of the colonies, and the judicious application of their ſtrength, by ſuiting the defence of the country to the nature, genius, and ability of the people, as well as to the natural advantages of the country itſelf; thereby rendering pitched battles uſeleſs, and confining the operations of war entirely to the defence of poſts, making ſurpriſes, and fighting ſkirmiſhes. Add to this alſo, that the people were unfettered by ſtrong cities; ſo that the reduction of the capital of a province had little or no effect upon the reſt; and the army could retain no more territory than that which it immediately occupied, which was again loſt as ſoon as it departed to another quarter.

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1777. Indians ſtirred up by the Britiſh agents.

During the courſe of this campaign, attempts had not been wanting to ſtir up the Indians to make an attack on the back parts of the ſouthern colonies. They were now informed, that a Britiſh army was to land in Weſt Florida; and, after penetrating through the countries of the Creek, Chickeſaw, and Cherokee Indians, where they expected to be joined by the warriors of all theſe nations, were to attack the Carolinas and Virginia; whilſt another formidable armament, both of ſea and land forces, was to make a powerful impreſſion on the coaſts of theſe provinces. Circular letters to the ſame purpoſe were diſtributed by a Mr Stewart, principal agent for Indian affairs, among the back ſettlers, requiring them to repair to the Royal Standard as ſoon as it ſhould be erected in the country of the Cherokees, ſetting forth the plan of operations, and demanding ſubſcription to a written declaration of their allegiance, that they might thus be diſtinguiſhed from the enemies to the Royal cauſe.

With this propoſal, the natural avarice, levity of temper, and blood-thirſty diſpoſition of the Indians, induced them readily to comply. Even the Six Nations, who had formerly agreed to the obſervance of a ſtrict neutrality, now joined the general confederacy, and committed ſome acts of hoſtility, which, however, were afterwards diſowned by their chiefs. The Creeks began the war in the ſouthern parts with all that violence and barbarity which diſtinguiſhes American ſavages; but finding themſelves not ſupported as had been promiſed, they ſuddenly ſtopped ſhort, excuſed themſelves as well as they could to the Congreſs, and refuſed to aſſiſt the Cherokees who applied to them for that purpoſe. The latter were thus left to carry on the war by themſelves, which they did for a ſhort time with the utmoſt fury, ſlaughtering, ſcalping, and deſtroying every human creature, and ruining the ſettlements wherever they came. Theſe cruelties, however, were ſoon checked, and the

the perpetrators called to a ſevere account. The militia of the adjacent provinces aſſembled, marched into the country of the Cherokees, and not only defeated them in every encounter, but demoliſhed their towns, deſtroyed their corn, and killed ſuch numbers, that the nation being nearly exterminated, the wretched ſurvivors were glad to accept a peace upon any terms the victors choſe to preſcribe; none of the neighbouring nations daring to interpoſe in their behalf.

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1777. The Cherokees utterly defeated, and almoſt exterminated by the Coloniſts.

Thus ended, at preſent, all hopes from the aſſiſtance of the Indians. The effects of this expedition were exceedingly prejudicial to the Royal cauſe, as it not only excited the utmoſt rancour of the Americans who had already revolted, but even of the well-affected to government themſelves. Such as had on this occaſion declared for the cauſe of Britain, not only to a man expreſſed their abhorrence of ſuch cruel meaſures, but ſome of their chief leaders are ſaid to have avowed a recantation of their principles upon that very account.

CHAP. XV.

Affairs in Britain——John the Painter——Fire at Briſtol——Parliament——Addreſs——Minority leave the Houſe——Treaſon bill——Payment of crown-debts and augmentation of civil liſt——Sir Fletcher Norton's ſpeech——Lord Chatham's conciliatory plan rejected.

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1776. State of affairs in Britain.

WHILE theſe tranſactions were going forward in America, the people of Britain remained in a ſtate of torpid indifference, expecting daily to hear of the ſubmiſſion of the colonies, from the ſplendid accounts of conqueſt exhibited in the newſpapers, and the idea of the extreme imbecility and cowardice of the Americans, which had been ſo induſtriouſly propagated and kept up. Some misfortunes, indeed, affected a part of the nation; but as theſe did not in any degree reach the generality, the news of them made no change in the ſtate of public affairs. In the Weſt Indies, ſeveral of the moſt eſſential neceſſaries of life, particularly thoſe uſed for feeding the negroes, as well as the poor and labouring white people, had riſen to three or four times their uſual price. Staves for caſks, which were next to food as an object of neceſſity, could not be procured in ſufficient quantity at any price. Other wants were abſorbed in the dread of famine, which, had it not been for the number of American prizes taken and diſpoſed of during the war, would undoubtedly have commenced. At the ſame time, an inſurrection of the negroes in Jamaica, though happily diſcovered in time and cruſhed, conſiderably increaſed the public troubles. The military force in that iſland had been very much weakened, in order to reinforce the troops in America, and the departure of a fleet of merchantmen,

merchantmen, to the number of 120 ſail, with a great part of the ſmall ſquadron on that ſtation to be their convoy, would leave it almoſt entirely defenceleſs; and it was diſcovered that the negroes had fixed on this time of extreme weakneſs for the execution of their deſign. The ſailing of the fleet was therefore poſtponed for a month after the ſhips were loaded, and juſt ready to put to ſea. Though this proved an immediate loſs to the owners, the conſequences were much more ruinous. The delay afforded time to the American cruizers to take proper ſtations; the ſhips were ſcattered by bad weather, and fell defenceleſs into the hands of the enemy; ſo that though it was late in the ſeaſon before the Americans began this kind of depredation, the loſs to Great Britain, by captures alone, during the year 1776, amounted to more than a million Sterling. CHAP. XV. 1776.

Towards the end of this year alſo, the French and Spaniards began to ſhew a ſtrong attachment to the Americans. The continental privateers appeared in great numbers in their ports, and the prizes they brought in with them ſold openly, and without diſguiſe. Remonſtrances from the Britiſh Court only made the ſales leſs open; and, in the ſituation of affairs at that time, it was not thought prudent to aſſert the national dignity, by puſhing matters to thoſe extremities which otherwiſe would have been undoubtedly done. In the Weſt-Indies, however, the depredations were carried to a much greater extent than in Europe, and avowedly patroniſed by all the French colonies. Even French ſhips took out American commiſſions; and, with a few, or ſometimes even no American ſailors on board, made war on the Britiſh trade with impunity. The King's ſhips, however, took a vaſt number of prizes on their part, though this number was far from being able to balance the value of thoſe taken by the enemy.

Beſides the direct loſs by captures, trade ſuffered otherwiſe by the prodigious riſe of inſurance; that

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1776.

upon the Weſt Indies now amounting to no leſs than 23 per cent. The prodigious armaments of France and Spain alſo threatened an approaching war with theſe powers; ſo that, towards the end of October, a proclamation was iſſued, for raiſing the bounty to ſeamen who enliſted to 5 l. per man. Sixteen additional ſhips of the line were alſo ſuddenly put into commiſſion; and another proclamation was iſſued, recalling all ſeamen who were in any foreign ſervice. This was quickly followed by two others; the one laying an embargo on the exportation of proviſions from Great Britain and Ireland, the other for the obſervation of a general faſt.

An opportunity now occurred for renewing the diſputes between the city of London and the miniſtry, whoſe mutual animoſity had not been for many years extinguiſhed. The preſent conteſt took place with the Lords of the Admiralty; and the point in queſtion was the legality of preſſing ſeamen into his Majeſty's ſervice. The Lord Mayor claimed an exemption for the watermen of his barge, and the city denied the legality of preſſing within their juriſdiction. The matter was brought before the Court of King's Bench, where the Judges gave their opinion, that theſe claims were not ſupported by adequate proof. However, though the matter was very hotly diſputed for ſome time, it was at laſt ended without any proper deciſion on ſome very important points of law; though indeed the neceſſities of the times ſeemed now to ſuperſede every other conſideration.

Account of John the Painter.

The idea of being attacked by the combined powers of France and Spain, while engaged at the ſame time in a conteſt, however trifling, with the Colonies, began at laſt to awaken the fears of the people. Suſpicions of plots and treaſons occurred; and theſe were increaſed by the attempts of an enthuſiaſtic miſcreant, known by the name of *John the Painter*, but whoſe real name was *James Aitken*. This man was born at Edinburgh; but being endowed

dowed with a ſtrong propenſity to rambling, as well as very vicious inclinations, had, in the courſe of a few years, gone through a number of thoſe adventures in which the moſt abandoned vagabonds uſually employ themſelves, and for which his profeſſion as a painter afforded a proper cover.

Among other exploits, our adventurer had paſſed through ſeveral marching regiments of foot, from each of which he had deſerted as ſoon as he could, after receiving the bounty-money. In his various peregrinations through different parts of England, he alternately committed highway robberies, burglaries, petty thefts, rapes, and worked at his trade as occaſion offered. At laſt, he paſſed over to America, where he remained for two or three years, traverſed ſeveral of the colonies, and having, in that country, imbibed the moſt violent ſentiments of the people with regard to the mother-country, he returned to England, filled with the moſt deadly antipathy to Britain; ſoon after which, he adopted the deſign of entirely ſubverting the power of the government and nation, by the ſole machinations of his own induſtry and ingenuity. This arduous taſk was to be accompliſhed by ſetting fire to the Royal dock-yards, and burning the principal trading cities and towns, with their ſhipping. In the proſecution of this atrocious deſign, he again traverſed the greateſt part of the kingdom, in order to obſerve the ſtate of the ſeveral docks, and the manner in which they were guarded, which laſt he found in general as careleſs as could be wiſhed. Having procured all the intelligence he deſired, his next care was to provide fire-works, machines, and combuſtibles proper for the execution of his purpoſe; and, had it not been for his ignorance in the proper mode of applying or conſtructing theſe machines, it is probable that the naval power of Britain might have been irretrievably ruined.

One of theſe machines, which extinguiſhed of its own accord, was found in the hemp-houſe at Portſmouth,

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mouth, which it had failed to ſet on fire, though placed in the midſt of a vaſt quantity of ſuch a combuſtible ſubſtance. He ſucceeded, however, in his deſign of ſetting the rope-houſe on fire; but the flames were happily ſubdued without communicating themſelves to the other magazines.

Attempt to ſet fire to Briſtol, January 7. 1777.

His next attempt was at Briſtol, where having failed two or three times in his endeavours to burn the ſhipping, he at laſt determined to ſecure their deſtruction, by ſetting on fire the houſes next the quay. In this he partly ſucceeded. Six or ſeven warehouſes were ſet on fire, and conſumed; but ſtill the ſhipping remained ſafe. So many attempts, which, where abortive, were always diſcovered, his machines being found, could not but excite the greateſt alarm. It could not be imagined that all this ſhould proceed from the mere political enthuſiaſm of a wretched vagabond. The two great parties into which the nation was divided mutually accuſed each other. The moſt bigotted and furious on the one ſide attributed them to the diſaffection and republican principles of the other; while thoſe of the ſame denomination on the other ſide were equally convinced, that they were the mere inventions or malicious acts of the Tories, for the ſole purpoſe of blackening their adverſaries.

Soon after the departure of this miſcreant from Briſtol, he was taken up on ſome ſuſpicious circumſtances, but behaved with uncommon art and boldneſs. Though brought before ſome of the Lords and principal officers of the Admiralty, by whom he was ſeveral times examined, he peremptorily refuſed to anſwer ſuch queſtions as might tend in the remoteſt degree to criminate him; nor did he appear in any manner of way embarraſſed in his defence. At laſt he was circumvented by means of another painter, who was alſo an American. This man, by pretending to ſympathize with the misfortunes of John, and to be of the ſame principles with him, at length obtained his confidence in priſon, until being inſtructed

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ſtructed and aſſiſted for the purpoſe, he fulfilled his intent, by drawing from him the whole hiſtory of his crimes. On his trial at Portſmouth, notwithſtanding the ſhock which the appearance and evidence of his pretended friend againſt him muſt have given, he behaved with the ſame boldneſs and addreſs he had hitherto manifeſted—made a good defence—ſhrewd obſervations on the nature of the evidence, and the baſeneſs of the witneſs—and received ſentence of death with perfect indifference. When at the place of execution, or in his way to it, he ſent for one of the principal naval officers at Portſmouth, to whom he acknowledged his crime, and likewiſe gave ſome cautions with reſpect to the future preſervation of the Royal dock-yards from ſimilar dangers.

His execution.

In the mean time, the parliament met on the laſt day of October, and as the accounts of the ſucceſs at New York had already arrived, the ſpeech from the throne expreſſed not only the utmoſt indignation againſt the rebels, but the greateſt hopes of ſubduing them; another campaign, however, would, at any rate, be neceſſary. Amicable aſſurances from other powers were ſtill held forth, though, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, it was indiſpenſibly neceſſary, that we ſhould be in a reſpectable ſtate of defence at home. The expence of this was regretted, but no doubt was entertained, that the important objects under conſideration would procure a chearful grant of the neceſſary ſupplies. In this arduous conteſt it was evident, that his Majeſty could have no other object than the good of his ſubjects; no people ever enjoyed more happineſs, or lived under a milder government than the revolted provinces, of which their boaſted improvements in every art, their numbers, wealth, and ſtrength by ſea and land, were irrefragable proofs. The ſpeech concluded with a declaration, that his Majeſty's deſire was to reſtore to them the bleſſings of law and liberty, equally enjoyed by every Britiſh ſubject, which they had fatally

Parliamentary proceedings. Oct. 31. 1776.

and

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and deſperately thrown away for the calamities of war, and the arbitrary tyranny of their chiefs.

1776. The addreſſes on this occaſion were in the ordinary ſtrain, and were, as uſual, warmly debated in both Houſes. In the Houſe of Commons, Lord John Cavendiſh moved an amendment longer than the addreſs itſelf. The purport of which was to throw the blame of the American revolt on the miniſters, on account of their withholding from parliament the neceſſary information, and miſleading the Houſe into falſe meaſures, every one of which, inſtead of procuring either reconciliation or ſubmiſſion on the part of the coloniſts, had tended to exaſperate them more and more.

The amendment propoſed by the Marquis of Rockingham in the Houſe of Lords, criticiſed the ſpeech as the act of the miniſter, in a manner ſtill more ſevere, and openly denied almoſt every thing aſſerted in it.

On the other ſide, the addreſs was defended with equal warmth, and the amendment rejected by the uſual majority, the numbers being 242 to 87 in the Houſe of Commons, and 91 to 26 in the Houſe of Lords.

Several of the minority retire from the Houſe.

The members in Oppoſition, finding themſelves on every occaſion overpowered by ſuch vaſt majorities, reſolved at length to take no more ſhare in the debates relative to America, but to leave the miniſterial party entirely maſters of the field. Some of the principal leaders took a formal leave of the Speaker, and immediately left the Houſe; a circumſtance by no means agreeable to the other party, as the voting immenſe ſums of money without any debate, ſeemed to lay no unreaſonable foundation for demanding another diſcuſſion at ſome future period.

The ſeceding members juſtified themſelves on ſeveral grounds; particularly, That in the preſent ſtate of things, all oppoſition to government-meaſures, particularly in what related to American affairs, was abſolutely vain and fruitleſs. It was even worſe; it was

frivolous

frivolous and contemptible; it was too degrading to themſelves to be the continual inſtruments of oppoſing reaſon and argument to the deaf inſolence of irreſiſtible force, which had long ago determined on its meaſures without the ſmalleſt regard to either. They had, for a number of years, repeatedly warned the nation of the dangers attending thoſe ruinous meaſures which it was purſuing. The miniſtry, however, by playing upon the paſſions of the people, by various allurements, and that unbounded influence of the Crown, which now pervaded every department, had brought the great body over to their meaſures, inſomuch that it ſeemed now impoſſible to recover them from their deluſion—That, as it was not the part of a wiſe man to ſtrive with impoſſibilities, ſo neither was it conſiſtent for thoſe who regarded their honeſt fame beyond all other things, except their principles and honour, to draw upon them the hatred of their fellow-citizens, by endeavouring to ſerve them. They would, therefore, preſerving their principles ſtill unſhaken, reſerve their activity for rational endeavours, when the preſent delirium might be ſo far allayed, either with the people or their miniſters, as to afford ſome room for its operating with advantage. CHAP. XV. 1776.

This ſeceſſion, however, was not very ſtrictly adhered to on the part of the minority. In the beginning of February, the miniſter brought in a bill to enable his Majeſty to ſecure and detain perſons ſuſpected of, or charged with the crime of high treaſon, committed in America or on the high ſeas, or of the crime of piracy. He prefaced the motion by obſerving, That, during the preſent war in America, many priſoners had been made, who were in the actual commiſſion of the crime of high treaſon—That there were others guilty of that crime who might be taken, but who, for want of ſufficient evidence, could not at preſent be ſecurely confined—That it had been cuſtomary in caſes of rebellion, or danger of invaſion from without, to enable the Crown to ſeize ſuſpected perſons. Debates on the Treaſon Bill. Feb. 10. 1777.

He

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He would not, however, be thought to hint at any preſent neceſſity of truſting miniſters with ſuch a power in general; the times were happily different from thoſe which called for ſuch exertions in their utmoſt extent, as neither rebellion at home nor foreign war were apprehended. But, as the law ſtood at preſent, it was not poſſible for government officially to apprehend the moſt ſuſpected perſon. The Crown had no means of confining rebel priſoners, or thoſe taken in the crime of piracy on the high ſeas, but in common goals—a meaſure not only inconvenient, but impracticable. In the preſent ſtate of affairs, it was abſolutely neceſſary, that the Crown ſhould be enabled to confine priſoners under thoſe deſcriptions, and to provide for their ſecurity in the ſame manner that was practiſed with other priſoners of war, until circumſtances might make it adviſable to proceed criminally againſt them.

Such, according to the miniſter's deſcription, was the purport of this bill; but, when it came to be read, it appeared, that the enacting clauſe rendered all perſons taken in the act of high treaſon, committed in any of the colonies, or on the high ſeas, or in the act of piracy, or who are or ſhall be charged with or ſuſpected of any of thoſe crimes, liable to be committed to any common goal, or to any other ſpecial place of confinement appointed for that purpoſe, under his Majeſty's ſign manual, within any part of his dominions, there to be detained in ſafe cuſtody, without bail, mainpriſe, or trial, during the continuance of the law; with a proviſion, however, enabling a certain number of the Privy Council to grant an order for admitting ſuch perſons to bail or trial.

Of the few members in oppoſition who happened to be preſent, Mr Dunning animadverted moſt ſeverely on the bill now propoſed by the miniſter. He expreſſed the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, that a bill of ſuch magnitude and importance, which ſtruck directly at the great palladium of the Britiſh conſtitution, the *Habeas Corpus* act, ſhould be brought in without proper

proper notice, at a ſeaſon when the Houſe was ſo badly attended, and an attempt made to precipitate its paſſage in ſo extraordinary a manner as to propoſe the ſecond reading within three or four days after its being firſt heard of. Beſides the defect in point of notice, he ſaid it had alſo been brought in unfairly, and was totally different from what the miniſter had announced it to be on the preceding day. It was likewiſe extremely diſcordant in its parts; neither the title nor preamble giving the ſmalleſt idea of the extraordinary matter contained in the enacting clauſes. He was equally ſhocked and alarmed to ſee a bill, which was to ſuſpend all the functions of the conſtitution, brought in under ſuch circumſtances, and attempted to be ſmuggled through a thin Houſe under falſe colours, before the nation could be appriſed of its danger, or their conſtituents have the ſmalleſt notice, that they were going to ſurrender the foundation of all their other rights, and the peculiar characteriſtic of the Britiſh liberty and government.

The alarm excited by this bill recalled a few of the minority gentlemen, who had before refuſed their attendance, and the diſputes were renewed with as great fury as ever. On the preſent occaſion, however, the miniſter ſhewed himſelf much more complaiſant than uſual. He chearfully agreed to an amendment propoſed by a gentleman in the minority, that nothing ſhould be deemed *piracy* within the true meaning and legal conſtruction of the act, but acts of felony committed upon the ſhips or goods of the ſubject on the high ſeas. This amendment was the more particularly contended for, as by ſome of the former ſtatutes of piracy, the trading or correſponding with pirates was deemed to be felony without benefit of clergy; and it was apprehended, that perſons who had innocently traded with the Americans, might, by conſtruction of the law, be ſubjected to the penalties of theſe ſtatutes.

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The apparent flexibility of the miniſter on the preſent occaſion, gave riſe to the propoſal of another amendment of greater importance, which was, that no perſon ſhould be ſecured or detained under, or by virtue of this act, for treaſon, or ſuſpicion of treaſon, unleſs ſuch perſon ſhould have been locally reſident in his Majeſty's colonies and plantations in America, at the time he was charged with, or ſuſpected of committing the crime. This amendment was vigorouſly oppoſed by adminiſtration; but while his friends were, as they thought, fighting the battle of the miniſter, he, to their utter aſtoniſhment, deſerted them, and the amended clauſe was received without a diviſion. The bill, however, was ſtill conteſted, though more faintly, and at laſt carried by 112 to 35. In the houſe of Lords it paſſed without debate or amendment, the minority having ſo totally deſerted that aſſembly, that Lord Abingdon found himſelf left alone in a proteſt againſt it.

On the payment of the Crown-debts, and augmentation of the civil liſt. April 9.

In the courſe of this ſeſſion, though ſeveral of the public accounts underwent a ſevere animadverſion, particularly thoſe for horſes and rum for the army, the moſt diſagreeable buſineſs that occurred was relative to the civil liſt, which was again become prodigiouſly indebted. On the 9th of April, a meſſage from the throne was delivered, in which much concern was expreſſed by the Sovereign at being obliged to acquaint them with the difficulties he laboured under, from debts incurred by the expences of the houſehold, and of the civil government, which, on the 5th of January laſt, had amounted to more than 600,000 l.—That he relied on the loyalty and affection of his faithful Commons, of which he had received ſo many ſignal proofs, for enabling him to diſcharge this debt; and that they would, at the ſame time, make ſome further proviſion for the better ſupport of his houſehold, and the honour and dignity of his Crown. The meſſage was accompanied with a number of papers, containing various accounts of the expenditure, and a comparative view of the whole

whole amount of the preſent civil-liſt eſtabliſhment from the year 1760, with that of the produce of the former revenues, which had been appropriated to that ſervice during the ſame period; the former to ſhew the cauſes of the increaſed expence, and the latter, that the Crown had been a loſer by the bargain made at that time with the parliament.

The meſſage being, after ſome debate, referred to the committee of ſupply, was taken into conſideration on the 16th of the month; when a motion was made by Lord John Cavendiſh, the purport of which was, That it ſhould be determined by a vote, whether the requiſition contained in the meſſage ſhould be immediately complied with, or the accompts firſt taken into conſideration. The minority, who were unanimous in ſupport of the motion, differed ſomewhat among themſelves as to the method to be adopted in carrying their plan into execution. Some were of opinion, that the preſent debt ought to be diſcharged, as a matter that could not be avoided, but were averſe to any augmentation of the revenue; while others were decidedly againſt either, until the accompts ſhould have received a full diſcuſſion, when they inſiſted, that the revenue as it then ſtood would be ſufficient to anſwer every uſeful purpoſe. The motion, however, was rejected by 281 to 114. On which two reſolutions were paſſed; one, that the ſum of 618,540 l. ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, in order to pay the debt incurred by his houſehold, &c.; the other, that the ſum of 100,000l. a-year, over and above the ſum of 800,000 l. be granted as a further proviſion for the better ſupport of his Majeſty's houſehold, and the honour and dignity of the Crown.

April 16.

October 17.

Theſe propoſitions called forth the whole ſtrength of Oppoſition. The Gentlemen on that ſide of the Houſe, while they lamented the degrading ſituation of the Sovereign, and the many diſtreſſes thereby brought upon individuals, aſcribed the debt entirely to the boundleſs and ſcandalous profuſion of miniſters, and inſiſted that the preſent revenue was,

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without any poſſibility of doubt, not only ſufficient to anſwer all the purpoſes of government, when under the reſtriction of a prudent œconomy, but alſo, fully to ſupport the grandeur, ſplendour, and magnificence of the Crown, in a manner ſuitable to its own dignity, and the greatneſs of the nation, even in its happieſt æra. It was too manifeſt, however, that the debt had been incurred in ſupporting and carrying on a ſyſtem of corruption. There was no man, let his party be what it would, but who had an internal conviction, that the Royal revenues were ſquandered in obtaining that baneful and unbounded influence which ſwept away every thing before it. Thus the nation was already brought to the brink of ruin; we were in a great meaſure already deprived of the benefits of a limited government; a great monarch was reduced to ſtraits which would diſgrace a private gentleman, and the luſtre of the Britiſh Crown tarniſhed in a manner never heard of before. The conſtitution, it was true, was not alarmed by the boiſterous voice of prerogative; but the danger was now much greater, as the foe was ſly, covert, and inſidious; and his operations, though ſlower, were much more certain. They were therefore called upon by their patriotiſm, and by every tie of public as well as private duty, to reſtrain, inſtead of augmenting the means of corruption, and to prevent miniſters, under any name or pretence whatever, from obtaining the diſpoſal of ſuch a permanent revenue as would render them either independent of parliament, or enable them to eſtabliſh ſuch an influence as might virtually preſcribe its duties, or controul its operations.

The Oppoſition alſo animadverted on the accompts in the moſt ſevere manner. They were fabricated, they ſaid, to perplex, and not to give information; the facts, of which their titles announced the diſcovery, could not bear the light. A great part of the Royal revenue had been ſquandered in ſo ſhameful a manner, that the miniſters dared not avow its diſpoſal, nor communicate ſuch a piece of knowledge to the public. They were unaccompanied by any voucher,

voucher, or by any collateral or explanatory obſervation, capable of giving them even that colour of authenticity which was neceſſary for their appearance before parliament, or to render them worthy of its attention. Some accompts had even been fabricated, in order to deceive the people into an opinion, that the Crown had been a great loſer by the bargain made in 1760. In eſtimating the amount of what was moſt improperly called *the hereditary revenues*, or, properly, *the appropriated duties* for the laſt ſixteen years, compared with that of the actual civil-liſt revenue, a great ſurpluſage was ſtated, and repreſented as ſo much loſs to the Crown, which had reſigned the former: although the fact was, that the greater part of this ſurplus aroſe from a parliamentary fund that had no exiſtence in the year 1760, and to which, if it had, the Crown could not have had the ſmalleſt pretenſion. This fund was created by the poſt-office act of the 5th of the preſent reign; and in this eſtimate, with an evident view of impoſition and deception, was brought to account on the ſide of the Crown, under the ſuppoſition that the multiplicity and perplexity of figures would, together with the indolence and inattention ſo prevalent in public affairs, effectually operate in preventing detection. It was obſerved, that the large ſums of 171,000 l. and 114,000 l. were charged in two lines for *ſecret ſervice*, under the diſpoſal of the two ſecretaries of the Treaſury, which could not but ſeem very dangerous, as well as myſterious. It was allowed to be right and neceſſary, that the ſecretaries of ſtate ſhould be allowed money for the purpoſe of procuring foreign intelligence; but that the officers of the Treaſury, who can have no public connection beyond their own office, much leſs any intercourſe with foreign ſtates, ſhould be the agents for diſpoſing of the public money in ſecret ſervice, was a moſt alarming affair, and had in itſelf ſufficient evidence to put an end at once to all doubts as to its deſign or application. The expence charged under the

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heads of *Cofferer's Office*, *Board of Works*, and *Foreign Miniſters*, was ſaid to be enormous beyond meaſure. It now appeared, that an attempt was made to realize the wretched policy of James VII. *viz.* the maintaining an army of ambaſſadors, at the ſame time that every tranſaction, either with regard to foreign or domeſtic affairs, proclaimed aloud the imbecillity of miniſters, and the folly of their negociations. Above half a million was ſtated under the article of the *Board of Works*, without the leaſt *item* to ſhew to whom, or for what purpoſe it was diſpoſed, or on what palace, houſe, park, or Royal garden, it had been expended.

On the part of the miniſtry, this deficiency in their accompts was attributed to their predeceſſors in office, who had carried away from their reſpective departments thoſe papers and documents which would have been neceſſary to afford that unuſual degree of accuracy and ſpecification now demanded. It was alſo maintained, that, far from treating parliament with contempt, or deſigning to miſlead, or keep them in ignorance, they had much exceeded their predeceſſors in exactneſs. Upon ſimilar occaſions it had been cuſtomary, either to give no accompts at all, or only ſuch groſs and looſe eſtimates as were now become ſo much the objects of cenſure. Such had been the caſe in the year 1710, under Queen Anne, and in that of George I. when two ſuch applications were made. The ſame had been done at the acceſſion of the late King, when the annual augmentation of 100,000l. was made to the civil-liſt revenue; in the year 1747, under the ſame reign, when parliament granted 450,000 l. to diſcharge that monarch's debts; and ſuch they obſerved, finally, was the caſe in the year 1769, upon the former application by his preſent Majeſty to parliament.

It was likewiſe contended, particularly in the Houſe of Lords, that the Crown had a juſt and equitable claim to the proviſion now demanded, in conſequence of that moſt generous and liberal act of his Majeſty

Majeſty in the beginning of his reign, when, from a truly paternal feeling for the burdens of his people, and a moſt princely deſire of contributing to their eaſe, he ſurrendered the civil-liſt revenue of the former reign, which was fully competent to all the expences of his houſehold and civil government, and accepted of the preſent income, without any experience to decide upon it, although it was then hoped it would have been ſufficient to anſwer every purpoſe. During the ſixteen years of the preſent reign, they alſo ſaid, that the revenues above mentioned had exceeded the annual amount of the Royal income by conſiderably more than two millions, and about doubled the aggregate ſum granted by parliament in the year 1769, and that required for the diſcharge of the preſent debt. From theſe they contended, that the diſcharge of the preſent incumbrances, as well as the future augmentation, were evidently matters of juſtice and right, though applied for, and wiſhed to be received, as favours; and that, in ſuch circumſtances, the ſcrutinizing of accompts, and entering into minute inquiries, was equally abſurd and petulant. CHAP. XV. 1777.

In the Houſe of Commons, the application was ſupported by other arguments. The revenue, it was affirmed, was really and truly inſufficient for the purpoſes it had to anſwer. It was impoſſible, nor would it be proper, even though the caſe were otherwiſe, to reſtrain the expences of a great Sovereign, and thoſe in the numerous departments of his houſehold and civil government, within the limits of an exact œconomy. The parſimony which would be highly commendable in a private gentleman, would be meanneſs in a monarch. They obſerved the prodigious riſe in all the neceſſaries of life, and increaſe in every article of expence and mode of living, which had taken place during the laſt fifty years, being the period ſince certain funds were aſſigned to the civil-liſt eſtabliſhment, which were intended to produce at leaſt 800,000 l. *per annum.*

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annum. They dwelt alſo upon the numerous increaſe of the Royal family; but, however great the ſatisfaction ariſing from this circumſtance might be, it muſt naturally and inevitably be productive of great additional expence. Other occaſional or extraordinary expences had alſo occurred. The revenues of the Crown had been conſiderably diminiſhed in conſequence of the public calamities. By theſe the American quit-rents, at leaſt for the preſent, were loſt; and, by judgments of law-courts, the Weſt-India revenue had been greatly diminiſhed. A great clamour was made about the increaſe of penſions, and they were talked of in general as means of corruption; but, would they cut off the rewards for officers of the law, to whom an honourable repoſe, after the toils they had endured, was as neceſſary as equitable? Muſt miniſters in foreign courts, who had ſpent their youth, and certainly not increaſed their fortunes in that ſervice, retire to ſpend their laſt years in diſcontent and miſery?

By theſe arguments, however, the minority were far from being ſilenced. They laughed at the idea of conſidering the duties appropriated by the parliament to the ſupport of the civil-liſt, as an hereditary property, and the revenue of the Crown as the entailed eſtate of a private gentleman. Theſe duties, they ſaid, belonged at no time to the Crown, but were always under the diſpoſal of parliament. It was, therefore, to the laſt degree abſurd, prepoſterous, and fallacious, to repreſent the agreement entered into by his preſent Majeſty with the public, as any act of *conceſſion* in him. Nobody, they ſaid, would pretend to make it a doubt, that the miniſters, who were in office at the commencement of the preſent reign, under all the particular circumſtances of glory and affection, which ſo happily diſtinguiſhed that æra, would adviſe his Majeſty in an application to a parliament and people, who could refuſe him nothing, to demand ſuch an income as would be fully adequate to the maintenance and ſupport of the

Crown

Crown with dignity and ſplendour. It muſt have been then in the King's contemplation to marry; and he muſt himſelf, as well as his miniſters, of courſe look forward to the expences conſequent to ſuch a ſtate, attended with the probability of a numerous iſſue. This was undoubtedly done; and theſe contingencies were then ſuppoſed on all ſides to be amply provided for, by the bounty granted in parliament. The propoſal not only originated from the throne, but the acceptance of it by parliament was gratefully acknowledged. The grant was made in the very way propoſed by Mr Legge, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and who, in the King's name, gave the moſt explicit aſſurances, that no more ſhould be aſked. The civil-liſt act expreſsly declares in its preamble, that 800,000l. was a certain competent revenue for defraying the expences of his Majeſty's civil government, and ſupporting the dignity of the Crown of Great Britain. CHAP. XV. 1777.

The arguments adduced, and the right claimed, from the ſuppoſed practice of parliament, in conſtantly diſcharging, without accompt or inquiry, the incumbrances of the Crown upon former applications, were ſaid to be equally unfounded, and to have been overthrown by facts already ſtated. Queen Anne generouſly beſtowed 100,000 l. annually of her private revenue, in ſupporting a moſt extenſive, dangerous, and important war; and ſhe expended vaſt ſums of money upon a public object, in the erection of Blenheim Palace. Her claim upon the public was not, however, founded upon her generoſity, munificence, or prodigality. Parliament, during the preſſing exigencies of the nation, had very conſiderably broken in upon ſeveral branches of the civil-liſt revenue, which were diverted from their proper channel, to anſwer the immediate and important demands of the war. This abſtraction of the revenue muſt, of courſe, have affected the private œconomy of the ſovereign, and occaſioned her to run in debt, for the diſcharge of which ſhe had an equitable and legal

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claim on the public. It was no wonder, therefore, that ſhe was not preſſed to ſhew how the debt had been incurred, when the ſum required was leſs than the demand which a fair creditor might have made. Neither did George II. apply to parliament for any benevolence, nor did he require any increaſe of revenue. He did not deſire to have his debts paid, merely becauſe he was in debt; he only demanded the payment of money to which he was legally entitled, and which the nation was bound by act of parliament to make good.

But, quitting inquiries into paſt tranſactions, and deductions drawn from them, it was maintained by ſeveral members in both houſes, that if the revenues proceeding from Wales, Cornwall, the duchy of Lancaſter, Ireland, Weſt India Iſlands, American quit-rents, and other ſources of ſmaller conſequence, were taken into conſideration, and added to the civil-liſt eſtabliſhment, the Crown would be found to have poſſeſſed, for ſeveral years, a revenue of more than a million ſterling: That if the American quit-rents had not been loſt, or could be recovered, this revenue, ſolely in the Crown, independent of accompt, and free from inquiry, would, in a few years, increaſe in ſuch a degree, as to afford a greater fund of treaſure for private diſpoſal than the moſt powerful and arbitrary ſovereign in Chriſtendom could boaſt of. Though the revenues of Hanover and Oſnaburgh did not come within the cognizance of parliament, they were, however, to be conſidered as objects of attention in all queſtions relative to the exceſſive growing power, and dangerous influence of the Crown. With ſuch vaſt funds in its poſſeſſion, that poverty which was now ſo ſtrongly urged, and ſo grievouſly pleaded, and which, indeed, was too ſhamefully apparent in all the œconomy of the court, inſtead of anſwering the purpoſes propoſed by the miniſters in their repreſentations, ſhould have a very different effect, and in reality afforded room for the moſt ſerious and alarming reflections and apprehenſions. It

was

was likewiſe ſaid to be a matter of the utmoſt impropriety and indecency, to bring in ſuch a demand, in a ſeaſon of public calamity and danger, like the preſent. Miniſters had already plunged the nation in a civil war, which had coſt upwards of twenty millions; they had ſevered the empire, deſtroyed our commerce, and given a mortal blow to public credit. Thirteen growing and flouriſhing provinces were loſt, ſome of which were already, in point of importance, if not of power, nearly equal to ancient kingdoms; and the nation was now engaged in a deſtructive and hopeleſs attempt to recover by force, what had been loſt by folly and violence. Was this, then, a time to ſeek for new funds in order to ſupport or increaſe the ſplendor of the Crown? or, Would the real ſplendour which it had loſt, be ſupplied by the falſe glare of oſtentatious profuſion? or, Were the oſtenſible expences of government to increaſe in proportion to its real poverty and weakneſs?

Augmentation, &c. carried.

Notwithſtanding theſe arguments, and the deteſtable light in which the miniſtry were placed by Oppoſition on the preſent occaſion, the grant of 618,340 l. was carried without a diviſion; and ſoon after that of 100,000 l. additional revenue, by a great majority.

In the Houſe of Lords, the debates were not leſs vehement. The Duke of Grafton conjured their Lordſhips, as the beſt proof of their loyalty and affection to his Majeſty, that they would conſent to have the motion poſtponed, and agree to appoint a committee to inquire into the expenditure, particularly into thoſe departments which would beſt admit of reduction. His Grace pledged himſelf to the Houſe, that if they would go into this propoſal, he would demonſtrate from the moſt clear, authentic, and inconteſtible documents, that 800,000 l. a-year would anſwer every end of private eaſe, perſonal dignity, and royal ſplendour; in a word, that it would furniſh every appendage to royalty, excepting only that which miniſters unhappily thought neceſſary, *viz.* the

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the obtaining by means of corrupt influence, an unbounded controul over the will and reſolutions of parliament. This propoſal was rejected by 90 to 26. A proteſt * was entered, in which, after ſtating the neceſſity of œconomy from the vaſt increaſe of public debt, and the decreaſe of the empire, the utmoſt indignation and aſtoniſhment was expreſſed at a profuſion in miniſters, which the greateſt proſperity could ſcarcely excuſe.

Though this important affair was thus carried in a triumphant manner by the miniſtry, they underwent a conſiderable mortification in the ſequel. On preſenting the augmentation bill to receive the Royal aſſent, the Speaker took occaſion to addreſs the Throne in a very remarkable ſpeech, for which he inſtantly received the thanks of the whole Houſe, attended with a compliment, deſiring that it might be printed. Theſe thanks, as well as the motion for printing it, were prepared by ſome members of the minority, and the vote paſſed before miniſtry had time to recollect themſelves. The ſpeech itſelf, however, was far from having given that ſatisfaction at Court which was expreſſed by the vote of parliament. The Speaker, after having expatiated on the zeal and affection ſhewn by the Commons, obſerved, that "their gift was in a time of public diſtreſs, full of difficulty and danger, when their conſtituents were

* It concluded in the following words:—"With regard to any further increaſe of your Majeſty's civil-liſt revenue, we muſt decline any concurrence therein, not ſolely from motives of œconomy, though at no time more ſtrictly required; but from a dread alſo of the effect of ſuch an augmentation on the honour and integrity of parliament, by veſting ſuch large ſums, without accompt, in the hands of miniſters. When an opinion is known to prevail, and which we have no means of contradicting, that your Majeſty's civil-liſt revenues are employed in creating an undue influence in parliament, it would be extremely unbecoming of us to vote, without manifeſt reaſon, great ſums of money out of the property of your Majeſty's ſubjects, which are ſuppoſed to be applied to our private emolument. It is our duty to attend to the reputation of parliament; and we beg leave to recommend to your Majeſty, that a further increaſe of the overgrown influence of the Crown, would be a treacherous gift from parliament even to the Crown itſelf, as it will enable the miniſters to carry on thoſe deluſive ſyſtems which have been fatally adopted, and which, if purſued, muſt lead to the ruin, as they have already produced the diſtractions of this once great empire."

were labouring under burdens almoſt too heavy to be borne. Notwithſtanding which, your faithful Commons," ſays he, "have not only granted to your Majeſty a large preſent ſupply, but alſo a very great additional revenue;—great *beyond example*—great beyond your Majeſty's *higheſt expence*—But all this, Sir, they have done in a well-grounded confidence, that you will apply *wiſely* what they have granted *liberally*."

Thus, notwithſtanding the little check they had now met with, adminiſtration had hitherto carried every thing before them. The plan of operations with regard to America, was ſo well eſtabliſhed, that no further oppoſition on that head was expected, at leaſt during the preſent ſeſſion. The Earl of Chatham, however, ever watchful for promoting what he ſuppoſed would be conducive to the national intereſts, reſolved, notwithſtanding his bodily infirmities, and the bad ſucceſs which had hitherto attended every endeavour of that kind, to make one attempt more in favour of America. The 30th of May was the day appointed for hearing his propoſal; and, the Lords being ſummoned for the purpoſe, he moved for an addreſs to the Throne, repreſenting—That "they were deeply penetrated with the view of impending ruin to the kingdom, from the continuation of an unnatural war againſt the Britiſh colonies in America; and adviſing, that the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures ſhould be taken for putting a ſtop to ſuch fatal hoſtilities, upon the only juſt and ſolid foundation, namely, the redreſs of accummulated grievances; with an aſſurance, that the Houſe would enter upon that great and neceſſary work with chearfulneſs and diſpatch, in order to open to his Majeſty the only means of regaining the affection of his colonies, and of ſecuring to Great Britain the commercial advantages of thoſe valuable poſſeſſions; fully perſuaded, that to heal and to redreſs would be more agreeable to the goodneſs and magnanimity of his Majeſty, and more prevalent over the hearts of generous

Lord Chatham's conciliatory plan rejected.

May 30.

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generous and free-born ſubjects, than the rigour of chaſtiſement, and the horrors of civil war, which had hitherto ſerved only to heighten the reſentments, and conſolidate the union of the Americans, and, if continued, muſt end in a total diſſolution of the ties betwixt Great Britain and her colonies."

His Lordſhip then entered into a particular explanation of the deſign and purpoſe of his motion. Under the words *accummulated grievances*, he meant to convey the idea of every thing which had paſſed in parliament relative to America, ſince the year 1763. By the redreſs of theſe, he meant the redreſſing of all the American grievances, particularly including the right of diſpoſing of their own money. This would open the way for treaty; and, though much muſt ſtill be left to be ſettled, this, by affording a proof of the ſincerity and amicable diſpoſition of parliament, would remove the preſent inſurmountable impediments to an accommodation, when every thing elſe would follow of courſe. He particularly inſiſted upon the immediate neceſſity of adopting the propoſed meaſure, from the imminent danger to which, in our preſent ſituation, we were expoſed from the Houſe of Bourbon. "A few weeks," he ſaid, "might decide our fate as a nation. A treaty between France and the Americans would be that final deciſion. We ſhould then not only loſe the immenſe advantages which we had derived from the vaſt and increaſing commerce of our colonies, but that commerce, and all thoſe advantages, would be thrown into the hands of our natural and hereditary enemies. He ſaid, that our acts of navigation were already virtually repealed, in conſequence of this unhappy conteſt; and that, however grievous it was to repeat, and fatal in the fact, the trade of England was now carried on in French and other foreign bottoms. He ſtated the impracticability of conquering America, and the ruinous conſequences if it had been practicable; and he declared, in the ſtrong and emphatic language which ſo peculiarly diſtinguiſhed this

this great ſtateſman and orator, that America was contending with Great Britain under a maſked battery of France, which would open upon this country as ſoon as ſhe perceived that we were ſufficiently weakened for her purpoſe, and found herſelf ſufficiently prepared for war."

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Beſides the powerful ſupport of Lord Chatham himſelf, the motion was ſeconded with great eloquence and ability; moſt of the powerful ſpeakers on the ſide of Oppoſition in the Houſe of Lords, having entered warmly and deeply into the debate. On the other ſide, the Lords in adminiſtration oppoſed it principally upon the ſuppoſition or aſſertion, that independency was the primary object with the Americans, and that their preſent oppoſition was merely the effect of a premeditated deſign of ſeveral years ſtanding. In ſuch a diſpoſition and determination on their ſide, all conceſſion on ours would be not only fruitleſs, but ridiculous, degrading, and highly encouraging to their rebellious deſigns. That ſuch an inſtance of meanneſs, and acknowledgment of weakneſs, would equally draw upon us the contempt of our friends, and excite into action the deſign or malice of our enemies. They denied any danger from France, and that the aſſiſtance given to the Americans proceeded from the Court or miniſters. The ſupplies of arms and military ſtores which the Americans received, and the numbers of French officers which ſerved in their armies, were attributed to the ſpirit of enterpriſe in ſoldiers, and of avarice in merchants. They ſaid, the motion held out nothing new, and was no more than a repetition of what had been propoſed by the noble Earl himſelf, as well as by two noble Dukes, at different times in that houſe. The queſtion being at length put, Lord Chatham's motion was rejected by 99 to 28; and this, with the money bills, vote of credit, and ſpeech in the uſual ſtyle from the Throne, put an end to the ſeſſion.

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America——Refugees enliſted——Magazines deſtroyed——General Wooſter killed——Provincials invade Long Iſland——Operations of Generals Howe and Waſhington——General Burgoyne's expedition from Canada——Treaty with the Indians——Ticonderago taken——The Americans defeated——General Preſcot taken priſoner——General Howe's expedition againſt Philadelphia——Americans defeated at Brandy Wine and Germantown——Progreſs of General Burgoyne——Fort Edward abandoned——Cruelties of the Indians——Fort Stanwix beſieged——Colonels Baume and Breyman defeated——Americans defeated——Indians deſert——General Burgoyne is purſued, defeated, and ſurrenders at Saratoga——Sir Henry Clinton's expedition.

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1777. American refugees enliſted in the Royal army.

WE muſt now take a view of the tranſactions in America, where laſt year we found the coloniſts depreſſed with misfortune and defeat; though, by the conduct and ſkill of their general, the Royal army had been prevented from purſuing their victory, or even from retaining the conqueſts they had made. As the Britiſh general (Howe) now perceived, that the army he commanded, however powerful in the field, was far from being ſufficient to effect the conqueſt of ſuch an extenſive and difficult country, he reſolved to ſtrengthen it by every poſſible method. For this purpoſe he collected as many of the refugees as could be perſuaded to enliſt into a body, which by degrees were augmented to ſeveral thouſands. Over theſe he appointed officers, choſen from among theſe gentlemen, who, for their attachment to the Royal cauſe, had been obliged to abandon their properties

properties, or who lived under his protection in New York islands; Governor Tryon being chosen commander in chief. These new forces were stationed in New York and the adjacent islands, in order to give a free scope of operation to the grand army, and allow it to exert its whole strength for the purpose to which it was originally destined; while the vast number of large rivers, which every where intersected the country, laid it open to the naval power to which the Americans had nothing to oppose, and by which they were, of consequence, exceedingly distressed. CHAP. XVI. 1777.

With all these advantages, however, it was yet found impossible to effect any great or permanent conquest. The causes formerly mentioned still continued to operate, and to militate effectually against the Royal army, and, indeed, to appearance, must have been too powerful for any number of men which Britain could be supposed able to bring into the field. The utmost that could now be done, therefore, was to carry on a kind of predatory war; and this, however it might distress particular places, or amuse the people of Britain with ideas of conquest, could never contribute any thing effectual to the subjugation of the country.

The late successes of General Washington, together with the great natural strength of the country, had encouraged the Americans to erect mills, and establish their principal magazines in a mountainous district, called the Manor of Courtland; to which a place, otherwise of no importance, called Peek's Kill, about fifty miles up the North River, served as a kind of port, by which it both received provisions and dispensed supplies. Against this place, General Howe directed his first operations for the year 1777; being well apprised, that any attempt on the Manor of Courtland itself, must necessarily be rendered abortive, from the great strength and inland situation of the country; but the port, being within reach of the naval power, promised an easy conquest. On this service, American magazines destroyed.

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vice, Colonel Bird was ſent, March 23d, with a detachment of 500 men, under the conduct of a frigate of war, and ſome other armed veſſels. The enemy, ſuppoſing themſelves unable to reſiſt, ſet fire to the ſtores, and the conflagration was completed by the Britiſh ſoldiers, who immediately returned, after deſtroying ſome ſmall craft laden with proviſions.

March 23.

The ſtores deſtroyed at Peek's Kill being found greatly inferior in magnitude and importance to what the general had been led to expect, another expedition was undertaken againſt a place called Danbury, on the borders of Connecticut, and contiguous to Courtland Manor, where it was ſaid immenſe ſtores had been collected. In this ſervice, a body of 2000 men were employed, who were conveyed by ſea to a place called Norwalk, about twenty miles to the ſouthward of Danbury; and, as the country was in no ſtate of defence, nor under any apprehenſion of the deſign, the troops arrived at Danbury the following day. Perceiving, however, that the country was riſing to intercept their return, and, at any rate, being deſtitute of carriages to carry off the ſtores, they inſtantly proceeded to deſtroy them; in the execution of which the town itſelf was unavoidably conſumed. On their return, they were harraſſed by the militia under the Generals Arnold, Wooſter, and Sullivan, who uſed their utmoſt endeavours to retard their march, until a greater force could be aſſembled to effect the deſign of cutting off their retreat. Wooſter hung upon the rear of the detachment, while Arnold, by croſſing the country, gained their front, in order to diſpute their paſſage through a place called Ridgefield; nor could the excellent order and formidable appearance of the Britiſh forces, who had large covering parties, well furniſhed with field-pieces on their flanks and rear, nor the tumultuary manner in which the American militia, not very numerous, had aſſembled, prevent them from taking

advantage

advantage of every ſituation in order to interrupt the progreſs of the King's army.

1777. General Wooſter killed, and Arnold in great danger.

In one of theſe ſkirmiſhes, General Wooſter, an old experienced officer, was killed, at an age approaching to ſeventy, and in the active exertion of a valour ſavouring more of raſhneſs than the temperance and diſcretion to be expected at ſuch a time of life. General Arnold next oppoſed them in the village of Ridgefield, but the force he poſſeſſed was by no means ſufficient to cope with ſo formidable a power. He diſplayed, however, his uſual intrepidity. His horſe being ſhot under him within a few yards of the foremoſt ranks of the Britiſh troops, a ſoldier ran up to ſtab him with his bayonet; but Arnold, diſengaging himſelf with great agility, ſuddenly drew a piſtol, and ſhot his enemy dead as he approached.

Next day, the Americans having procured ſome reinforcements with cannon, the Britiſh army was exceedingly harraſſed; every advantageous poſt was ſeized and diſputed, whilſt hovering parties on the flanks and rear, continually endeavoured to diſturb the order of the march, and to profit by every difficulty of ground. At laſt, after having expended all their ammunition, ſaid to have amounted to ſixty rounds a man, they reached an hill called Campo, within cannon ſhot of the ſhips. The troops immediately formed themſelves on the high ground, where the enemy ſeemed more determined and reſolute in their attack than they had hitherto been. In this ſituation the general ordered the troops to advance, and to charge with their bayonets; which was executed with ſuch impetuoſity, that the enemy were inſtantly broken, and the troops continued their paſſage without further moleſtation. The whole loſs on this occaſion did not exceed 172 men in killed and wounded, of whom the latter were more than two thirds. That of the Americans was more than double, and the number of killed about five to one. On the Britiſh ſide no officer of diſtinction was loſt; but on that of the Americans, beſides General Wooſter,

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ſter, three colonels, and Dr Atwater, a gentleman of ſome conſequence in that country, were killed. Indeed, the number of officers who aſſembled on this occaſion was out of all proportion to that of the private men; whilſt the raw and undiſciplined ſtate of the militia, together with their weakneſs in point of number, obliged the former, as well as thoſe volunteer gentlemen who joined them, to exert themſelves in an extraordinary manner; and even after all, the reports of the ſtores collected at Danbury were found to be ſo much exaggerated, that it became doubtful whether the miſchief done to the enemy was equivalent even to the trouble and loſs of the expedition.

Succeſsful incurſion of the Provincials into Long Iſland.

In return for this incurſion, the Provincials undertook a ſimilar one againſt Long Iſland, where they were informed that commiſſaries had for ſome time been employed in procuring forage, grain, and other neceſſaries for the Britiſh forces. Theſe articles were depoſited for embarkation at a little port called Sagg Harbour, the diſtance of which place from New York, and the weakneſs of the protection, which conſiſted only in a company of foot and an armed ſchooner, ſeemed to inſure a certainty of ſucceſs; the principal difficulty lying in their paſſage acroſs the ſound, which was continually infeſted by the Britiſh cruizers.

This expedition was conducted by Colonel Meigs, a brave and enterprizing officer, who had attended Arnold in his expedition to Quebec, and had been taken priſoner in the attempt to ſtorm that place.

May 23. On the 23d of May, he paſſed his detachment in whale boats through the ſound, and landed on the north ſide of the iſland; but having a narrow bay to croſs before they could reach the place of their deſtination, they were now obliged to carry their boats acroſs a neck of land before they could reach it. Having ſurmounted this difficulty, however, Colonel Meigs, with about 150 men, landed on the ſouth branch of the iſland, within about four miles of

of Sagg Harbour. They arrived at the place before day, and ſpeedily accompliſhed their purpoſe, notwithſtanding the reſiſtance of the ſoldiers, and the crews of the veſſels, together with the vigorous efforts of the ſchooner, which kept up a continual fire of round and grape ſhot at not more that 150 yards diſtance. Twelve brigs and ſloops which lay at the wharf were burnt, and every thing on ſhore entirely deſtroyed. Ninety priſoners were brought off, conſiſting of the officer who commanded the men, with moſt of the maſters and crews of the veſſels which they had deſtroyed; and, according to the American account, the party returned to Guildford in Connecticut, in no longer ſpace than 25 hours after they had departed from it, having in that ſhort time traverſed 90 miles by land and water, beſides deſtroying the ſloops, as already mentioned.

Operations of Generals Howe and Waſhington.

The ſeaſon for action was now far advanced; but, through ſome unaccountable negligence on this ſide of the water, the army was prevented from taking the field for want of tents and field equipage; a delay which could not but prove of the utmoſt ſervice to the Americans. The fine weather brought reinforcements from all quarters to the Jerſeys; upon which increaſe of ſtrength, General Waſhington quitted his ſtrong poſition in the neighbourhood of Morris-town, and advancing within a few miles of Brunſwick, took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong country along Middle Brook. Lord Cornwallis, however, made a ſhift, with the old tents, to encamp the Britiſh forces at Brunſwick, on the hills that commanded the Rariton, and along the communications upon that river to Amboy; his example being followed at that place by General Vaughan. The great object of the campaign on the ſide of New York, ſeems to have been, that Sir William Howe ſhould penetrate through the Jerſeys to the Delaware, driving Waſhington before him, ſo as to clear thoſe provinces of the enemy, and reduce the inhabitants to ſuch an effectual ſtate of ſubjection, that a ſafe and open communication

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betwixt the army and the city of New York might be eſtabliſhed. The ſingle movement which the Provincial General had now made, however, effectually prevented the accompliſhment of this deſign, or indeed of any thing elſe of conſequence. His camp, winding along the courſe of the hills, was ſtrongly entrenched, fortified, and well covered with artillery; nor was it better ſecured by its immediate artificial or natural defences, than by the difficulty of its approach. He commanded a view of the Britiſh encampment on the hills of Brunſwick, and a great part of the intermediate country towards that place and Amboy. His army alſo increaſed daily in number. Several bodies of the new England troops under General Gates, Parſons, and Arnold, advanced to the borders of the North River, where they were ready to paſs over to the Jerſeys, whenever there was occaſion; while, at the ſame time, the Jerſey militia aſſembled with the greateſt alacrity; ſo that whatever poſition the Royal army could take, it was ſtill watched on all ſides by its enemies. General Howe left no means untried to induce his rival to quit the ſtrong poſition he had taken. He puſhed on detachments, and made feints as if he intended to paſs him, and croſs the Delaware. This manœuvre proving ineffectual, he advanced in the front of General Waſhington's lines, where he continued for four days exploring the approaches to his camp, and accurately examining the ſituation of his poſts; hoping to find ſome weak and unguarded place upon which an attack might be made with ſome probability of ſucceſs; or that chance, inadvertence, impatience, or error, might occaſion ſome movement, or be productive of ſome circumſtance, which might lead to a general engagement. All theſe hopes, however, were fruſtrated. Waſhington knew the value of his ſituation; and as he could neither be provoked, nor ſurpriſed in ſuch a manner as to oblige him to quit the advantages he derived from it, ſo he had too much penetration and foreſight to loſe them

them by circumvention or ſleight; and he had too long profited by this cautious conduct, of never committing the fortune of America to the hazard of a ſingle battle, to depart from it on this occaſion, when it was not even demanded by any urgent neceſſity. CHAP. XVI. 1777.

General Howe now found it neceſſary to change his meaſures. On the 19th of June, he ſuddenly retreated with ſome apparent marks of precipitation, and withdrawing his troops from Brunſwick, took the road with his whole army towards Amboy. The bridge, which had been intended for the Delaware, was here thrown over the channel which ſeparates the continent from Staten Iſland; the heavy baggage, with all the incumbrances of the army, were paſſed over; ſome of the troops followed, and every thing was in immediate preparation for the paſſage of the reſt of the army. In his retreat he was eagerly purſued by large detachments of the Americans, commanded by Generals Maxwell, Lord Stirling, and Conway, who gained ſome trifling advantages; while ſome exceſſes, committed by the ſoldiers during their retreat, inflamed the enemy ſtill more with a deſire of retaliation and revenge. At laſt, General Waſhington himſelf, with the whole army, left his ſtrong camp on the hills, and advanced to a place called Quibble-town, which was no ſooner perceived by the Britiſh commander, than he marched back from Amboy with the utmoſt expedition, hoping either to cut off ſome of the enemy's large detached parties, or to bring them to a general engagement in the neighbourhood of Quibble-town; or, if neither of theſe could be accompliſhed, it was intended, that Lord Cornwallis, with his diviſion, ſhould take a conſiderable circuit, and thus gain poſſeſſion of ſome ſtrong paſſes, which would oblige the American general to quit the very advantageous ground he had taken. In all this, however, he was fruſtrated through the ſkill and vigilance of his enemy. General Waſhington no ſooner perceived the June 19.

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real intent of the enemy, than he withdrew his army from the plains, and with the utmoſt expedition regained his ſtrong camp, ſecuring the paſſes, at the ſame time, ſo effectually, that nothing could be attempted againſt them. Lord Cornwallis, indeed, fell in with Lord Stirling, who had poſted himſelf in a ſtrong ſituation, in a woody country, with about 3000 troops, and who ſeemed inclined to diſpute his paſſage. Theſe were broken, however, in a very ſhort time, with conſiderable loſs of men, and three braſs field-pieces; but the neighbourhood of the woods, and the intenſe heat of the weather, prevented the purſuit from being continued with any effect.

Expedition againſt Philadelphia.

General Howe, now convinced that it would be impoſſible to induce General Waſhington to quit his ſtrong poſition, and hazard a general engagement; and, at the ſame time, perceiving that nothing farther remained to be done in the Jerſeys, determined to undertake an expedition by ſea, which muſt be attended by theſe manifeſt advantages, that it would be impoſſible for General Waſhington to know where the ſtorm was to fall. He muſt, therefore, keep his poſt, and the King's army would make a conſiderable progreſs, before he could be in a condition to oppoſe them; and ſuch a progreſs would not leave him that choice of poſts from which he had hitherto derived ſuch advantages. Before we relate the events of this expedition, however, it will be neceſſary to take notice of the particulars relating to the invaſion from Canada, which was now conducted by General Burgoyne.

General Burgoyne ſets out on the expedition from Canada.

Though the ability of this officer was unqueſtioned, and his thirſt for military glory, however rivalled, could not be exceeded, his appointment to this command could not but, in ſome meaſure, be diſagreeable to General Carleton, to whom it ſeemed naturally to belong. Of the latter it was ſaid, that his powers had been diminiſhed in proportion to the greatneſs of his ſervices. His power formerly extended

tended to every part of America, to which he might think proper to ſend the army under his direction; but now it was ſuddenly reſtrained to the narrow limits of his own province. He had unqueſtionably ſaved Canada in the manner already related, and was only prevented, by the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, from making an attack on Ticonderoga, and immediately proſecuting the war to the ſouthward. During the winter, he had exerted his uſual ſkill and induſtry in forwarding every preparation which might conduce to the ſucceſs of the enſuing campaign. At the opening of the communication with England, however, inſtead of the reinforcement he had demanded for the completion of his purpoſe, he received an arrangement totally new, which, as it had been formed without any reference to his judgement, left nothing to his diſcretion or opinion in the execution. Two expeditions were to be formed, in which the number and nature of the troops to be employed, the particular ſervice of each corps, with its ſubdiviſions, and the ſmalleſt detachment to be made from it, had been minutely and preciſely ſtated by the miniſter. He was not even conſulted as to the number and nature of the troops which were to remain in his hands for the ſecurity and defence of Canada. In ſhort, the army which he had lately commanded, was taken entirely out of his hands, and put into thoſe of other people. The officers who lately acted under his direction were virtually placed in independent commands. They had received orders, indeed, to put themſelves under the command of Sir William Howe; but theſe ſeemed little better than a mockery, as that General had informed Sir Guy Carleton, that the concerted operations of the campaign on his ſide, would lead him to ſuch a diſtance as to render any communication of that nature altogether impracticable. On this account, in all probability, he now reſigned his government, though the length of time which muſt

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neceſſarily elapſe before a ſucceſſor could be appointed, and arrive at the place of his deſtination, obliged him ſtill to remain in the diſagreeable place he occupied.

Notwithſtanding this diſguſt, however, General Carleton ſhewed that no reſentment could warp him from his duty; and he applied himſelf with the ſame diligence to forward every part of the expedition, as if the arrangement had been all his own. The miniſters, indeed, particularly the Lord at the head of the American department, were very much intereſted in the event, and had founded the moſt ſanguine hopes on the ſucceſs of the expedition. Nothing was accordingly left undone on their ſide, which, in proportion to the number of regular troops that could be ſpared for that particular ſervice, might conduce to give efficacy to their operations. It was hoped alſo, that Canada would furniſh a numerous and warlike militia, well calculated for and adapted to the peculiar nature of the ſervice. Arms and accoutrements were, therefore, provided in abundance, for the ſuppoſed numbers who were to arrive; and the train of braſs artillery ſent out on this expedition was perhaps the fineſt and beſt ſupplied, as to officers and private men, that had ever been allotted to ſecond the operations of any army not far exceeding this in number.

Beſides the forces already mentioned, ſeveral nations of Indians had been induced to take up arms in the Royal cauſe. The meaſure was defended on the plea of neceſſity; and, if it ſhould be thought diſgraceful to the Britiſh arms, that they could not prove ſucceſsful without the aſſiſtance of cruel ſavages, it was ſaid, that the character of the Indians was ſuch as could not admit of neutrality. If they were not employed in the King's ſervice, they would undoubtedly join the Americans. Whatever were the advantages to be derived from them, however, it is certain, that General Carleton did not, during the former year, make much uſe of theſe allies, but civilly

civilly dismissed them at the close of the campaign, on a promise of their appearing next year, if required. The friends of ministry said, that he had recommended and forwarded the measure. Others said, that, partly from motives of humanity, and partly from his forming a just estimate of their services, he was unwilling to use them, knowing that they were capricious, inconstant, and untractable: That, as their ideas of war and courage totally differed from those of civilized nations; so, notwithstanding their ferocity of character, and the incredible efforts of passive valour which they occasionally manifested, they not only abhorred, but dreaded whatever is considered as fair and generous service among the Europeans. Their object and design in all their wars was not conquest, but murder. In a word, their service was uncertain, their rapacity insatiate, their faith ever doubtful, their actions cruel and barbarous.

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But, whatever might be the reasons for not employing the Indians as effectually as it was supposed he might have done, they were far from being generally approved at home. The zeal of many against the colonies seemed entirely to swallow up their mercy and humanity. They insisted, that every instance of lenity in such circumstances was actual cruelty in the effect, by inciting to disobedience, and augmenting the number of delinquents. On the contrary, partial severity was general mercy; as timely exertions of justice, and strict inflictions of punishment, were at all times the surest means of preventing crimes. The only method of speedily crushing the rebellion, was to render the situation of the actors in it so intolerable, that a cessation from danger, and the blessings of repose, should become the only objects of their contemplation and hope. The means were but little attended to, when they led to so great and happy a purpose as the destruction of rebellion, and the restoration of order and legal government. No doubt, in all convulsions of states, the innocent were

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were too often involved in the calamities of the guilty: but such was the lot and condition of mankind; and this evil, however deplorable, could not, in numberless instances, be avoided or prevented. In the present arrangement, therefore, the assistance of the savages was considered as a principal affair in the conducting of the war; and General Carleton was now enjoined to use his utmost endeavours to procure it.

In this service, whatever aversion the General might have had to it formerly, he was now sufficiently active; nor was his success less remarkable than his zeal for the cause. Whether it proceeded from the governor's influence with the Indians, their avidity to seize the presents which were now so liberally distributed among them; from their innate thirst for war and plunder; or, more probably, from the joint operation of all these causes; their warriors poured forth in such abundance, that he became at last apprehensive of being more incumbered by their numbers than aided by their valour.

The regular force allotted to this expedition amounted to 7173 men, British and Germans, exclusive of the corps of artillery; and of these the Germans, consisting mostly of Brunswickers, amounted to 3217. They were commanded by excellent officers. General Burgoyne himself, as commander in chief, yielded to none in courage and military skill. Major-General Philips of the artillery, had gained immortal honour in that service during the German war. The commander in chief was likewise assisted by Generals Frazer, Powel, and Hamilton, all distinguished officers; together with the Brunswick Major-General Baron Reidesel, and Brigadier-General Speecht. The army was in every respect in the best condition that could possibly be expected or wished; the troops being in the highest spirits, admirably disciplined, and uncommonly healthy. A detachment of 700 or 800 men was sent on an expedition to the Mohawk river, under Colonel St Leger, who was joined

joined by a large body of Indians, partly conducted by a number of Britiſh and American officers. The regular force left in Canada amounted to about 3700 men.

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The operations commenced in the beginning of June. The army being aſſembled on the banks of the river Bouquet, on the weſt ſide of Lake Champlain, and at no great diſtance from Crown Point, a Congreſs was held with the Indians, and they were entertained by the general with a war-feaſt, in compliance with the cuſtoms of theſe people. In his ſpeech on this occaſion, he laid down ſeveral injunctions for the government of their conduct, particularly, that they ſhould only kill thoſe who oppoſed them in arms: That old men, women, children, and priſoners, ſhould be held ſacred from the hatchet, even in the time of battle; That they ſhould only ſcalp thoſe who were fairly killed in battle; but that under no pretence, or colour of provocation, they ſhould ſcalp the wounded or even dying, much leſs kill perſons in that condition by way of evading the injunction. They were promiſed a compenſation for their priſoners, but threatened with being called to an account for their ſcalps. Soon after the general diſperſed a manifeſto, calculated to ſpread terror among the contumacious, and particularly to revive in their minds every latent impreſſion of fear, derived from knowledge or information of the cruel operations of the ſavages, whoſe numbers were accordingly magnified, and their eagerneſs to be let looſe againſt their prey deſcribed with great energy; after which he proceeded to the operations of the campaign with all poſſible expedition.

Burgoyne's Congreſs with the Indians. June.

June 29.

The army having made a ſhort ſtay at Crown Point, for the eſtabliſhment of magazines, an hoſpital, and other neceſſaries, proceeded to inveſt Ticonderoga. This fortreſs lies on the weſtern ſhore, and a few miles to the northward from the commencement of that narrow inlet by which Lake George diſcharges the water into Lake Champlain.

Ticonderoga taken.

It

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It ſtands on a point of land ſurrounded on three parts by water, and that covered by rocks. A great part of the fourth was covered by a moraſs, and, where that failed, the old French lines ſtill remained, and afforded a conſiderable defence. The Americans had ſtrengthened thoſe lines with additional works and a blockhouſe. Other works and blockhouſes were placed on the left towards Lake George; and to the right of the French lines, they had alſo two new blockhouſes, and ſome other works. On the eaſtern ſhore of the inlet, and oppoſite to Ticonderoga, the Americans had taken ſtill more pains in fortifying a high circular hill, to which they had given the name of Mount Independence; and on the ſummit of it, which is Table-land, they had erected a ſtar fort, incloſing a large ſquare of barracks, well fortified and ſupplied with artillery. The foot of the mountain, which on the weſt ſide projected into the water, was ſtrongly entrenched to its edge, and the entrenchments well lined with artillery. A battery about half way up the mount, ſuſtained and covered theſe lower works. With their uſual induſtry, the Americans had alſo joined theſe two poſts by a bridge of communication thrown over the inlet. This bridge was ſupported by 22 ſunk piers of very large timber, placed nearly at equal diſtances; the ſpaces between theſe were filled with ſeparate floats, each about 50 feet long and 12 wide, ſtrongly faſtened together with chains and rivets, and as ſtrongly attached to the ſunk pillars. The ſide of the bridge next to Lake Champlain, was defended by a boom compoſed of very large pieces of timber, faſtened together by rivetted bolts and double chains, made of iron an inch and an half ſquare; ſo that, by this work, a communication was not only maintained between the two poſts, but all acceſs by water was totally cut off from the northern ſide.

Notwithſtanding the apparent ſtrength of Ticonderoga, however, it is effectually overlooked and commanded by a neighbouring eminence called Sugar

gar Hill. A conſultation of the American officers was therefore held on the fortifying of this mount, when it was carried in the negative, on account of the great extent of the works already, and the incapacity of the garriſon to defend them; and it was hoped, that the difficult acceſs of the eminence itſelf, would prevent the enemy from taking advantage of this poſt. In this, however, they were deceived.—The Royal army advanced with the utmoſt celerity, and at the ſame time with ſuch circumſpection, that they made themſelves maſters of ſeveral advantageous poſts, without the loſs of a man, or even without returning a ſingle gun in anſwer to the ineffectual roar of artillery, which was kept up by the Americans, while at too great a diſtance to do any execution. CHAP. XVI. 1777.

By the 5th of July, the Royal army had almoſt finiſhed their approaches; ſo that little more time was requiſite for completely inveſting the poſts on both ſides of the lake. Sugar Hill was accurately examined, and the advantages it preſented were found to be ſo important, though attended with vaſt labour and difficulty, that a road was inſtantly ſet about, and through the judgment and activity of General Philips, ſoon made paſſable to the very top. The American General (St Clair) had, in the mean time, determined the part he was to act. Having haſtily called a council of war, he repreſented, that their whole effective numbers were not ſufficient to man one half of the works; of conſequence, as the whole muſt be upon conſtant duty, it would be impoſſible for them to ſuſtain the neceſſary fatigues for any length of time; and that, as the enemies batteries were ready to open, and the place would be completely inveſted in twenty-four hours, nothing could ſave the troops but an immediate evacuation of both poſts; which opinion being unanimouſly held juſt by the council, the place was evacuated that very night. The baggage of the army, with ſuch artillery, ſtores, and proviſions, as the neceſſity of the time would permit, July 5.

were

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were embarked, with a ſtrong detachment, on board 200 batteaux, and diſpatched under convoy of five armed gallies, up the South River, in their way to Skeneſborough, the main army taking its route by Caſtletown to reach the ſame place by land.

The Americans purſued and utterly deſtroyed.

The flight of the enemy was no ſooner perceived, than Brigadier General Frazer began an eager purſuit with his brigade, conſiſting of the light troops, grenadiers, and ſome others. Major General Reideſel was alſo commanded to join in the purſuit by land, with the greater part of the Brunſwick troops, either to ſupport the Brigadier, or to act ſeparately, as occaſion might require, or circumſtances direct. The enemy left a vaſt quantity of artillery behind them, which, with thoſe afterwards taken or deſtroyed in the armed veſſels at Skeneſborough, amounted to no leſs than 128 pieces. Some military ſtores of different kinds were alſo left, as well as a conſiderable quantity of proviſion in the forts.

The retreat of the Americans now proved more ruinous than a ſurrender upon any terms; and the deſtruction which enſued was little leſs than if the place had been taken by ſtorm. General Burgoyne conducted the purſuit by water in perſon. The bridge and other works, which had coſt ten months hard labour to the Americans, were ruined in leſs than as many hours. The Royal George and Inflexible frigates had paſſed through the bridge by nine o'clock in the morning. Several regiments embarked on board the veſſels, and the purſuit up the river was ſupported with ſuch vigour, that, by three o'clock in the afternoon, the foremoſt brigade of the gun-boats was cloſely engaged with the enemy's gallies near Skeneſborough falls. In the mean time, three regiments, which had been landed at South Bay, aſcended and paſſed a mountain with great expedition, in order to attack the enemy's works at the falls, and thereby cut off their retreat. This deſign, however, was prevented by the ſpeedy flight of the Provincials. On the approach of the frigates, thoſe

thoſe who managed the gallies, finding themſelves already overborn by the gun-boats, loſt all ſpirit; two of theſe veſſels were accordingly taken, and three blown up. The Provincials then, giving way to deſpair, ſet fire to their works, ſtockaded fort, mills, and batteaux; after which they made their eſcape as well as they could up Wood Creek. This ſtroke ſeemed to complete the ruin of their ill fated army; for the batteaux were deeply laden, beſides their baggage, with ammunition, ſtores, and proviſions; ſo that they were now left naked in the woods, deſtitute of proviſions, and without any other means of defence than what they derived from the arms in their hands.—Confuſion and diſmay equally attended their main body on the left. The ſoldiers had loſt all confidence in their commanders, and, of conſequence, all reſpect for them. General Frazer continued the purſuit, though a vehemently hot day, with his uſual activity. On the 7th of July, about five in the morning, he came up with the enemy's rear, under the command of Colonel Francis, one of their beſt and braveſt officers. They were ſtrongly poſted, in an advantageous ground, and greatly ſuperior in number to the corps he commanded; which circumſtances, joined to that of their having a ſkilful and expert commander, enabled them to make a much better ſtand than could have been expected from men in their circumſtances. The engagement continued undecided, and even threatened to prove deſtructive to the Britiſh corps, when the coming up of General Reideſel quickly turned the ſcale of fortune. The Americans were now totally defeated, with the loſs of their brave commander, a great number of officers, and 200 private men dead on the field of battle, with about as many taken priſoners. Above 600 were ſuppoſed to be wounded, many of whom periſhed miſerably in the woods. The principal loſs on the part of the Royal army was that of Major Grant, a brave officer, who was killed.

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July 7.

Mean time, St Clair, with the van of the American army, was at Caſtletown, about ſix miles farther on;

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on; but, upon hearing of the ſucceſſes of the Royal army, for fear of being intercepted at Fort Anne, he ſtruck into the woods on his left, probably uncertain whether he ſhould direct his courſe towards the New England provinces, or to Fort Edward. Colonel Hill, in the mean time, was detached with the 9th regiment, from Skeneſborough, towards Fort Anne, with a view to intercept the fugitives, who had fled along Wood Creek; whilſt another part of the army were employed in carrying the batteaux over the falls, in order to facilitate their movements in diſlodging the enemy from that poſt. In this expedition, he was attacked by a large body of Americans, conſiſting, as he immagined, of about ſix times the number of his regiment. The efforts they made on this occaſion, laid him under the neceſſity of changing his ground in the heat of action, which, however, was accompliſhed with ſo much judgment, ſteadineſs, and effect, that, after a combat of three hours, the enemy were totally repulſed with ſuch loſs, that after ſetting fire to Fort Anne, they fled with the utmoſt precipitation towards Fort Edward, upon Hudſon's river.

Conduct of the American generals cenſured.

The loſs on the part of the Britiſh employed in theſe ſucceſsful ſervices, was exceſſively trifling, ſcarce exceeding 200 men in killed and wounded. The ſpirits of the troops were raiſed ſo high, that Albany ſeemed to be already in their own hands, the northern provinces ſubjugated, and the war almoſt at an end. At home, the joy and exultation was extreme. All the contemptuous and degrading charges which had formerly been made by the friends of adminiſtration againſt the Americans, were now repeated and believed, partly even by thoſe who had been eſteemed their friends. All future reſiſtance was now thought to be vain, and what would only ſerve to render their terms of ſubmiſſion worſe. The conduct of the Provincial general, indeed, ſeems altogether indefenſible. In his exculpatory letter to the Congreſs, he ſtated that his whole force, including 900 militia, who

who were to quit him in a few days, amounted to no more than 3000 men; that theſe were ill equipped, and worſe armed; particularly in the article of bayonets, an arm ſo eſſential in ſieges, that they had not one to ten in their number. In a detail of the tranſactions of the campaign, tranſmitted by the war-office in Maſſachuſetts Bay to the American deputies of France, the force at Ticonderoga was ſtated at 5000 men well equipped and armed; but, whatever may be in this, one capital error on the part of the commanders cannot eſcape the notice of every common obſerver. If their force was not ſufficient for the defence of their works, Why did they not in time adopt the reſolution of leaving them? Why did they not withdraw the troops, artillery, and ſtores, and demoliſh the works before the arrival of the enemy? Or, why did they wait till they were almoſt ſurrounded, and could not retreat without being in a manner totally deſtroyed? The Congreſs were ſo ſenſible of this defect of military ſkill, and even common prudence, in their commander, that they immediately iſſued orders for a recal to head-quarters, and an inquiry into the conduct of the general officers who had commanded in Ticonderoga. General Waſhington was directed to appoint other commanders, and likewiſe to ſummon ſuch numbers of militia from the eaſtern and central provinces, as ſhould be deemed ſufficient for reſtraining the enemy in the north. A kind of ceſſation of arms, however, now took place both in the north and ſouth; in the former, occaſioned by the total defeat and diſperſion of the American army, ſo that the Britiſh commanders found no enemy to oppoſe them in the field; and in the latter, by the preparations made on the part of General Howe for an expedition of which the deſtination was yet unknown.

General Preſcot taken priſoner.

During this interval, a ſpirited adventure took place in Rhode Iſland, by which the capture of General Lee was retaliated, and his perſon ſeemingly indemnified, on the part of the Americans. On the

CHAP. XVI. 1777. July 10. 10th of July, Colonel Barton, a Provincial officer, with ſeveral others, and ſome volunteers, paſſed by night from Providence to Rhode Iſland; and, though they had a long paſſage by water, eluded the vigilance of the ſhips of war and guard-boats which ſurrounded the iſland, conducting their enterpriſe with ſuch ſecrecy and dexterity, that they ſurpriſed General Preſcot, who commanded in chief, in his quarters, and brought him, with his aid-de-camp, through all theſe dangers, ſafe to the continent. This produced no little joy on the one ſide, and more regret on the other than the importance of the affair ſeemed to deſerve; chiefly, as was ſuppoſed, on account of General Lee, whoſe fate was now determined, and againſt whom it would be impoſſible to execute the vengeance which had been denounced. It was peculiarly galling to the General himſelf, however, that he had carried matters to ſuch a length, as to ſet a price on the head of Arnold, and offer a reward for ſeizing his perſon, as if he had been a common outlaw or robber, which was immediately returned by Arnold's ſetting an inferior price on General Preſcot.

General Howe ſets ſail for Philadelphia, July 23. The operations of war in the ſouthern department were intermitted no longer than was found neceſſary for the preparations requiſite in ſuch an extenſive undertaking. On the 23d of July, the fleet and army departed from Sandy Hook; and, a little before their departure, the General, in order to deceive the enemy more completely, ordered a ſhip which had been cut down to act as a floating battery, with ſome tranſports, to ſail up the North River; a faint, which ſucceeded ſo far, as to induce General Waſhington to detach part of his army acroſs it.

The voyage was far from being favourable to the Britiſh. It coſt them a week to reach the Capes of the Delaware, in their way to Philadelphia, the place of their deſtination. Here they received information that the Americans had thrown ſuch obſtacles in the way of their navigation up that river, that they were conſtrained

conſtrained to abandon the deſign as impracticable, and ſeek for a paſſage by Cheſapeak Bay to that part of Maryland which lies to the ſouth weſt, and at no great diſtance from Philadelphia. The winds, however, now proved ſo unfavourable, that the middle of Auguſt was paſt before they could reach the Cheſapeak, during all which time the confinement of ſo many men and horſes, in a very hot ſeaſon, could not but have been attended with very fatal conſequences, had not the moſt ample proviſion been made in every reſpect; as the failure of any one article, even that of water, could not, in all probability, have been remedied. Auguſt.

The winds fortunately proved favourable after the fleet entered Cheſapeak Bay, ſo that they gained the mouth of the river Elk, after a very dangerous navigation, as ſoon as could in ſuch circumſtances, be expected. By the 25th of the month the troops were landed without any oppoſition at Elk Ferry, a conſiderable way up the river. One part advanced to the head of the Elk, the other continued at the landing place, to protect and forward the artillery, ſtores, and neceſſary proviſions; the general not permitting any great incumberance of baggage, and even the article of tents being conſiderably abridged on account of the ſcarcity of carriages. Aug. 25.

The troops were no ſooner landed, than General Howe, in order to quiet the minds of the people, and to prevent a total deſolation and deſertion of the country in the front of the army, publiſhed a declaration, promiſing that the ſtricteſt regularity, good order and diſcipline, ſhould be obſerved by the army, and the moſt effectual ſecurity and protection afforded to all his Majeſty's peaceable and well-diſpoſed ſubjects; extending, at the ſame time, this ſecurity and protection to ſuch perſons as not having been guilty of aſſuming legiſlative or judicial authority, might otherwiſe have acted illegally in ſubordinate ſtations, upon the proviſion of their immediate return to their habitations, and peaceable demeanour

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for the future. He likewiſe offered a free and general pardon to all officers and ſoldiers in arms, who ſhould ſurrender themſelves to the Royal army.

Americans defeated at Brandywine. Sept. 11.

In the beginning of September the Royal army left the head of the Elk, and purſued its march to Philadelphia. General Waſhington, in the mean time, with his army, (conſiſting of about 15,000 men, nearly the number of the Royal army that could be brought into action,) had returned from the Jerſeys to the defence of the capital; and by the time General Howe left the head of the Elk, had advanced from Brandywine Creek to Red-Clay Creek; from whence they puſhed detachments forward, to occupy difficult poſts in the woods, and to interrupt the march of the Britiſh by continual ſkirmiſhes. This obliged General Howe to proceed with the utmoſt caution, as every man loſt on his part was an irreparable misfortune to the army, for the preſent year at leaſt; while, on the other hand, the enemy not only repaired every loſs with the greateſt celerity, but the military ability of the ſurvivors was augmented by the deſtruction of their fellows.

This caution, however, could not prevent ſome ſkirmiſhes, in which the Royal army were almoſt always victorious, and who continued their courſe with leſs interruption than might reaſonably have been expected from the nature of the country. After ſeveral movements, the enemy retreated beyond Brandywine Creek, where they took poſſeſſion of the heights, and covered the fords, with an evident intention of diſputing the paſſage.

On the 11th of September, at day-break, the Britiſh army advanced in two columns. The right, under General Knyphauſen, marched directly to Chad's Ford, which lay in the centre of the enemy's line, where they expected the principal attack, their right and left covering ſome leſs practicable fords for ſeveral miles on either hand. A heavy cannonade commenced about ten o'clock, and repeated diſpoſitions for paſſing the ford were made by the Britiſh general,

general, in order to deceive the enemy. This feint had the desired effect. The American generals, supposing the whole force of the Royal army to be in his front, detached large parties across the river to impede or frustrate this design, and kept up a continued series of skirmishes with the British troops, sometimes advancing, and at others obliged to retreat, until at last they were driven over the river with considerable loss. In the mean time, Lord Cornwallis, at the head of the second column, took a large circuit to the left, until he gained the forks of the Brandywine, where, from the division of the river, it could be more easily forded. Having accordingly passed both branches about two in the afternoon, he took the shortest road down the river, in order to fall upon the right flank of the enemy.

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General Washington, however, having been apprised of this movement about two hours before, dispatched General Sullivan, with as many troops as he could spare, to oppose Cornwallis. This task was executed by the Provincial commander in such a manner as shewed a considerable degree of military skill. He posted his troops in a strong ground, his flanks being covered with very thick woods, and his front with artillery advantageously disposed. The ardour of the British and Hessian troops, however, overthrew every obstacle. The Americans, after a spirited opposition, were driven from their posts, and pursued into the woods on their rear. Some resistance was made by a part of the enemy's right, which had not been broken. These took another strong position in a wood, and were not dislodged till after some considerable time.

As the main and collected body of the British army continued to advance, they fell in with a strong party of the enemy which had not yet been engaged. These had posted themselves advantageously, in order to cover that wing of the army which had been defeated, and maintained their ground so vigorously, that they could not be driven from it before the night

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was conſiderably advanced, when the darkneſs prevented the conquerors from reaping any benefit from their victory.

General Knyphauſen, at laſt, after having amuſed the enemy all day, made good his paſſage in the evening, when he found that they were already deeply engaged on the right. He carried the entrenchment, and took the battery and cannon which defended Chad's Ford; and at the ſame inſtant, ſome Britiſh troops who had been entangled in the woods, and at laſt made ſhift to penetrate through them, happening to make their appearance, the Americans were thrown into ſuch conſternation, that they fled on all ſides, and were only ſaved by the darkneſs of the night from a total and ruinous defeat.

Though on this occaſion the victory undoubtedly belonged to the Britiſh, it was far from being of that final and deciſive kind which people had been led to expect in the event of a meeting between the Britiſh and American armies, on nearly equal terms, both as to numbers and the nature of the ground. Such had been the caſe at preſent; and though the engagement began at day-break, the night was pretty far advanced before victory was obtained. Some of the American regiments, particularly thoſe of Virginia, and the whole corps of artillery, behaved extremely well; others altogether as ill. Their loſs was never particularly ſpecified in their own accounts of this affair. In a letter to the Congreſs, however, General Waſhington fairly owned his being defeated, though he did not ſeem to think it a matter of any great conſequence. The Gazette account eſtimated their loſs at 300 killed, 600 wounded, and near 400 taken priſoners. They alſo loſt ten ſmall field-pieces, and one howitzer, all of which but one were of braſs. The loſs of the Royal army was by no means in proportion, being ſomething under 500, of which the ſlain did not amount to one-fifth. Several officers, but none above the rank of Captain, were killed, and many more wounded. The Americans retreated firſt to Cheſter, and then to Philadelphia,

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Philadelphia, where General Washington used the utmost diligence to repair his loss. But he did not remain long in this place, having advanced a few miles towards Lancaster, where General Howe took effectual measures for bringing him to a second engagement. A violent fall of rain, however, put an end to this design, so that the American army for the present escaped the danger; and, though every possible manœuvre was used to involve them in similar circumstances, it was constantly found to be impossible; but a corps of 1500 lying in ambush in the woods, were completely surprised by Major General Grey, and 300 of them killed or wounded by the bayonet, no other weapon being made use of. A number of prisoners, with the greater part of their baggage, arms, and stores were taken, while the victors lost only a captain of light infantry and three private men, with about the same number wounded. The remainder of the Americans were saved only by the darkness of the night, and some prudent dispositions made by the commanding officer, General Wayne.

The British army takes possession of Philadelphia, Sept. 26.

General Howe, now finding his antagonist determined not to risk a battle, even for the sake of saving the capital, determined to take possession of it. Having, therefore, nothing to impede his progress, the army advanced to German-Town, and, on the 26th of September, Lord Cornwallis quietly entered Philadelphia. This circumstance was more fortunate than could have been expected. For it was generally apprehended, and had even been spoken of by themselves, as a settled determination to destroy the city, whenever it was found that it could be no longer protected, rather than suffer it to become a place of arms, and the centre of operation for the British fleets and armies. A number of the Quakers, and some of the principal inhabitants of Philadelphia, to the amount of more than twenty, who had been justly considered as attached to the Royal cause, and violently inimical to the present ruling

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powers, had been taken into cuſtody upon the immediate danger of an invaſion. Theſe gentlemen poſitively refuſed to give any ſecurity in writing, or even any verbal atteſtation of attachment, ſubmiſſion, or allegiance to the preſent government, or of not holding a correſpondence with the enemy. They even refuſed to confine themſelves to their dwelling-houſes; and being found inconquerable in their reſolution, were ſent to Staunton in Virginia on the approach of the Royal army.

The navigation of the Delaware cleared, and all the American fortreſſes taken.

Lord Howe was no ſooner acquainted with the ſucceſs of his brother, than he took the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures for conducting the fleet and tranſports round to the Delaware, not only that he might be at hand to concur in the active operations of the campaign, but to ſupply the army with thoſe neceſſaries which he knew muſt have been at that time very much wanted. The voyage was intricate, tedious, and dangerous; and nothing leſs than the ſuperior ſkill and ability which was exerted in the conduct and management of ſo great a number of ſhips, could have prevented the loſs from being conſiderable; but, as the paſſage to Philadelphia was yet impracticable, the fleet drew up and anchored along the ſhore of Pennſylvania from Ready Iſland to Newcaſtle.

The firſt object of the Britiſh troops, after taking poſſeſſion of the city, was to erect batteries for the command of the river; the neceſſity of which meaſure became obvious as ſoon as it was determined upon. The very day after the arrival of the forces, the American frigate Delaware, of 32 guns, anchored within 500 yards of the unfiniſhed batteries; and being ſeconded by another frigate, with ſome ſmaller veſſels, began a heavy fire, both on the batteries and town. In this attack, however, they diſcovered much leſs judgment than might have been expected from their knowledge of the river. On the falling of the tide, the Delaware grounded ſo effectually, that ſhe could not be got off; which being perceived

perceived by the grenadiers, they brought their battalion field-pieces to play upon her with ſo much effect, that ſhe was ſoon obliged to ſtrike her colours. Brigadier General Cleveland immediately profited by the effect of the battalion guns, and directed the whole fire of the batteries to the other veſſels, which were ſoon compelled to retire, with the loſs of a ſchooner, which was driven aſhore. CHAP. XVI. 1777.

In order to impede the navigation of the Delaware in the moſt effectual manner, the Americans had erected works upon a low, flat, and marſhy iſland, or rather bank of mud and ſand, which had been accumulated in the Delaware, near the junction with the Schuylkill, and which retained, from its original, the name of *Mud Iſland*. On the oppoſite ſhore of New Jerſey, they had alſo conſtructed a fort or redoubt, well covered with heavy artillery. In the deep navigable channel, between or under the cover of theſe batteries, they had ſunk ſeveral ranges of machines, to which, from their reſemblance to *chevaux de frize*, they had given the name. They were compoſed of tranſverſe beams firmly united, pointing in various directions, and ſtrongly headed with iron. Theſe were of ſuch a weight and ſtrength, and ſunk in ſuch a depth of water, as rendered them equally difficult to be weighed or cut through, and deſtructive to any veſſel which had the misfortune to ſtrike againſt them. About three miles lower down the river, they had ſunk other ranges of theſe machines, and were conſtructing ſome conſiderable and extenſive works for their protection, which, though not yet finiſhed, were in ſuch forwardneſs as to be provided with artillery, and to command their object at a place on the Jerſey ſide, called Billing's Point. Theſe works and machines were further ſupported by ſeveral gallies, mounting heavy cannon, together with two floating batteries, a number of armed veſſels and ſmall craft of various kinds, with ſome fire-ſhips.

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As no attempt to raiſe theſe machines, or to clear the channel in any manner, could be made, unleſs the command of the ſhores on both ſides was fully obtained, it was reſolved firſt to diſlodge the enemy from Billings-fort. For this purpoſe two regiments were detached under Colonel Stirling; but the Provincials, not daring to wait their arrival, ſpiked up their cannon, ſet fire to the barracks, and abandoned the place with the greateſt precipitation; after which the detachment either deſtroyed or rendered unſerviceable thoſe parts of the works which fronted the river. This ſucceſs was followed by the cutting of a paſſage, narrow and difficult indeed, for ſhips through this lower barrier.

On the return of the detachment from Jerſey, another regiment was ſent to meet them at Cheſter, in order to form a ſufficient eſcort for a large convoy of proviſions to the camp. The army ſtill lay at German-Town, a very long and conſiderable village, about ſix miles from Philadelphia, ſtretching, on both ſides of the road, to the northward, forming a continued ſtreet of two miles in length. The line of encampment croſſed German-Town at right angles about the center extending on the weſt from the town to the Schuylkill. Lord Cornwallis lay at Philadelphia, with four battalions of grenadiers; and the army was further weakened by the three detachments left at Cheſter.

The Provincials attack the Royal army at German Town, but are defeated.

In theſe circumſtances, a deſign was formed by the Provincials, no leſs than that of ſurpriſing the whole Royal army in their camp. For this purpoſe, they quitted their ſtrong poſt at Skippach Creek, about 16 miles diſtance, at ſix in the evening, and marching all night, approached the place of their deſtination about three next morning. They were diſcovered by the patroles, however, ſooner than they intended, and the Britiſh troops immediately ſummoned to arms. They began their attack on the 40th regiment, and the battalion of light infantry which accompanied it. Theſe corps, after a vigo-

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rous reſiſtance, were overpowered by numbers, and purſued into the village. The ardour of the purſuit, however, was ſtopped by Lieutenant-Colonel Muſgrave, who, with ſix companies of the 40th regiment, threw himſelf into a large and ſtrong houſe lying full in the front of the enemy, where he defended himſelf with ſuch bravery, that he could not be diſlodged until further aſſiſtance arrived. The fortune of the day was not now long in being decided. The reſt of the army being aſſembled, and coming quickly to the aſſiſtance of their companions, the enemy were driven out of the town with conſiderable loſs, and the purſuit continued for ſome miles, but to little purpoſe, the Provincials being enabled to carry off all their cannon. The loſs of the Royal army, on this occaſion, amounted to about 535 men, in killed, wounded, and priſoners; that of the Americans was eſtimated in the Gazette at between 200 and 300 killed, 600 wounded, and above 400 priſoners. Among the number of ſlain was General Naſh, and ſeveral officers of inferior rank; 54 other officers were taken priſoners.

According to the account given by General Waſhington, the morning proved extremely foggy, ſo that it was impoſſible for the Americans to purſue the advantages they had originally gained. This fog not only prevented them from obſerving the true number and ſituation of the Britiſh, but occaſioned ſome of their own parties to miſtake each other for the enemy, and fire upon their friends under that miſtake. After all, however, their behaviour on this occaſion ſhewed that the Americans were by no means the contemptible enemy they had been imagined; and the hopes of gaining a deciſive victory over them, even ſuppoſing that they could be brought to a pitched battle upon equal terms, was very much abated. The taking of Philadelphia was not attended with all the advantages that had been expected; the Provincial army ſtill kept the field; and, until the navigation of the Delaware could be cleared, it

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was obvious, that the army could not ſubſiſt in the city one ſingle winter. The troops, therefore, removed from German-Town, and took up their quarters in Philadelphia, as being a more convenient ſituation for reducing Mud Iſland, and for co-operating with the fleet in reſtoring the navigation of the river.

Meaſures being now concerted betwixt the General and Admiral for removing the obſtructions of the river, the former erected batteries along the weſtern ſhore, or Pennſylvania ſide, in hopes of aſſiſting to diſlodge the enemy from Mud Iſland, the difficult acceſs of which required a more tedious operation than had been at firſt judged neceſſary. He alſo detached a ſtrong body of Heſſians acroſs the river, to attack the redoubt at Red Bank, while the ſhips and batteries on the other ſide were to carry on their attacks on Mud Iſland and the armed ſhips of the enemy. Colonel Donop attacked the enemy's intrenchments with great reſolution; and, after a ſharp action, ſucceeded in carrying an extenſive outwork. The defence of the body of the redoubt, however, was much more vigorous than he had expected; the Oct. 22. Colonel himſelf was taken priſoner, after being mortally wounded in the attack. Colonel Mingerode, the next in command, was likewiſe dangerouſly wounded; ſeveral of the beſt officers killed or diſabled; and the Heſſians repulſed, after a deſperate engagement, with great loſs, which, however, was never properly authenticated.

The attack by ſea was not more favourable than by land. The men of war and frigates having made their way, with difficulty, through the lower barrier, took every poſſible diſpoſition that the nature and ſituation of the river would admit, for the deſtruction of the upper works and defences; when they commenced their aſſault at the ſame time that Colonel Donop was engaged at Red Bank. The ſhips, however, could not bring their fire to bear upon the works with any great effect. The extraordinary obſtructions with which the enemy had interrupted the free

free courſe of the river, had even affected its bed, and made ſome alteration in its known and ordinary channel. Thus the Auguſta man of war and Merlin ſloop were grounded ſo faſt at ſome diſtance from the *chevaux de frize*, that they could not be got off. In this ſituation, though the ſkill and courage of the officers and crews of the ſeveral veſſels prevented the effect of four fire-ſhips which the enemy had ſent down to deſtroy the Auguſta, ſhe unfortunately took fire during the engagement, which laid the others under a neceſſity of retiring with the utmoſt expedition, to get beyond the reach of the exploſion. In theſe urgent circumſtances, the Merlin was alſo deſtroyed, to prevent her from falling into the hands of the enemy. The greater part of the officers and crew of the Auguſta were ſaved, though no inconſiderable number unhappily periſhed. CHAP. XVI. 1777.

The Britiſh commanders were not at all diſpirited by this ill ſucceſs. Freſh preparations were made, and every meaſure adopted that could tend to inſure ſucceſs; while the enemy were no leſs active on their part, to ſtrengthen their works. The officers and ſeamen of the fleet were inceſſantly employed in conveying heavy artillery, proviſions, and ſtores up the river, by a difficult channel on the weſt, to a ſmall moraſſy iſland, where they erected batteries, which greatly annoyed the enemy's works on Mud-Iſland. By the 15th of November, every thing was prepared for an attack: the Iſis and Somerſet men of war paſſed up the eaſt channel, in order to attack the enemy's works in front; ſeveral frigates drew up againſt a fort newly erected on the Jerſey ſide, near Manto Creek, which was ſo ſituated as to flank the men of war; and two armed veſſels, mounted with 24 pounders, made their way through a narrow channel at the back of Hogg Iſland, poſting themſelves in ſuch a manner as to enfilade the principal works on Mud Iſland. A heavy fire now commenced on both ſides; but the prodigious force with which the Provincials were every where attacked, Nov. 15.

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ed, and the judicious diſpoſitions which had been made, ſo totally overpowered them, that they were conſtrained to abandon the place that very night, leaving their artillery and ſome ſtores behind them. Red Bank was abandoned next day, with conſiderable loſs of artillery and military ſtores.

Thus the ſhipping of the enemy were left entirely deſtitute of protection, and threatened with inſtant deſtruction. Several gallies, and armed veſſels, however, taking the advantages of a dark night, paſſed the batteries at Philadelphia, and eſcaped to places of ſecurity farther up; but 17 others, which could not ſet fail at that time, were ſet on fire, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Britiſh. The campaign on the Delaware concluded with opening a channel large enough for the paſſage of tranſports and ſmall veſſels, laden with proviſions, up to Philadelphia; the advanced ſeaſon of the year admitting of no farther progreſs being made in the clearing of the river.

Concluſion of the campaign on the Delaware.

General Waſhington, in the mean time, having received a reinforcement of 4000 men from the northern army, advanced within 14 miles of Philadelphia, where he encamped in a very ſtrong ſituation at a place called *White Marſh*. The Britiſh General conceiving, from the diſpoſition of his army, that he might perhaps incline to venture an engage-

Dec. 4. ment, marched out of Philadelphia on the 4th of December, at night, and next morning took poſt in front of the right wing of the enemy. Beſides the hopes of finding the American General inclined to riſk a battle, it was not without reaſon ſuppoſed that ſome part of his camp might be found liable to an attack. For this purpoſe, he explored the right wing with all poſſible accuracy; but finding no

Dec. 7. opening there, he changed his ground on the 7th, and explored the left with equal attention. Every part, however, was found equally inacceſſible; and, though ſeveral ſkirmiſhes enſued, and the Royal army advanced within a mile of the enemy's lines, nothing

thing could provoke or entice him to an engagement. General Howe, therefore, after remaining three days conſtantly in their neighbourhood, his officers and ſoldiers ſuffering the moſt grievous ſeverities of weather, from the want of tents, and other field equipage, gave up the thoughts of any further attempt for the ſeaſon. On the 8th of December, therefore, he began his march for Philadelphia, in full view of the enemy, without being purſued, or in the leaſt incommoded on his return. General Waſhington, in the mean time, removed his camp from White Marſh to Valley Forge on the Schuylkill, about 15 or 16 miles from Philadelphia, in a very ſtrong and ſecure ſituation, where he hutted it for the winter.

Dec. 8.

General Burgoyne undergoes great difficulties.

While the ſouthern army, under General Howe, was thus gaining equivocal and unimportant victories, that commanded by General Burgoyne, in the north, had experienced the moſt mortifying conſequences of misfortune and defeat; the more grievous, without doubt, in proportion to the expectations that had been raiſed of their ſucceſs, and the atchievements they had already accompliſhed. We left this commander at Skeneſborough, in the full career of victory, his enemies flying every where before him, or rather already fled and diſperſed, ſo that they could not be found. He continued for ſome days with the army, partly at Skeneſborough, and partly in the adjacent country. They were under the neceſſity of waiting the arrival of tents, baggage, and proviſions. No labour was ſpared in opening roads, by the way of Fort-Anne, for advancing againſt the enemy. Equal induſtry was uſed in clearing the Wood Creek from fallen trees, ſunk ſtones, and other impediments, thrown in the way by the enemy, in order to open a paſſage for batteaux, the conveyance of artillery, ſtores, proviſions, and camp-equipage. Nor was leſs diligence uſed at Ticonderoga, in the carrying of gun-boats, proviſion-veſſels, and batteaux, over land into Lake George. The direct diſtance from Fort Anne, where the batteaux navigation

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navigation ended, or even from Skeneſborough to Fort Edward, was no more than what in this country would be termed a moderate ride for exerciſe; yet ſuch is the ſavage ſtate of that country, and ſuch were the difficulties thrown in the way by the enemy, that the progreſs of the army thither was rendered very tedious and laborious; ſcarcely, indeed, exceeding one mile *per* day; a circumſtance, to after ages, and in a cultivated ſtate of the country, perhaps hardly credible. Almoſt every part of the paſſage was a wilderneſs. The enemy had cut large trees on both ſides of the road, in ſuch a manner as to fall acroſs and lengthways, with their branches interwoven; ſo that the troops had ſeveral layers of theſe frequently to remove, in places where they could not poſſibly take another direction. The face of the country was likewiſe ſo broken with creeks and marſhes, that, in this ſhort ſpace, they had no fewer than 40 bridges to conſtruct, beſides others to repair; one of which was of log-work, two miles in length.

Miſerable ſituation of the American troops.

All theſe difficulties were chearfully encountered and overcome by the army, whoſe high ſpirits rendered them at preſent ſuperior to every thing. The enemy, beſides, were too much diſpirited and weak to make any attempt for ſome time. General Schuyler, indeed, was endeavouring to collect the militia at Fort-Edward, and had been joined by the wretched fugitives under St Clair. Theſe, having taken a circuitous march through the woods, ſuffered extreme miſery from the badneſs of the weather, their want of covering, proviſions, and every neceſſary. Others had alſo arrived, but ſo totally broken down, that they were almoſt as deſtitute of vigour and ſpirit, as of arms and implements of war. General Burgoyne, therefore, was allowed to complete the great works we have juſt mentioned, in quiet; excepting only a few ſlight ſkirmiſhes with flying parties of the enemy, in which they were conſtantly repulſed with loſs.

At

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They abandon Fort Edward.

At the approach of the Royal army to Fort Edward, the ſhew of an army which General Schuyler had been able to collect, abandoned the place, and retired towards Saratoga. The joy of the Britiſh troops on their arrival at Hudſon's River, which they imagined was to terminate all their hardſhips, was inexpreſſible. As the enemy, by previouſly abandoning Fort George, and burning their veſſels, had left the lake entirely open, a great embarkation of proviſions, ſtores, and neceſſaries, had arrived at that poſt from Ticonderoga; ſo that the army was fully and immediately employed in tranſporting thoſe articles, with artillery, batteaux, and ſuch other matters as were judged neceſſary for the proſecution of their operations from Lake George to Hudſon's River. The general, indeed, might have another road towards that river, by which moſt of the difficulties he had now encountered would have been avoided. By returning down the South River to Ticonderoga, he might again have embarked the army on Lake George, and proceeded to that fort which lies at its head, from which it takes its name, and from whence there is a waggon road to Fort Edward. To this, however, it was objected, that a retrogade motion in the height of victory, would tend greatly to abate that panic with which the enemy were confounded and overwhelmed, and that this muſt even affect the ardour of the troops themſelves, not to mention the delay which muſt be occaſioned by the reſiſtance expected at Fort George. How far conſiderations of this kind ought to have prevailed with a general to waſte the ſtrength of his troops by encountering natural difficulties almoſt inſurmountable, and which, when ſurmounted, could contribute nothing towards the ſucceſs of their cauſe, we muſt leave to military men to determine.

Royal army advances to Fort Edward.

It was not till the end of July, that the Britiſh commander reached Fort Edward. The Americans, though ſtill overwhelmed with terror and diſmay, ſhewed no inclination to ſubmit. The terror of the ſavages ſeemed to inſpire them with that deſperate

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reſolution of which the human heart is capable, and which renders conqueſt by any power whatever abſolutely impoſſible. Deſtruction in ſuch caſes may be indeed effected; but the example of the ancient town of Numantia ſhews, that ſubmiſſion will be expected in vain, let the force employed be what it will. The New England provinces, who were moſt threatened, took every method to avoid the impending danger. General Waſhington, who, as we have already ſeen, was empowered by Congreſs to appoint new commanders to the northern army, immediately diſpatched General Arnold, with a train of artillery, to the aſſiſtance of Schuyler. By him the army, which now was enabled to make ſome appearance of force, was drawn back from Saratoga to a place called Stillwater, nearly in the middle between that and the mouth of Mohawk river, where it falls into the Hudſon's. This movement was undertaken in order to check the progreſs of Colonel St Leger, who was now advancing on the Mohawk river. Arnold's forces were greatly increaſed by the outrages of the ſavages in the Royal army, whom no power was ſufficient to reſtrain from giving dreadful inſtances of their ſanguinary diſpoſition, and involving in one common deſtruction, both friends and foes to the Royal cauſe. Among the many inſtances of this nature, the fate of a young lady, Miſs M'Rae, was particularly remarkable, and occaſioned the moſt violent animoſity againſt the Royal army. The father of this unhappy young woman was ſaid to have been deeply intereſted in the Britiſh cauſe. She herſelf was to have been married, that very day on which ſhe was killed, to an officer in General Burgoyne's army, and was murdered by two Indians, while on her way to meet her lover. A deed ſo atrocious could not fail to call forth the utmoſt indignation of every inhabitant of America. When a correſpondence betwixt the Britiſh and American generals took place, the former was reproached with this murder. The excuſe he made was, that the two Indian chiefs, who were ſent for

Cruelties of the Indians prejudicial to the Royal cauſe.

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for her protection, not to do violence to her perſon, having diſputed who ſhould be her guard, one of them, from whoſe hands ſhe was ſnatched, in a fit of ſavage paſſion, killed her. It is, however, remarkable, that the murderer was not put to death; a circumſtance which at any rate ſhewed theſe allies, that they were either too powerful, or their ſervices too much valued, to run the riſk of giving them offence, let their behaviour be what it would.

To the accounts of theſe cruelties, however, publiſhed throughout America, we may with great probability aſcribe the diſaſters that followed. Every occaſion was taken to exaſperate the people, and blacken the Royal party and army. The cruelties of the barbarians were not more execrated than the cauſe in which they were employed. While they abhorred and deteſted that army which condeſcended to accept of ſuch allies, they loudly condemned and reprobated the government which could call them forth in a civil conteſt, thereby endeavouring, as they ſaid, not to ſubdue, but exterminate, a people whom they affected to conſider, and attempted to reclaim as ſubjects. The inhabitants of the open country had now no means of ſecurity left but by betaking themſelves to arms. An army was therefore inſtantly poured forth by the woods, mountains, and marſhes, which in this place were thickly ſown with plantations and villages, and the deſtruction of their regular army was quickly followed by the appearance of one much more numerous and formidable.

The Americans highly exaſperated, aſſemble in great numbers.

The firſt military operation on the part of the Royal army, was the ſiege of Fort Stanwix by Colonel St Leger. This was no ſooner begun, than General Burgoyne exerted his utmoſt endeavours to effect a junction with him by making a rapid movement forwards; the good effects of which were too obvious to admit of any diſpute. The difficulties, however, which he had now to encounter, were by far too great to be overcome by human art or induſtry.

Fort Stanwix unſucceſsfully beſieged.

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ſtry. From the 30th of July to the 15th of Auguſt the army was continually employed in bringing forward batteaux, proviſions, and ammunition from Fort George, to the firſt navigable port of Hudſon's river, a diſtance of about 18 miles. In this ſervice the toil was exceſſive, and the ſucceſs in no degree equivalent to the expence of labour and time. The roads in ſome parts were ſteep, and in others required great repairs. One third of the horſes were ſcarce arrived from Canada that had been contracted for, and the induſtry of the general had been able to collect no more than 50 team of oxen, in all the country through which he had marched. Theſe difficulties were increaſed by exceeding heavy rains, and ſuch effect had the various impediments on the main purpoſe of the general, the eſtabliſhment of a magazine to enable him to carry on the operations of the campaign, that after the utmoſt exertions for fifteen days, there was not above four days proviſions in ſtore, nor above ten batteaux in Hudſon's river.

Colonels Baum and Breyman defeated at Bennington.

In ſuch circumſtances, it being evidently impoſſible to procure ſufficient ſupplies of proviſions by the way of Fort George, the Britiſh commander determined to ſupply his own magazines at the expence of thoſe of the enemy. Having received information, therefore, that a large quantity of ſtores were laid up at Bennington, a place about 20 miles to the eaſtward of Hudſon's river, he detached Colonel Baum, a German officer, with a ſelect body of troops, to ſurprize the place. His force conſiſted of about 500 regular troops, 100 Indians, with two light pieces of artillery. To facilitate their operation, and to be ready to take advantage of the ſucceſs of this detachment, the army moved up the eaſt ſhore of Hudſon's river, where it encamped nearly oppoſite to Saratoga, having at the ſame time thrown a bridge of rafts over, by which the army paſſed to that place. At the ſame time Lieutenant Colonel Breyman's corps was poſted at a place called Batten Kill, with a view to ſupport Baum, if neceſſary. The latter

latter at first met with some appearance of success, falling in with a party of the enemy escorting some cattle and provisions, both of which he took with little difficulty, and sent back to the camp. His future operations, however, were now retarded by the same fatal obstacles which had impeded those of the whole army, *viz.* the want of horses and carriages, and the badness of the roads, so that the enemy had time to prepare for his reception. On his arrival at Bennington, he found the place by far too strong to be attempted by his party with any probability of success; for which reason he fortified himself as well as he could in a post about four miles from Bennington, dispatching at the same time an account of his situation to General Burgoyne. On the receipt of this news, Colonel Breyman was dispatched from Batten-Kill with his reinforcement; but his difficulties in advancing were so great, by reason of a continual rain, that it took up from eight in the morning on the 15th, to four in the afternoon of the 17th of August, before he could arrive at Bennington, though only 24 miles distant. CHAP. XVI. 1777.

In the mean time, however, the American commander, (a General Starke) justly suspecting that Colonel Baum would speedily be reinforced, determined not to wait the arrival of any more enemies. On the morning of the 16th, therefore, while Breyman was still struggling with the difficulties of his march, he quitted his entrenchments at Bennington, and attacked the post which Colonel Baum had fortified, and rendered as defensible as time and the nature of the place would admit. The loyal provincials who were along with him, were so eager to realize their hopes, that when the enemy were surrounding his post on all sides, they for some time persuaded him, that they were bodies of friends coming to his assistance. The colonel soon discovered their error, and made a brave defence; but his works being at last carried on all sides, and his two pieces of cannon taken, most of the Indians, together Aug. 16.

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with the Provincials, Canadians, and Britiſh markſmen, made their eſcape into the woods. The German dragoons ſtill kept together; and when their ammunition was totally expended, they were led on to the charge by their brave commander with their ſwords. In this attack the colonel himſelf was mortally wounded and taken priſoner; his men were all either killed or taken.

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Breyman, who had the hard fortune not to receive the ſmalleſt intelligence of this engagement, arrived near the place of action about four in the afternoon, where, inſtead of meeting with his friends, he found his detachment attacked on all ſides by the enemy. Notwithſtanding the ſevere fatigue they had undergone, his troops behaved with great vigour and reſolution, driving the Americans in the beginning from two or three different hills on which they were poſted. At length, however, they were overpowered; and their ammunition being expended, though they had brought out 40 rounds *per* man, they were obliged to abandon two other pieces of cannon they had brought along with them, and retreat in the beſt manner they could, to which indeed the lateneſs and darkneſs of the evening was extremely favourable. The loſs of men in theſe two engagements was not leſs than 500 or 600, the greater part of whom were taken priſoners.

American militia defeated.

This misfortune at Bennington decided the fate of the Royal army, which was now obliged to remain quiet in the camp, nearly oppoſite to Saratoga, where the General employed himſelf in the moſt unremitting induſtry and perſeverance in bringing forward ſtores and proviſions from Fort George. The reputation of the Britiſh arms, however, was ſoon retrieved by an exploit of the corps under St Leger. That commander having received intelligence that General Harkimer, with 800 or 900 of the militia of Tryon County, was marching to the relief of the fort, eſcorting at the ſame time a large quantity of proviſions, diſpatched Sir John Johnſon with ſome regulars,

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regulars, the whole, or part of his own regiment, and all the Indians, to intercept them. General Harkimer being totally ignorant of every military duty, or ſtratagem of war, ſuffered his men to plunge blindly into an ambuſcade prepared for them, the conſequence of which was, that two-thirds of them were either killed or taken. Dreadful deſtruction was on this occaſion made by the Indians with their ſpears and hatchets, while the helliſh nature of theſe ſavages manifeſted itſelf by the butchery of all the priſoners they took, in revenge of their own loſs, which conſiſted of 33 warriors killed and 29 wounded.

On this trifling advantage the Royal party exulted as uſual, and plumed themſelves on the thought of having no more diſturbance from the militia of theſe parts. St Leger ſent gaſconading meſſages to the Governor of Fort Stanwix, with a view to intimidate him into a ſurrender. In this, however, he was diſappointed. The Governor, Colonel Ganſwart, behaved with great firmneſs. He replied, that having been entruſted with the charge of that garriſon by the United States, he would defend the truſt committed to his charge at every hazard, and to the utmoſt extremity. He had, indeed, already put the Britiſh ſtrength to a trial. On the very day, and probably during the time of the late engagement, the provincial troops in the fort having received intelligence of the approach of their friends, made a vigorous ſally under Colonel Willet, the ſecond in command. This officer executed his deſign with great ſpirit and bravery. After doing conſiderable miſchief in the camp, and bringing off ſome ſtandards, a conſiderable quantity of ſpoil, conſiſting of ſome articles greatly wanted in the fort, and a few priſoners, he returned with little or no loſs to his own party. He afterwards undertook, in company with another officer, a much more perilous expedition. They paſſed by night through the beſiegers works, and, in contempt of the danger and cruelty of the ſavages, made

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their way through pathleſs woods and moraſſes, in order to raiſe the country, and bring relief to the fort. In ſhort, after all his endeavours, the Britiſh commander found it impoſſible to make any conſiderable progreſs in the reduction of the place. His artillery was deficient, being too light to make any conſiderable impreſſion, ſo that he was obliged to bring his approaches as near as poſſible, in order to produce any effect. The Indians, chagrined at their late loſſes, continued ſullen and intractable. They were beſides enraged at having received no plunder, the chief incentive to all their wars, and the proſpect of getting any ſeemed to grow every day more faint. Soon after a report was ſpread among them, that Arnold, now raiſed by the Congreſs to the rank of General, was coming to the relief of the fort with 1000 men. St Leger then promiſed to lead them on himſelf, to bring all his beſt troops into action, and by carrying their leaders to mark out a field of battle, and flattering them by conſultations on his intended plans of operation, endeavoured to ſoothe them into good humour. But while he employed himſelf in this manner, other intelligence arrived, which firſt doubled and then trebled the numbers of the enemy, with the addition, that General Burgoyne's army had been entirely defeated and cut to pieces. On this they loſt all patience, and while the Britiſh commander ſtill endeavoured to ſoothe them by calling a council of their chiefs, part of them decamped, and the remainder threatened to abandon him if he did not inſtantly retreat.

The Indians deſert from Colonel St Leger.

St Leger now finding it impoſſible to deal with theſe intractable allies, was obliged to make a precipitate retreat, or rather flight, leaving moſt of the artillery and ſtores to fall into the hands of the garriſon. From his own account it appears, that he was as apprehenſive of danger from the fury of the ſavages as he could be from that of his American enemies; and, indeed, not without reaſon, ſince the boats belonging to the army were not only plundered by them, but

but the officers robbed of their baggage, and many of the men murdered, who through fatigue or weakneſs had not been able to keep up with the reſt. CHAP. XVI. 1777.

In the mean time, General Arnold was actually advancing up the Mohawk river with 2000 men; and for the greater expedition had quitted the main body, and arrived by forced marches through the woods, with a detachment of 900, two days after the ſiege had been raiſed; ſo that it appeared by the event, that the diſcontents and deſertion of the Indians had ſaved them from a moſt ſevere chaſtiſement, if not abſolute deſtruction. The ſpirits of the Americans were now raiſed to ſuch a degree, that General Burgoyne and his army, once ſo much the objects of terror, became not only contemptible, but their fate was publicly prognoſticated, and means taken to cut off their retreat. For this purpoſe, the militia from the upper parts of New Hampſhire, and the head of Connecticut, undertook an expedition againſt the forts of Ticonderoga, Mount Independence, and the poſts on Lake George. The conduct of it was committed to General Lincoln, and the immediate execution to Colonels Brown, Johnſton, and Woodbury, with detatchments of about 500 men each. They carried on their operations with ſuch ſecrecy and addreſs, that by the 17th of September they had effectually ſurpriſed all the out-poſts between the landing place at the north end of Lake George and the body of the fortreſs of Ticonderoga. Mount Defiance, Mount Hope, the French lines, and a blockhouſe, with 200 batteaux, an armed ſloop, and ſeveral gunboats, were almoſt inſtantly taken. Four companies of foot, with nearly an equal number of Canadians, and many of the officers and crews of the veſſels, were made priſoners; at the ſame time they ſet at liberty a number of their own people, who had been confined in ſome of theſe works. Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, they brought the cannon out of the armed veſſels they had taken, and after repeatedly ſummoning Governor Powell who commanded in Ti-

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conderoga,

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conderoga, they for four days attacked the fort and Mount Independence; until, by their continual repulſes, they found themſelves totally unequal to the taſk, and at laſt abandoned the deſign.

General Burgoyne purſued and haraſſed by the enemy.

All this time the Britiſh Commander was obliged to remain inactive in his camp. A ſwell of the water, occaſioned by great rains, carried away his bridge of rafts, on which he threw over another of boats; and having at length procured about 30 days proviſions, with other neceſſary ſtores, he took a reſolution of paſſing Hudſon's River with the army. This deſign

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was carried into execution towards the middle of September, when he encamped on the heights and in the plain of Saratoga, the enemy then being in the neighbourhood of Still Water. By this time, however, it appears, that he himſelf had little hopes of being able either to advance or retreat. In his letter to the American Miniſter, he ſaid, that as a duty of juſtice he took upon himſelf the meaſure of paſſing Hudſon's River, in order to force a paſſage to Albany. He did not think himſelf authoriſed to call any men into council, when the peremptory tenor of his orders, and the ſeaſon of the year, admitted of no alternative. In a ſubſequent part of the ſame letter he reaſoned in the following manner, when the unavoidable deſtruction of his army ſeemed to preſent itſelf to his mind.—"The expedition I commanded," ſays he, "was evidently meant to be hazarded. Circumſtances might require it ſhould be devoted. A critical junction of Mr Gates's force with Mr Waſhington, might poſſibly decide the fate of the war; the failure of my junction with Sir Harry Clinton, or the loſs of my retreat to Canada, could only be a partial misfortune."

As the army advanced along the river towards the enemy, they found the country very impracticable, being covered with thick woods, and a continual repair of bridges neceſſary. Being at length arrived in the front of the enemy, ſome woods only of no great extent intervening, the general put himſelf at the head

head of the Britiſh line which covered the right wing. That wing was covered by General Fraſer and Colonel Breyman, with the grenadiers and light infantry of the army, who kept along ſome high grounds which commanded its right flank, being themſelves covered by the Indians, Provincials, and Canadians in the front and flanks. The left wing and artillery, under Generals Reideſel and Philips, kept along the great road and meadows by the river ſide. They now began to encounter ſuch enemies as they had never before experienced in America, and ſuch as they had been too apt to imagine it could not produce. The Provincials being unable, from the nature of the country, to perceive the different combinations of the march, iſſued from their camp in great force, with a deſign of turning the right wing, and flanking the Britiſh line. But, finding themſelves diſappointed in their deſign by the ſtrong poſition of General Fraſer, they now began a counter-march, and being favoured by the ſame peculiarity of the country, they made a furious attack on the left. Arnold led them on, and fought with the greateſt intrepidity, diſtinguiſhing himſelf in a very eminent manner. The Britiſh, though ſurpriſed at the boldneſs and obſtinacy of the Americans, behaved with their uſual valour, but were unable to gain their wonted ſuperiority; ſo that after a very warm engagement of ſeveral hours, they were barely enabled to keep the field, and the Americans only returned to their camp on acconnt of the approach of darkneſs. Sep. 19.

In this conflict many brave men periſhed on the Britiſh ſide; and it was no great comfort that the Americans had loſt a greater number. The army lay all night on their arms on the field of battle, and in the morning took poſſeſſion of a poſt nearly within cannon-ſhot of the enemy's camp, fortifying their right wing, and extending their left in ſuch a manner as to cover the meadows through which the river runs, and where their batteaux and hoſpitals were placed. The enemy's camp was every where either

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inacceſſible or impregnable. The Indians now, finding the hopes of plunder entirely gone, diſliking the hard and dangerous ſervice in which they were employed, and having received ſome checks on account of the murder of Miſs M'Rae, and ſome other inhumanities, deſerted at once, and that at a time when their ſervice was moſt required, and would have been particularly uſeful. A great deſertion alſo prevailed among the Canadians and loyal Americans; nor does it appear, that any confidence was or could now be placed in thoſe who remained. The general had, from the beginning, a ſtrong hope of being powerfully ſuccoured, if ſuch aſſiſtance ſhould be required, or at leaſt of being met at Albany by a large detachment from the army at New York. He now received a letter from Sir Henry Clinton, informing him of his intention of making a diverſion on the North River, by attacking Fort Montgomery, and ſome others newly erected in the Highlands, in order to guard the paſſage up the river to Albany. This diverſion indeed fell far ſhort of the aid he had expected; but it gave conſiderable hopes that General Gates might thus be obliged to divide his army. He therefore ſent back the meſſenger, afterwards diſpatching two officers in diſguiſe, and other perſons in whom he could confide, by different routes, to acquaint Clinton with his exact ſituation, and to preſs him to the immediate accompliſhment of his purpoſe; and to inform him, that he was enabled in point of proviſion, and fixed in his determination to hold his preſent poſition, in hopes of favourable events, till the 12th of October.

In the mean time, every method was uſed to fortify the camp. Strong redoubts were erected for the protection of the magazines and hoſpitals, not only to guard againſt any ſudden attack, but for their ſecurity in any future movement which the army might make in order to turn the enemy's flank. The ſtricteſt watch on the motions of the enemy, and attention on every quarter to their own ſecurity, became eve-

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ry day more indiſpenſible, as the army under Gene- CHAP. XVI.
ral Gates continually encreaſed by the acceſſion of freſh bodies of militia. 1777.

In the beginning of October, General Burgoyne thought it expedient, from the uncertainty of his ſituation, to leſſen the ſoldiers rations of proviſions; a meaſure, which, however diſagreeable to an army, was now extremely neceſſary. Things continued in this ſituation until the 7th of October, when there being no appearance or intelligence of the expected co-operation, and the time limited for the ſtay of the army in its preſent camp within four or five days of being expired, it was judged adviſable to make a movement to the enemy's left, not only to diſcover whether there were any means of forcing a paſſage, ſhould it be neceſſary to advance, or of diſlodging them for the convenience of retreat, but alſo to cover a forage of the army, which was exceedingly diſtreſſed by the preſent ſcarcity.

A detachment of 1500 regular troops, with two twelve pounders, two howitzers, and ſix ſix-pounders, were ordered to move, being commanded by the General in perſon, who was ſeconded by Majors General Philips and Reideſel, with Brigadier General Frazer. No equal number of men was ever better commanded, and it would have been difficult to have matched the men with any equal number. The guard of the camp upon the high grounds was committed to the Brigadiers General Hamilton and Spight; that of the redoubts, and the plain near the river, to Brigadier Goll. The force of the enemy immediately in front of the lines, was ſo much ſuperior, that it was not thought ſafe to augment the detachment beyond the number we have ſtated.

The troops were formed within three quarters of a mile of the enemy's left, and the irregulars were puſhed on through bye-ways, to appear as a check on their rear. But the further operations of the detachment were prevented by a very ſudden and moſt rapid

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rapid attack of the enemy upon the Britiſh grenadiers, who were poſted to ſupport the left wing of the line. Major Ackland, at the head of the grenadiers, ſuſtained this fierce attack with great reſolution; but the numbers of the enemy enabling them, in a few minutes, to extend the attack along the whole front line of the Germans, who were poſted immediately on the right of the grenadiers, it became impracticable to move any part of that body for the purpoſe of forming a ſecond line to ſupport the flank, where the great weight of the fire fell. The right was ſtill unengaged; but it was ſoon perceived that the enemy were marching a ſtrong body round their flank, in order to cut off their retreat. To oppoſe this bold and dangerous attempt, the light infantry, with a part of the 24th regiment, who were joined with them at that poſt, were thrown into a ſecond line, in order to cover the retreat of the troops into the camp. In the mean time, however, the enemy puſhed a freſh and ſtrong reinforcement to decide the action on the left, which being totally overpowered by ſo great a ſuperiority, was compelled to give way; upon which the light infantry and 24th regiment were obliged, by a very quick movement, to endeavour to ſave that wing from being totally routed. In this movement, the brave Brigadier General Frazer was mortally wounded; the ſituation of the detachment became exceedingly critical; and the danger to which the lines were expoſed, ſtill more alarming and ſerious. Philips and Reideſel were ordered to cover the retreat, and thoſe troops which were neareſt, or moſt diſengaged, returned as faſt as they could for their defence. They were obliged, however, to abandon ſix pieces of cannon, moſt of the artillery men being killed, and the horſes entirely deſtroyed.

The troops in general retreated in good order, though very hard preſſed; but they had ſcarcely entered their camp when the Americans ſtormed with great

great fury, rushing through a severe fire of grape-shot and small arms with the most desperate valour. Arnold led on the attack with his usual impetuosity, but met with a brave resistance from the light infantry under Lord Balcarras, who had been ordered to defend that part of the line. The engagement continued with the utmost obstinacy on both sides, until Arnold was severely wounded, and forced to retire. His party, though somewhat disheartened by this accident, continued the attack for sometime longer, but, after many brave efforts, were finally repulsed. In another quarter, where the Germans were posted, the Americans carried the entrenchments sword in hand, totally routing the enemy with the loss of their baggage, tents, and artillery; nor could the post afterwards be regained, though General Burgoyne sent orders for that purpose. In this attack, Colonel Breyman, who commanded the Germans, was killed, with a great number of his men. Several officers of distinction, besides Brigadier-General Frazer, were also killed and taken; though the lists of killed, wounded, and prisoners sent to this country were avowedly imperfect. CHAP. XVI. 1777.

By means of the advantages the Americans had gained in this engagement, a dangerous opening was now made on the right flank and rear of the Royal army, which rendered a change of position absolutely necessary to prevent a total destruction. This was accordingly executed that very night with the greatest silence, order, and intrepidity; the whole army moving to the heights adjacent, where they could no longer be attacked with advantage.

Next day, October 8th, being sensible that nothing less than a successful and decisive action could relieve him from his difficulties, General Burgoyne continued repeatedly to offer battle to the enemy, though without success; as they were now preparing to surround him in such a manner as should preclude every possibility of escape. For this purpose, Oct. 8.

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a ſtrong body was puſhed forward to turn the right flank of the Royal army, which, if once accompliſhed, would have completely incloſed it on every ſide. To prevent this diſaſter, an immediate retreat to Saratoga was determined, and executed that very night without loſs. The hoſpital with the ſick and wounded now fell into the hands of the enemy, but they were treated with great humanity by the victors; and indeed General Gates behaved on all occaſions to thoſe whom the fortune of war put in his power, with ſuch tenderneſs and humanity as did honour to his character.

On the arrival of the troops at Saratoga in the morning of October 10th, they found a body of the enemy already arrived, and throwing up entrenchments on the heights before them. Theſe retired on their approach over a ford in Hudſon's River, and joined a greater force which had been ſtationed to prevent the paſſage of the Royal army. Every hope, therefore, was now cut off, except that of making a retreat to Fort George. For this purpoſe, a detachment of artificers, under a ſtrong eſcort, was ſent to repair the bridges, and open the road to Fort Edward. They had not, however, been long departed from the camp, when the ſudden appearance of the enemy in great force obliged the General to recal the eſcort ſent along with them; and ſoon after, on a very ſlight attack of a ſmall party of the enemy, the Provincial guard abandoned their poſt, and left the workmen to ſhift for themſelves, who thereupon were obliged to deſiſt from their operations, having only begun to repair the firſt bridge.

The enemy now proceeded to execute the laſt operation neceſſary for the complete reduction of the Britiſh army, *viz.* the cutting off their only reſource for proviſions, which had hitherto been brought to the camp by Hudſon's River. The farther ſhore of the river was therefore lined with ſtrong detachments of the enemy, and the batteaux, loaded with proviſions

ſions and neceſſaries, were of conſequence expoſed to continual attacks, notwithſtanding all the care that could be taken. Many of them fell into the hands of the enemy, and a number of men were loſt in the ſkirmiſhes fought on theſe occaſions. At laſt it was found, that the proviſions could only be preſerved by landing and bringing them up the hill to the camp; and this could not be accompliſhed without the utmoſt difficulty and danger.

The army ſurrounded, and obliged to capitulate.

In theſe deplorable circumſtances, councils of war were held, in order to conſider of the poſſibility of a retreat. The only meaſure that carried even the appearance of poſſibility was to gain Fort Edward by a night march, the troops carrying their proviſions on their backs. The impoſſibility of repairing the roads and bridges, and of conveying, in their preſent ſituation, the artillery and carriages, were too evident to admit of a queſtion, and it was propoſed to force the fords at or near Fort Edward.

But whilſt preparations were making for carrying into execution this forlorn and deſperate reſolve, news were brought that the enemy had already taken meaſures for preventing every poſſibility of eſcape, and that even this laſt reſource was cut off. Beſides, being ſtrongly entrenched, oppoſite to the fords which the Britiſh intended to paſs, they had a camp well guarded with artillery on the high grounds between Fort Edward and Fort George; whilſt their parties were every where ſpread over the oppoſite ſhore of the river, to watch or intercept the motions of the army; and, on their own, the enemy's poſts were ſo cloſe, that they could ſcarcely make the ſmalleſt movement without diſcovery. In this ſituation they remained for ſome time, lying conſtantly on their arms, whilſt a continued cannonade pervaded all the camp, and even rifle and grape ſhot fell in every part of the lines. Their numbers were now reduced to 3500 effective fighting men, of which ſcarce 2000 were Britiſh; ſo much had the army been reduced by the deſertion of the Canadians, and the many heavy loſ-

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ſes they had ſuſtained in an almoſt continual ſeries of action for two months paſt. Some hope, however, they ſtill entertained of being relieved by their friends from New York; or, by an attack from the enemy, to have an opportunity of dying gallantly, or extricating themſelves with honour. Neither of theſe deſirable events, however, took place; the enemy ſhewed now no diſpoſition to attack, though their force continually increaſed by the pouring in of ſuch numbers of militia, as muſt have rendered them ſuperior to a much greater force than the poor remains to which the Britiſh army was now reduced. In this deplorable extremity, therefore, General Burgoyne cauſed an exact account to be taken, on the evening

Oct. 13. of the 13th of October, of the whole ſtock of proviſions then remaining in the camp, which being found ſufficient for no more than three days, it became abſolutely neceſſary to capitulate with the enemy. Before this was done, however, a council was called, to which the General invited, beſides the ſuperior officers, all thoſe who commanded corps or diviſions. The reſult was, an unanimous determination to enter into a convention with the American General. The treaty was then quickly concluded; no difficulty occurring throughout the whole, excepting what was occaſioned by a point of military honour, and which was yielded by General Gates. The behaviour of this gentleman was ſuch as did him honour. The terms granted were moderate; the army was allowed to march out with all the honours of war, and its camp artillery, to a certain place, where they were to depoſit their arms. They were to be allowed a free paſſage from Boſton to Europe, on condition of their not ſerving again in North America during the war. The army were not to be ſeparated, particularly the men from the officers; roll calling, and other duties of regularity to be admitted; the officers on parole to be allowed to wear their ſide arms; all private property to be held ſacred, and the public delivered upon honour; no baggage

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to be ſearched or moleſted; all perſons, of whatever country, appertaining to, or following the camp, to be fully comprehended in the capitulation; and the Canadians to be returned to their own country, liable to its conditions. All theſe, as far as General Gates was or could be concerned, were executed with the utmoſt punctuality. Nay, ſo much attention was paid to the nice delicacy of military honour, that when the Britiſh ſoldiers went to the place appointed to lay down their arms, the Provincials were ſtrictly kept within their lines, and not allowed to be ſpectators of ſo great humiliation on the part of Britain. Such conduct was the more praiſe-worthy, as the Royal army, in ſome of its laſt movements, had deſtroyed many fine buildings, ſome of them exceedingly valuable. At the ſame time, the *ſeverity*, to call it by no worſe a name, exerciſed in the expedition we are now going to relate, would have given but too good a colour to very different proceedings on the part of the Americans. The number of troops who on this occaſion laid down their arms, were computed by the Americans at 5752, in which, though not ſpecified, they undoubtedly included all the artificers, labourers, and followers of the camp. The ſick and wounded left in the hoſpital were ſtated at 528; and the loſs in battle or by deſertion, at 2933 men, ſince the 6th of July; the whole amount of theſe numbers being 9213; though, by another account, the loſs in this unfortunate expedition was computed to be more than 10,000. A fine train of braſs artillery, amounting to thirty-five pieces of different ſorts and ſizes, alſo fell into the hands of the enemy.

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During theſe unfortunate tranſactions, Sir Henry Clinton embarked with 3000 men, accompanied by a ſuitable naval force, conſiſting of ſhips of war, armed gallies, and ſmaller veſſels, under the command of Commodore Hotham. Their firſt object was the reduction of the Forts Montgomery and Clinton, which, though of conſiderable ſtrength,

Succeſsful expedition up the North River.

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were, at that time, in a very unguarded ſtate; ſo that it was reſolved to attempt them by aſſault. They were ſituated on either ſide of a creek, deſcending from the mountains to the North River, and their communication preſerved by a bridge. Several neceſſary motions being made to cover the real deſign, the troops were landed in two diviſions, at ſuch a diſtance from their object, as occaſioned a conſiderable and difficult march through the mountains; which, however, was calculated with ſuch preciſion, that the two detachments arrived on the oppoſite ſides of the creek on the 6th of October, and began a ſeparate attack upon each of the forts at the ſame time. The ſurpriſe and terror of the garriſons were increaſed by the appearance of the ſhips of war, and the arrival and near fire of the gallies, who approached ſo cloſe as to touch the walls with their oars. The aſſault on both ſides of the creek was very vigorous, and the impetuoſity of the troops ſo great, that, notwithſtanding a very reſolute defence, both places were carried by ſtorm, and very little mercy ſhown to the defendants. On the loſs of the forts, the enemy ſet fire to two fine new frigates and ſome other veſſels, which, with their artillery and ſtores, were all conſumed. Another fort, named *Conſtitution*, was ſoon after abandoned, and ſet on fire. A fine thriving ſettlement called *Continental Village*, and containing barracks for 1500 men, with conſiderable ſtores, was alſo deſtroyed: a large boom and chain, ſaid to have coſt 70,000 l. and which was looked upon as an extraordinary inſtance of American labour and induſtry, was in part deſtroyed, and in part carried away; a great quantity of ſtores, proviſions, and artillery were taken; ſo that, on the whole, the loſs of the Americans on this occaſion was greater than on any other ſince the commencement of the war. The expedition, however, did not end here. Sir James Wallace, with a flying ſquadron of frigates, and General Vaughan, with a conſiderable detachment

ment of troops, continued, for ſeveral days, their excurſion up the river, ſpreading terror and deſtruction wherever they went. The extraordinary deſolation attending this expedition, the neceſſity of which was never made evident, produced a very ſevere letter from General Gates to General Vaughan, to which the latter did not think proper to give an anſwer. On the approach of that commander, however, the Britiſh troops retired to New York, having undoubtedly hurt their own cauſe more by the proofs of inhumanity they had given, than it had been forwarded by the loſs the Americans ſuſtained.

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CHAP. XVII.

Affairs in Britain—Parliament—Debates on the addreſs——General Burgoyne's misfortune——Ordnance expence——Project to raiſe a new army——Lord Chatham's motions——State of the nation——Employing the Indians——Mr Fox's ſpeech——Duke of Richmond's motions——Lord North's conciliatory plan——Motion to repeal Maſſachuſetts charter-act——Ways and Means——Mr Luttrell's motion——General Gates's letter read——Duke of Richmond on the ſtate of the nation——Conciliatory bills paſſed——Lord Chatham's ſpeech againſt granting independence to the colonies——His death and funeral honours.

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1777. State of affairs in Great Britain.

THE fatal termination of the northern expedition, from which ſo much had been expected, produced the utmoſt conſternation in Great Britain. No change of any ſort had taken place in the miniſterial departments. Good and bad ſucceſs ſeemed equally to ſecure them in their places. In the former caſe, Who could be ſo fit to conclude the buſineſs as thoſe who had begun it ſo happily? And, in the latter, Who could be found ſo hardy as to complete the ruinous ſyſtem, which, beſides its original failure, was, from its very nature, clogged with immenſe difficulty and danger? The ſucceſs at Ticonderoga ſeemed to crown the hopes of adminiſtration and their friends; and, as this had been planned by the Lord at the head of the American department, (Lord George Germain) he and his friends plumed themſelves not a little on the wiſdom of the contrivance. But, the ſucceeding diſpatches from that commander, however, did not long continue to ſupport theſe ſanguine hopes. The delays in advancing from Skeneſborough to the ſouthward were, however, counterbalanced, in the opinion of miniſtry, by the arrival of the army on Hudſon's River,

ver, the retreat of the enemy from Fort Edward, their abandoning Fort George and the Lake, and St Leger's ſucceſs in defeating the militia near Fort Stanwix. CHAP. XVII. 1777.

In expectation of ſome great and glorious event, it is probable that the meeting of Parliament was this year held back longer than uſual. Inſtead of this, however, miniſters were made acquainted with the double defeat of Colonels Baume and Breyman,—the intolerable difficulties under which the army laboured—the deſpondency of the General himſelf—the failure of St Leger's attempt on Fort Stanwix—and laſtly, the ſucceſs of the provincials near Ticonderoga, and the deſperate and doubtful engagement with Arnold on the 19th of September. Yet ſtill it was hoped, that ſome aſſiſtance might be derived from General Clinton, or if that could not be effected, the worſt that could be ſuppoſed to happen to General Burgoyne was his being obliged to retreat to Canada, though ſome apprehended the fatal conſequences which actually took place. Accounts at this time were only received of General Howe's ſucceſs in reaching the head of the Elk.

Parliamentary proceedings, Nov. 20. King's Speech.

The Parliament at length met on the 20th of November. The ſpeech from the throne expreſſed great ſatisfaction, in having recourſe to the wiſdom and ſupport of Parliament in this conjuncture, when the continuance of the rebellion in America demanded their moſt ſerious attention. The powers with which Parliament had entruſted the Crown for the ſuppreſſion of the revolt were declared to have been faithfully exerted; and a juſt confidence was expreſſed, that the courage and conduct of the officers, with the ſpirit and intrepidity of the forces, would be attended with important ſucceſs; but, under a perſuaſion that both Houſes would ſee the neceſſity of preparing for ſuch further operations as the contingencies of the war and the obſtinacy of the rebels might render expedient, his Majeſty was for this purpoſe purſuing the proper meaſures for keeping the land-forces

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to their proper eſtabliſhment; and, if he ſhould have occaſion to increaſe them by contracting any new engagements, a reliance was placed on their zeal to enable him to fulfil them. Repeated aſſurances were received of the pacific intentions of foreign powers; notwithſtanding which, the armaments in the ports of France and Spain rendered it adviſable to augment our naval force conſiderably. The Commons were informed, that the various ſervices which had been mentioned would unavoidably require large ſupplies; and a profeſſion was made, that nothing could relieve the Royal mind from the concern which it felt for the heavy charge they muſt bring on the people, but a conviction of their being neceſſary for the welfare and intereſts of the nation. The ſpeech concluded with a reſolution ſteadily to purſue the meaſures in which they were engaged for the re-eſtabliſhment of that conſtitutional ſubordination, which his Majeſty was determined to maintain through the ſeveral parts of his dominions, accompanied with a profeſſion of being watchful for an opportunity of putting a ſtop to the effuſion of the blood of his ſubjects; he alſo continued to hope, that the deluded and unhappy multitude would return to their allegiance on a recollection of the bleſſings of their former happy government, when compared with the miſeries of their preſent ſituation; and concluded with a declaration that the reſtoring of peace, order, and confidence to his American colonies, would be conſidered as the greateſt happineſs of his Majeſty's life, and glory of his reign.

In anſwer to this ſpeech, addreſſes were moved, as uſual, full of panegyrics on the ſpeech, and the profound wiſdom of the miniſtry. Sir Gilbert Elliot, who ſeconded this motion for the addreſs, declared himſelf ſo fully ſatisfied with the wiſdom and rectitude of thoſe in office, and the extreme utility of their meaſures, that he could not refrain from being loſt in aſtoniſhment, if it ſhould happen that any man who was a native of this country, and bred up

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in due allegiance to the throne, could, under any impulſe of faction, venture to ſtand up in that houſe, and ſo far to abet the American rebels, as to expreſs a ſentiment contrary to the ſpirit of the meaſures which were adopted by government, and which were now ſo graciouſly communicated from the throne.

So vehement a declamation in favour of miniſterial meaſures, hitherto attended with ſuch uninterrupted misfortune and diſappointment, might well have been ſuppoſed ironical, had it not become the ſubject of ſerious debate in Parliament. The ſtate of the nation was indeed very far from being flouriſhing. Our foreign commerce was conſiderably embarraſſed, and loaded with extraordinary charges; in ſome branches it was reduced; and in others, ſuch as the African, nearly annihilated. That commerce, indeed, ſo long the object of envy to other nations, was ſo immenſe in its extent, and involved ſuch a multitude of great and material objects, that it was not to be ſhaken, without ſome very extraordinary convulſion, or uncommon accident, and therefore bore many prodigious ſhocks before they were capable of apparently affecting its general ſyſtem.

In other reſpects, the aſpect of public affairs was ſufficient to enable the moſt ſuperficial obſerver to refute the ſpeech of the member above mentioned. The coaſts of Great Britain and Ireland were inſulted by the American privateers, in a manner which our hardieſt foreign enemies had never ventured in any conteſt. Thus even our domeſtic trade was rendered inſecure. The ſhips from Dublin and Newry were, for the firſt time, attended by a convoy. The Thames alſo preſented the unuſual and melancholy ſpectacle of numbers of foreign ſhips, particularly French, taking in cargoes of Engliſh commodities for various parts of Europe, the property of Britiſh merchants, who were thus reduced to ſeek that protection from other nations, which the Britiſh flag had hitherto been accuſtomed to afford to all the world.

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The conduct of France, during the whole of this year, had been so unequivocal, that we can scarce help admiring the effrontery with which ministry had hitherto insisted, and still continued to insist, that her intentions were really pacific. She was not indeed yet arrived at that state of preparation, which would have enabled her to commence hostilities immediately. She occasionally relaxed in certain articles, where the British ministry found themselves obliged to push with more than usual vigour. Thus, when one Cunningham, a bold American adventurer, had taken, and carried into Dunkirk, with a privateer fitted out from that port, the English packet from Holland, and sent the mail to the American ministers at Paris, it then became necessary, to save appearances, to imprison Cunningham and all his crew. To prevent this from giving any offence to the Americans, however, his imprisonment was represented as occasioned by some informality in his commission, which brought him very near, if not within the verge of piracy. Even this was very soon passed over. The American adventurer and his crew were released from their mock confinement, and he was permitted to purchase a much stronger vessel and better sailer than before, avowedly to infest the British commerce as usual. At another time, when the French Newfoundland fishery would have been totally intercepted and destroyed in case of an immediate rupture, and the capture of their seamen would have been more ruinous and irreparable than the loss even of the ships and cargoes, Lord Stormont obtained an order from the French ministers, that all the American privateers, with their prizes, should immediately depart the kingdom. Expedients, however, were practised on this occasion with such success, that the order was not obeyed in any one instance, though it effectually answered the end held in view by the French Court, *viz.* that of protracting time, by opening a subject of tedious and indecisive controversy, until their ships were safe in port. With regard to the

the Americans, they had the fulleſt aſſurance from M. de Sartine, the French miniſter, that the king would protect his ſubjects in trading with them; and for this purpoſe, a public inſtrument was ſent to the ſeveral Chambers of Commerce, aſſuring them of what we have juſt now related. CHAP. XVII. 1777.

Conſidering all theſe circumſtances, it is no wonder that the ſpeech of that member of the Houſe which we have juſt now related, ſhould have met with the moſt ſevere animadverſion. It was anſwered by the young Marquis of Granby, who, from his firſt coming into Parliament, had uniformly oppoſed the whole ſyſtem of American meaſures. After ſtating and lamenting, in a pathetic manner, the ruinous effects of the war, he declared himſelf filled with the moſt ardent deſire for graſping at the preſent moment of time, and of having the happineſs even to lay the ground-work of an accommodation. He, therefore, moved an amendment to the addreſs, the ſubſtance of which was, "To requeſt of his Majeſty to adopt ſome meaſures for accommodating the differences with America; and recommending a ceſſation of all hoſtilities, as neceſſary for the effectuating ſo deſirable a purpoſe; with an aſſurance, that the Commons were determined to co-operate with him in every meaſure that could contribute to the reeſtabliſhment of peace, and the drawing ſuch lines as ſhould afford ſufficient ſecurity to the terms of pacification."

This motion was ſeconded with additional arguments by Lord John Cavendiſh, and ſupported by the oppoſition in general. On the other hand, the miniſter inſiſted, that no perſon in the nation deſired peace more ardently than himſelf. The happy moment for attempting an accommodation, however, was not yet arrived. This was to be found only in the ſeaſon of victory; at any other time it would not only be futile, but attended with diſgrace and contempt. He ſeemed tacitly to give up the idea of

taxation,

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taxation, by not conſidering it as a bar in the way of accommodation; but objected to a ceſſation of arms, as it would ſeem a direct admiſſion of the American claim of independency. The commiſſioners, however, he ſaid, were empowered to grant a ceſſation of arms, whenever they thought proper, and when ſuch overtures had been made or accepted on the other ſide, as afforded any reaſonable ground for beginning a negociation. To remove the impreſſion which had been viſibly made by the language of Oppoſition concerning an European war, he ſaid, that from the beſt intelligence he could collect, there was no reaſon to apprehend ſuch an event. France and Spain held out the language of friendſhip, and he believed them ſincere. It was not their intereſt to quarrel with us, and he could not believe it was their intention.

Some other gentlemen were of opinion, that to grant indepence to America, would be the ſubjugation of Great Britain. Both could not exiſt in an independent ſtate; for, ſuch were the ſources of wealth and power in that vaſt continent, from its extent, products, ſeas, rivers, immenſe increaſe in population, and, above all, its prodigious fund of naval treaſures, that this ſmall iſland, which had hitherto ſupported its greatneſs by commerce and naval ſuperiority, would now be ſo cramped in its own peculiar reſources, and overlaid upon its natural element, that it muſt in a few years ſink to nothing, and perhaps be reduced to that moſt degrading and calamitous of all ſituations, the becoming a vaſſal to her own rebellious colonies, if they were once permitted to eſtabliſh their independence, and of conſequence their power.

The whole weight of this debate fell upon the miniſters themſelves, or a very few official men. The country gentlemen were unuſually blank. They ſaw not only an end to all their hopes of obtaining a revenue from America, but found themſelves involved in a war which, in point of expence proportionable

to

to the force and ſervice employed, was infinitely more ruinous than any other that had ever been undertaken by the nation; and this without the ſmalleſt proſpect of its being brought by any means to a concluſion. They, however, gave their votes, ſilently indeed, with the miniſter; ſo that the amendment was rejected by a majority as great as uſual, the number being 243 to 86.

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In the Houſe of Lords, the addreſs was no leſs vehemently debated. An amendment ſimilar to that propoſed in the Houſe of Commons, was moved for by the Earl of Chatham. In ſtating his arguments for the amendment, he aſſerted ſome facts, and foretold the ſame conſequences which had been foreſeen in the Houſe of Commons. He declared, that the Houſe of Bourbon would break with us; that he knew their intentions to be hoſtile; and that the preſent was the only time in which the parliament or the nation would have it in their power to treat with America. France and Spain had done a great deal, but they had not done all that America deſired. The Americans were therefore in an ill humour at preſent, and might be detached from their connections with thoſe powers, if reaſonable terms of accommodation were held out to them; but if not, the opportunity would be loſt, an opportunity which he foretold we never could regain. He dwelt alſo long, and with much ſevere animadverſion, on the war and its conſequences, as well as the mode of carrying it on, by which, he ſaid, all remains of brotherly love muſt be extinguiſhed in the boſoms of our countrymen in America. The tomahawk and ſcalping-knife were diſgraceful weapons for the enforcement of Britiſh authority. The calling on ſavages, whoſe way of making war is to murder women and children, and to burn their priſoners alive by ſlow fires, and then to eat their fleſh, was a ſcandalous proceeding in a Chriſtian and civilized nation. The Right Reverend Bench were called upon to aſſiſt in the Chriſtian purpoſe, of ſtopping the effuſion of Chriſtian Proteſtant

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Proteſtant blood; they were reminded, that their temporal concerns were only a ſecondary object of their ſitting there; their firſt duty was, by example, mildneſs, and perſuaſion, to ſoften the public deliberations, particularly in caſes which ſo materially affected the object of all religion as the morality of actions, and were of ſuch extent as that now under conſideration. It became a mere jeſt to retire from the houſe when a poor criminal was at the bar, becauſe they could not bring themſelves to vote in a caſe of blood, and yet to adviſe the moſt ſanguinary meaſures, in which the lives of thouſands were involved.

To all this the miniſtry replied, That a ſtate of war was as little deſired by them as by the lords in oppoſition; but that when they were at war, they muſt uſe the inſtruments of war. Much declamation, they ſaid, had been poured forth, and much artifice uſed to ſoften us into a falſe tenderneſs, by dwelling on the uſe of the tomahawk and ſcalping-knife; but the muſquet and bayonet were far more terrible weapons. If the ſavages deſtroyed more than they were wiſhed to deſtroy, and if women and children fell (contrary to the wiſhes and endeavours of thoſe who employed the ſavages) in the common havock, they alone were to be blamed who, by their unprovoked rebellion, firſt brought on the neceſſity of arms, and then, by tampering with the Indians, had ſet the example from which they ſuffered. One of the miniſters concluded with ſaying, that he thought the meaſure perfectly juſt and wiſe, and that the adminiſtration would be highly cenſurable, if, entruſted as they were with the ſuppreſſion of ſo unnatural a rebellion, they had not uſed all the means which God and nature had put in their hands.

The whole of theſe arguments, but particularly the laſt expreſſion, called forth the wrath of Lord Chatham, who animadverted moſt ſeverely on the hypotheſis, that the indiſcriminate ſlaughter of men, women, and children, and the torturing and devouring

ing of captives, were the means of war furniſhed by God and nature; which notions, he ſaid, ſtanding ſo near the throne, muſt pollute the ear of Majeſty. CHAP. XVII. 1777.

In order to prevent any impreſſion being made by the appearance of an European war, the firſt lord of the Admiralty (Lord Sandwich) drew a moſt flattering repreſentation of the ſtate of our naval ſtrength and preparation. That miniſter is ſaid to have declared, that we had, at that inſtant, a naval force in readineſs ſuperior to any thing the Houſe of Bourbon could oppoſe to it: That we were ſo forward in preparation as to enſure to a certainty a continuance of that ſuperiority: That he ſhould be wanting in his duty if it were otherwiſe; and that, happy in giving the preſent information, he wiſhed it to be known, that we had nothing to fear from France and Spain, but ſhould be at full liberty to proſecute this war to a fair, honourable, and happy iſſue. The queſtion being at length put, the amendment was rejected by 97 to 28, after which the addreſs was carried without a diviſion. A ſhort proteſt was entered by the Duke of Richmond and Earl of Effingham, contained in theſe words:—"Becauſe this addreſs is a repetition of, or rather an improvement on, that fulſome adulation offered, and the blind engagements entered into, on former occaſions by the Houſe, relative to this unhappy civil war."

Gen. Burgoyne's misfortune announced to parliament. December.

From this time to the receſs, and indeed during the greater part of the ſeſſion, the inquiry into the ſtate of public affairs became the great object of oppoſition in both Houſes. In this, however, they had very little ſucceſs, though a continual wrangling was kept up on the continuance of the treaſon bill, and the probability of a French war, till the beginning of December, when the attention of the Houſe was called to the diſaſter of General Burgoyne at Saratoga. The Lord at the head of the American department, (Lord George Germaine) was the unwilling narrator of this misfortune in the Houſe of Commons. His relation inſtantly brought forth all the aſperity,

all

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all the charges that ever had been, or that could be made, whether relative to the principle or policy of the conteſt, the conduct of the war, or the general incapacity of the miniſter. Ignorance, they ſaid, had ſtamped every ſtep taken during the expedition; but it was the ignorance of the miniſter, not of the general; a miniſter who would venture, ſitting in his cloſet, to direct not only the general operations, but all the particular movements of a war carried on in the interior deſarts of America, at a diſtance of 3000 miles. A junction between Howe and Burgoyne was the object of this expedition, a meaſure which might have been accompliſhed without difficulty by ſea in leſs than a month; butthe miniſter chuſes it ſhould be done by land. And what means does he uſe for the accompliſhment of this purpoſe? Why, truly, ſaid they, as it was neceſſary for the armies to meet, it might have been reaſonably imagined, that the northern army would have advanced ſouthward, or the ſouthern to the northward; or if it were intended that they ſhould meet ſomewhere about the centre, that they ſhould both have ſat out about the ſame time; but the miniſter, deſpiſing ſuch ſimple and natural means of effecting a junction, diſpatches one army from New York ſtill farther ſouth, and ſends the other to follow it from Canada in the ſame direction; ſo that, if they both continued their courſe till doom's-day, it would be impoſſible for them to meet.

The miniſters were now ſo thoroughly humbled, that no room was left for the high and lofty language which they had been ſo long accuſtomed to utter in that Houſe. The Lord at the head of affairs (Lord North) owned he was unfortunate, at the ſame time juſtified his intentions, and offered to ſubmit his conduct to the judgment of the Houſe. He obſerved, however, that whatever ſhould be their determination, whether peace or war, they ſhould grant the ſupplies juſt now demanded; as if even a ceſſation of arms were to take place, the expences muſt ſtill continue until the armies

armies were brought home and diſcharged or reduced. Lord George Germain declared that he was ready to ſubmit his judgment in planning the late expedition to the ſenſe of the Houſe; but having uſed ſome expreſſions which were thought to criminate the conduct of the General, they were highly reſented by the oppoſite ſide, and produced the moſt violent cenſures againſt himſelf.

Ordnance expences, Dec. 4.

In the courſe of buſineſs, the enormity of the ſum propoſed for the ordnance ſervice, occaſioned much ſerious animadverſion. The Oppoſition ſaid, that it exceeded the ordinaries and extraordinaries of the year 1759, by no leſs than 140,000 l. at a time when we had 250,000 men in arms, and made war in Europe, Aſia, Africa, the Weſt Indies, and North America. Yet in the year for which this vaſt ſum is demanded, we employ but 80,000 men, and theſe engaged only in a petty conteſt with our own people. To this the gentlemen of the board of ordnance and the miniſter made a ſhort reply. After which the report of the committee of ſupply was agreed to without a diviſion.

Miniſterial project to raiſe a new army during the receſs.

Thus far the miniſters had gained their point; but the great difficulty was how to raiſe a ſufficient number of forces to replace immediately the army which had been loſt under General Burgoyne. To propoſe this openly in parliament, while the Houſe was in ſuch a temper, appeared by no means eligible. That they might therefore have an opportunity of trying the diſpoſition of the people at large, and glad at any rate to get clear of the inceſſant clamours of Oppoſition, an adjournment was propoſed from the 10th of December to the 20th of January. The miniſter ſupported this motion on the following grounds: That the ſupplies at preſent neceſſary were voted, the uſual buſineſs before the Chriſtmas receſs gone through, and nothing farther could be done until the event of the campaign in America ſhould be known: That if it were even otherwiſe, the Houſe was never attended at that ſeaſon: That no new e-

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vents were likely to happen which could render the advice or assistance of parliament necessary within that time: That however eager some persons were to enhance or expatiate upon the Canada misfortune, nothing could be done in that business until the arrival of information, and of the necessary documents from America; and that, as a general inquiry was appointed, it was equally fair and necessary to allow the servants of the Crown time for preparation. This measure was reprobated by Opposition with all the powers which language can afford; but, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, the adjournment was carried by 155 to 68.

House of Lords.

In the House of Lords, affairs had been conducted in a manner pretty similar to that already mentioned in the House of Commons. The ministry in both Houses had been obliged to submit to an inquiry into the state of the nation, to commence the 2d of February. A motion was made by the Earl of Chatham, for copies of all the orders and instructions to General Burgoyne, relative to the northern expedition, to be laid before the House. In his speech, he censured without reserve some parts of that from the throne, and at last collected all his powers of eloquence to censure and condemn the ministers and their conduct. Among other causes to which he attributed the unhappy change which had taken place in public affairs, he particularly reprobated, in terms of the greatest bitterness, a court-system, which, he said, had been introduced, and persevered in for the last fifteen years, of loosening and breaking all connection, destroying all faith and confidence, and extinguishing all principle in different orders of the community. A few men, he said, had got an ascendency, where no man should have a personal ascendency. By having the executive powers of the state at their command, they had been furnished with the means of creating divisions, and familiarizing treachery. Thus were obscure and unknown men, men totally unacquainted with

Lord Chatham's motions.

with buſineſs, pliable, not capable men, and the dregs or renegadoes of parties, brought into the higheſt and moſt reſponſible ſtations; and by ſuch men was this once glorious empire reduced to its preſent ſtate of danger and diſgrace. The ſpirit of deluſion, he ſaid, had gone forth. The miniſters had impoſed upon the people. Parliament had been induced to ſanctify the impoſition. Falſe lights had been held out to the country gentlemen; they had been ſeduced into the ſupport of a moſt deſtructive war, under the impreſſion that the land-tax would have been diminiſhed by the means of an American revenue. But the viſionary phantom, thus conjured up for the baſeſt of all purpoſes, that of deception, was now about to vaniſh.

On the other hand, the miniſters, though ſomewhat diſconcerted, maintained their ground with great reſolution. They knew nothing of the private influence that had been talked of. It was a topic taken up or laid down by men as it ſuited their views. They had never impoſed on the people, or on parliament; but communicated ſuch information as was true, provided it was ſafe. They never had laid any thing falſe before them. But let the event be what it would, they never would repent the vigorous ſteps they had taken for aſſerting the rights of parliament and the dignity of their country.—The motion was rejected by 40 to 19.

Immediately after this rejection, Lord Chatham moved for an addreſs, to lay before them copies of all the orders or treaties relative to the employment of the ſavages in North America, with a copy of the inſtructions given by General Burgoyne to Colonel St Leger. The miniſtry could not conceal their indignation at being ſo frequently attacked on the head of employing the ſavages; and, therefore, beſides their uſual defences of wiſdom, juſtice, and *mercy* in employing the moſt cruel miſcreants on earth, they now retorted on their accuſer, affirming, that the Earl of Chatham himſelf had ſet them the example.

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1777. As this nobleman had aſſerted, that when he was miniſter, he had always declined to make uſe of ſuch an odious inſtrument even in a foreign war, the aſſertion was flatly contradicted by the King's ſervants, who ſaid they were able to lay before the Houſe a proof from the records of office, of his having given orders to treat with the ſavages for their aſſiſtance. Appeals were then made to the noble lord who commanded in America, and had taken his inſtructions from Mr Pitt, at that time Secretary of State, whether he had not ſuch in his army, and whether he was not authoriſed to uſe them. As this could not be denied, the minority found themſelves at a loſs, and were obliged to enter into diſtinctions between a foreign and domeſtic war; and that the behaviour of the French, who had firſt employed them, juſtified a retaliation. The debate was carried on with great acrimony, and appearance of perſonal animoſity; after which, the motion was at laſt

Dec. 11. rejected by a majority of two to one.—The motion for adjournment was likewiſe violently debated, but at laſt carried by a majority of 47 to 17.

During this early and long receſs, the miniſters had time to conſult on the ſtate of their affairs, and to plan ſuch meaſures as to them might appear moſt proper for retrieving the misfortunes that had happened. The loſs of the northern army ſeemed a fatal check to that favourite ſyſtem of conqueſt and unconditional ſubmiſſion which had been ſo long and ſteadily perſevered in by the court. The ſucceſſes in Pennſylvania had by no means anſwered the hopes that had been formed on that expedition; nor did the preſent ſtate of affairs in that country indicate any ſuch future advantage as might counterbalance the loſs in the other. The reſources in Germany were nearly exhauſted. Men were procured with difficulty, and the meaſure itſelf ſeemed to be extremely diſagreeable to the German powers. The king of Pruſſia refuſed a paſſage, through a ſkirt of his dominions, to a part of the German troops already in the

Britiſh

Britiſh ſervice; and though this difficulty was overcome by a long and circuitous march, and much loſs of time, it became evident, from that and other circumſtances, that the utmoſt which could be expected from Germany in time to come, would be to recruit the German forces already in America.

Beſides theſe diſagreeable appearances in the weſt, the aſpect of affairs in Europe became every day more lowring and dangerous; and the conduct of the Houſe of Bourbon, in particular, became daily more and more unequivocal. In the face, however, of all theſe dangers, difficulties, and loſſes, the idea of compelling the Americans by force of arms to return to their duty was ſo ſtrongly ſupported, and ſo firmly adhered to, that it ſeems to have been ſtill determined, in ſpite of loſs and misfortune, to perſevere in it to the laſt; and even, though it ſhould be thought expedient to offer terms of peace, on which there ſeemed to be ſome difference among miniſters, yet all agreed, that whatever terms might be held out with the one hand, ſhould be enforced with the ſword in the other.

But though it was evident, that a conſiderable body of new forces would by this policy be required, the means of accompliſhing that purpoſe were by no means ſo plain. An experiment, however, was determined to be made on the zeal of thoſe perſons and parties, who had all along ſhewn the greateſt eagerneſs in the proſecution of the American war; an experiment which would afford them alſo an opportunity of teſtifying their particular attachment and loyalty to the Crown, beyond the meaſure of parliamentary ſupply. By this means it was hoped, that ſuch a body of troops might be raiſed, without any previous application to parliament, and with ſuch flattering appearance of ſaving expence in the firſt inſtance to the public, as would anſwer the deſired purpoſe. As this experiment, however, had an unconſtitutional appearance, and would have met with the whole weight of Oppoſition had it been made while the par-

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liament was actually ſitting, it was thought proper by the miniſter to make it only during the receſs, which being lengthened for the purpoſe, might probably afford time enough for the accompliſhment of all that was deſired, after which the efforts of Oppoſition would prove of little conſequence.

Regiments raiſed by voluntary ſubſcription.

This miniſterial experiment was conſiderably forwarded by the general conſternation into which the nation was thrown, and which indeed was much greater than the misfortune ought to have produced. The affair was, beſides, conſidered as a national diſgrace, and every one was forward to retrive it. From theſe motives, therefore, moſt probably, rather than any attachment to miniſtry, ſome people of rank and influence engaged to promote it to the utmoſt of their power, in ſuch places as they had the greateſt influence. The towns of Mancheſter and Liverpool took the lead in the buſineſs, in which they engaged with the utmoſt ardour, and inſtantly offered to raiſe each an army of 1000 men. In other places public meetings were called, and every encouragement given to go on with this miniſterial ſcheme; and reſolutions were propoſed for the general levying of men for his Majeſty's ſervice.

Had it been poſſible to procure the countenance of the city of London on this occaſion, it would have been of the utmoſt importance, not only on account of the importance of the city itſelf, but the example it would have ſet to others, and the ſanction it would have afforded to miniſterial meaſures, both ſuch as were already paſt, and thoſe which were likely to be adopted. This idea was even entertained by miniſters, notwithſtanding the almoſt continual courſe of altercation which had for ſo long ſubſiſted between them and that city. Several of the popular leaders in it had, from various cauſes, loſt much of their former weight and influence. Patronage and influence had alſo ſhifted much in the city ſince the commencement of the troubles. The great commercial orders for the foreign markets, which uſed to render the inferior

inferior citizens in a great meaſure dependent on the capital wholeſale dealers, and long eſtabliſhed mercantile houſes, were either now no more, or they were come into the poſſeſſion of the contractors for carrying on the war, or centered in the monopoly lately ſet up under colour of licenſes. Thus, all buſineſs being in the hands of people neceſſarily devoted to government, the elections went of courſe that way; and though the acclamations of the electors at all times, and the ſhew of hands, generally announced a great majority in favour of the popular candidates, yet when it came to that ſerious point where the elector's vote was to be recorded, and to riſe in judgment againſt him, if it went contrary to the will of his employer, it was not ſo much to be depended upon as in former times, when the employment of tradeſmen was more at large. CHAP. XVII. 1777.

The more to confirm and ſecure their power, a numerous ſociety was formed, under the influence of the Court party, by themſelves called *The Aſſociated Livery*, but by others, *The White Hart Aſſociation*, from the tavern where the principal leaders held their great meetings, and which was generally conſidered as the head quarters of the party. This ſociety ſoon became extremely powerful, notwithſtanding the daily reproaches of the other members of the livery, who ſtigmatiſed thoſe deſerters as betrayers of the rights of the city, and of that independency which they had ſworn to maintain to the utmoſt. For ſome time, therefore, they had taken an avowed and active part in the city elections. For, by advertiſing in the public papers thoſe candidates whom they determined to ſupport, ſuch notices became mandates in effect to that great part of the livery who were in ſome degree within the reach or influence of their leaders, or who from moderation of temper, prudence, or timidity, did not chuſe to expoſe themſelves to the enmity of ſo numerous and powerful a party: and ſuch a compact collective body acting under order, in ſtrict union and concert, and enabled

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to bear any expence by a large common ſtock-purſe, proved more than a balance to the popular ſocieties, which, from their diſunion and other cauſes, daily waſted away, and at length ſeem to have quite expired. The chief magiſtrate of the city alſo belonged to this ſociety, and was cloſely connected in dealing with Government.—Notwithſtanding theſe favourable circumſtances, however, the miniſtry found themſelves at laſt diſappointed. At a public meeting called for the purpoſe, they were deſerted by moſt of thoſe who had hitherto implicitly obeyed their mandates with regard to city elections; and ſuch was the unpromiſing appearance in general, that the leaders did not think proper to propoſe the queſtion at all; ſo that the aſſembly broke up without entering upon any buſineſs whatever.

This diſappointment did not damp the ſpirit of the Lord Mayor, and others of the court party, who exerted themſelves to the utmoſt, in order to favour the wiſhes of miniſtry. They were at laſt, however, finally defeated, and the motion thrown out in a common council called on the occaſion. The diſappointed party ſaid, that the deficiency of loyalty in the corporation ſhould not damp its ſpirit in individuals; and that at a time when ſubſcriptions were publicly opened and quickly filled for American rebels, it was ſurely the leaſt that could be done by the well-affected, and friends to royalty, to ſubſcribe liberally to the ſupport of the King and government. A ſubſcription was accordingly opened, and a committee appointed at the London tavern to conduct the buſineſs, where 20,000 l. was ſoon ſubſcribed. The advertiſements iſſued on this occaſion became the ſubjects of much diſcuſſion, both within and without the parliament houſe. One, which gave particular offence, was worded in the following manner:—"At a meeting of ſeveral merchants and others, friends to their king and country, in order to ſupport the conſtitutional authority of Great Britain o-

Jan. 16.

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ver her rebellious colonies in America, it was unanimouſly reſolved and agreed, that a voluntary ſubſcription be opened for the above purpoſe; and that the money ariſing therefrom be applied, under the direction of a committee of the ſubſcribers, in raiſing men for his Majeſty's ſervice, in ſuch manner as his Majeſty in his wiſdom ſhall think fit."

A ſimilar attempt was made in Briſtol, which in like manner failed with regard to the corporation; but a large ſubſcription, rivalling that of London, ſoon made its appearance. Neither of theſe, however, were productive of any conſiderable effect. Nor did the ſcheme meet with greater encouragement in many of the Engliſh counties; though in Scotland it was adopted with great avidity. The cities of Edinburgh and Glaſgow ſubſcribed liberally; raiſed a regiment of 1000 men each; and, like Mancheſter and Liverpool, were indulged with the nomination of officers. Conſiderable numbers of troops were alſo raiſed by individuals, and about a regiment raiſed in Wales; but the battalions, excepting thoſe of Mancheſter and Liverpool, were all formed in Scotland.

The miniſterial ſcheme of raiſing forces in this manner having ſucceeded ſo happily, afforded no inconſiderable argument of the general approbation of their meaſures; and they were now enabled, not only to meet Parliament, after the receſs, with confidence, but alſo to brave all inquiries which might be made into their paſt conduct, as well as into the ſtate and condition of the nation. They were ſtill, however, far from being at eaſe. Majorities and acts of parliament were incapable of either reclaiming the revolted colonies, or of preventing the deſigns of foreign enemies. It afterwards appeared, that they had been poſſeſſed of information from the Britiſh miniſter at Paris, not only of a negociation for the commercial treaty with the Americans, but of another, by which their independency was fully acknowledged, and which afterwards occaſioned a war with

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with that power. But this information was as yet carefully concealed, and denied even till the very day that the French miniſter at London formally notified it to the King.

Debates on the new levies. Jan. 22.

The firſt buſineſs entered into by Oppoſition was an inquiry into the meaſure of raiſing the new levies. An addreſs was moved for, "That an account of the number of troops ordered to be raiſed, during the late adjournment, with a ſpecification of the different corps, the names of the officers appointed to command them, and likewiſe of all the officers appointed to ſerve in each rank in the different corps, with the time of their former ſervice and rank in the army, ſhould be laid before them." This being readily agreed to, the miniſter took the opportunity of congratulating himſelf on what had happened. A ſubſcription, he ſaid, had lately been ſet on foot in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, which not only gave the moſt valid indications of patriotic zeal, but afforded the moſt flattering teſtimony of the public ſatisfaction in the conduct of adminiſtration.

This ſelf-approbation did not at all conciliate the members in oppoſition. They charged the meaſure with being unconſtitutional, illegal, extravagant, and dangerous. They aſked, Why Parliament was not informed of the deſign? Why ſo long a receſs was made at the time that ſo important and dangerous a meaſure as the raiſing an army within the kingdom was in contemplation? If the raiſing of one regiment in ſo unconſtitutional a manner was to be maintained or juſtified, the ſame arguments would reach to 20, 50, or any given number; and if this doctrine was admitted, what protection could the laws or conſtitution give againſt arbitrary power?

The miniſter defended the meaſure on the ground of neceſſity, and maintained, that it was in itſelf perfectly innocent both with reſpect to the conſtitution and the law. The neceſſity, he preſumed, was obvious; and, with regard to his not adviſing parliament of the meaſure, he obſerved, that it was not in

in the power of adminiſtration, before the receſs, to bring the matter as a meaſure before parliament; becauſe, in fact, excepting in very few inſtances, they were totally ignorant of what afterwards happened. And, as to the charges thrown out with ſo much acrimony, of illegality, breach of conſtitution, and contempt of parliament, he denied that they were in any degree founded. The legality, he ſaid, was founded in precedent drawn from the time of the rebellion in 1745, and the beginning of the late war. In the former, ſeveral of the nobility and gentry raiſed regiments at their own expence; and ſubſcriptions were not only opened and received, but perſons went about from houſe to houſe, to collect money for the common defence. In the latter inſtance, ten new regiments had been raiſed by the Crown; and the city of London had ſubſcribed a large ſum of money (which example was followed by other corporations and public bodies) for the raiſing of men for the public ſervice. The firſt of theſe meaſures, they ſaid, having been cavilled at by the diſaffected of that time, as well as by ſome others, the late Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, whoſe principles with reſpect to the conſtitution, and to the rights and ſecurity of the ſubject, can admit of no doubt, publicly undertook its ſupport and defence; and, while he aſſerted its propriety and legality, reprehended, in very ſevere terms, the cenſure thrown upon it. With reſpect to the ſecond, ſo far from its being objected to, Mr Secretary Pitt wrote a very florid letter to the corporation, full of acknowledgments, in the King's name, for their zeal and immediate ſervice, as well as the laudable example they had ſet to others.

To this a long and ſpirited reply was made by the members in oppoſition, in which they ſtrenuouſly contended, that thoſe precedents which had been quoted did not in any degree come up to the queſtion, or anywiſe juſtify the preſent meaſure. The queſtion,

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question, however, being at last put, whether 286,632 l. 14 s. 6 d. should be granted for cloathing the new troops, it was carried, upon a division, by 223 to 130.

Debates on the state of the nation.

As the time of inquiring into the state of the nation approached, several motions were made by the leaders of Opposition, for the various species of information which they deemed necessary for elucidating the different subjects proposed as objects of discussion, and the support of those points they wished to establish. In some instances these motions were complied with, in others rejected. The general reason given by ministers for their refusal was the impropriety of disclosing state secrets, which never failed to be given when they either would not, or could not produce what was desired. They also said, that when gentlemen moved for papers, they frequently did not see or consider the extent to which their motions went. Contracts for clothing, victualling, and supplying the troops with rum, porter, and the various other articles necessary for the service, together with the treasury minutes, relative to all such contracts for four entire years, had been demanded. These were so exceedingly voluminous, that it required more time than the ministers themselves could have apprehended to obey the order of parliament. It might happen, too, in some cases, that the accounts had not been received; in others, perhaps, the original motions had not been directed to the proper offices; but these matters lay not with them. The former complaints of Opposition, however, still continued; nor was it ever owned that the cause was entirely removed. Some accounts, they said, were deficient, others imperfect, and some totally omitted. Responsibility was shifted one moment, and official knowledge the next. Those, who, under the immediate authority of Parliament, endeavoured to procure information for its guidance in matters of the greatest national importance, were wearied and baffled by chicane or evasion. It was not this, or it

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was not that perſon's buſineſs to give information, or the papers did not belong to this or that office, was all the ſatisfaction they ever received: and thus they were left to grope their way through a chaos of uncertainty and error.

Under all theſe diſadvantages, the inquiry was begun by Mr Fox, February 2. 1778. He would ſtate, he ſaid, certain incontrovertible facts from the papers before them, and draw the fair, if not inevitable concluſions ariſing from thoſe facts. Thus, with reſpect to the army, he would ſtate, that in the four years, commencing with 1774, and ending with 1777, an army, conſiſting in each year of a certain number of thouſands of men had been employed in America; and that certain military operations had been performed by that army: he would ſhew that army to have been much ſtronger and more numerous within that period, and the enemy to have been much weaker and more incapable of war than both were at this time: he ſhould, in the next place, ſhew the impoſſibility of increaſing that army, the hopeleſſneſs of ſucceſs with an inferior force, after the repeated and continued failure with one much greater: and, laſtly, he would ſhew the enormous expence which had been already incurred, its rapid increaſe, and the inability of the nation to ſupport it. All theſe topics he expatiated upon at great length, and much ſtrength of argument; concluding his ſpeech with moving, as a reſolution of the Committee into which the Houſe then were, "That an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty, that no part of the old eſtabliſhed force of theſe kingdoms, or in the garriſons of Gibraltar and Minorca, ſhould be ſent to America." Feb. 2.

To this ſpeech, it was much doubted if the miniſtry could make any ſatisfactory reply; for which reaſon, moſt probably, it was not attempted. The queſtion was called for, and the motion rejected by 259 to 165.

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Debates on the ſtate of the nation.

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Mr Burke's motion against employing the Indians, Feb. 16.

A few days after, a motion was made by Mr Burke for an addreſs to lay before the Houſe copies of all papers that had paſſed between any of his Majeſty's miniſters and the generals of his armies in America, or any perſons acting for government in Indian affairs, relative to the military employment of the Indians in America, from the 1ſt of March 1774 to the 1ſt of January 1778. This motion was ſupported by a ſpeech of near three hours in length; by many thought to be the beſt ever delivered by this celebrated orator. After a warm debate, however, of ſeven hours, Mr Burke's motion was rejected by 223 to 137. Several others, which he afterwards introduced, were all in like manner negatived one after another.

Mr Fox on the ſtate of the nation, Feb. 10.

The bad ſucceſs which had hitherto attended himſelf and his aſſociates did not yet diſcourage Mr Fox from making an attempt to ſhew the pernicious nature of the war from the number of men already loſt. For this purpoſe, having eſtabliſhed, from the documents before them, and which were indeed extremely defective, the exact number of effective men in America in the year 1774, and which he determined to be 6864, he added to that number the reinforcements and recruits, whether native or foreign, which had been ſent from Great Britain, Ireland, or Germany, during the intermediate time; and theſe aggregates being caſt into one round ſum, and compared with the number of effective men which from the laſt returns appeared to be left on that continent, the difference amounted to about 20,000; and this he ſtated to be the exact loſs of men ſuſtained in the war to the lateſt date, whether by deſertion, ſlain in battle, dead from diſeaſe, or otherwiſe incapacitated from ſervice. Adding to this loſs of men, that of twenty-five millions of treaſure, he appealed to the judgment of the committee, conſidering that we had hitherto gained nothing by this fatal conteſt, and that, inſtead of the undiſciplined rabble we had firſt to contend with, a numerous, powerful, and well-

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disciplined army had now made its appearance, whether or not it was then time to reflect, in the most serious manner, on the very critical and alarming situation of public affairs: to consider whether our resources of men and money were equal to the difficult and hazardous task of conquest; or, if that should appear, on due examination, to be totally impracticable, whether parliament ought not immediately to devise some method of putting an immediate end to it. At the same time, he put them in mind, that the vast quantity of blood and treasure thrown away had not only forwarded us nothing, but rendered the desirable work of reconciliation much more difficult than before, and, consequently, our situation as a nation much worse than if a sword had never been drawn, nor a shilling expended.

The cause was instantly taken up by the Secretary at war, who insisted, that our loss by the returns of those killed in battle, amounted, in the whole three years war, to no more than 1200 men; of consequence, that Mr Fox's statement was very erroneous; and, should this erroneous statement go out into the world, under the sanction of parliament, it would not only establish false but very pernicious ideas, with respect to the state, nature, conduct, and consequences of the war. The minister insisted on the impropriety of exposing to our enemies the critical state of the nation; but, at any rate, he never could agree to any motion on the subject, while such a prodigious difference of calculation remained betwixt the Secretary of War and his antagonist.

The opposite party were not long in bringing arguments to support their calculation. It was insisted, that no person had ever supposed or stated 20,000 men to be actually slain on the field of battle. Mr Fox had only shown, from indisputable documents, that the deficiency of force sent to America, exclusive of what was raised in the country, amounted, at the date of the latest returns, to that number; that however some parts of the question might

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might be intereſting to humanity, it availed but little to the public, and nothing at all to the ſervice, what proportions of the 20,000 had been killed in battle, died of their wounds, periſhed by diſeaſe or fatigue, deſerted to the enemy, or who lived to preſent a maimed and mutilated ſpectacle of human nature at home, condemned to drag out a life of miſery, and to exiſt a dead burthen and conſtant expence to their country.

Theſe debates were at length ended in the Houſe of Commons, by Lord North's conciliatory propoſition. In the Houſe of Lords they had been no leſs warmly carried on. The Duke of Richmond was the principal ſpeaker; his motions were attended with no better ſucceſs then thoſe of the Oppoſition in the Houſe of Commons, the arguments againſt him being chiefly grounded on the impolicy of expoſing the ſtate of the nation to the enemy. Several eminent merchants, however, were brought by that nobleman to be examined at the bar, from whoſe evidence it appeared, that the loſſes by the American war had been immenſe, the captures alone amounting to no leſs than 2,600,000 l. To leſſen or ſet aſide the effects of this inquiry, Lord Sandwich brought other evidence to ſhow, how far theſe loſſes had been compenſated by prizes taken from the rebellious colonies, or by the opening of new branches of commerce.

Lords on the ſtate of the nation.

The Duke of Richmond, after recapitulating his evidences, moved the following reſolutions: "That in the courſe of trade a very conſiderable balance was always due from the merchants in North America to thoſe of Great Britain, towards the diſcharge of which remittances were made in goods to a great amount, ſince the commencement of the preſent troubles, and whilſt the trade between this kingdom and the colonies was ſuffered to remain open: That ſince the paſſing of the ſeveral acts for prohibiting the fiſheries of the colonies in North America, their mutual intercourſe with each other, all trade and commerce between them and this kingdom, and for making

Duke of Richmond's view of public affairs.

making prize of their ſhips and diſtributing their value, the number of veſſels taken from Great Britain by American ſhips of war and privateers amounted to 733. Of that number 47 had been releaſed, and 127 retaken; but that the loſs on the latter, for ſalvage, intereſt on the value of the cargo, and loſs of market, muſt have been very conſiderable. The loſs of the remaining 559 veſſels which had been carried into port, amounted, by the report of the merchants, to at leaſt 2,600,000 l.—That of 200 ſhips annually employed in the African trade before the commencement of the preſent civil war, whoſe value upon an average was about 9000 l. each, there were not now 40 employed in that trade, whereby there was a clear diminution in this branch of commerce of 160, ſhips amounting to a loſs of 1,440,000 l. *per annum*—That the price of inſurance to the Weſt Indies and North America was increaſed from two, and two and an half, to five *per cent.* with convoy; but, without convoy, and unarmed, it had been made at 15 *per cent.* though generally ſhips in ſuch circumſtances could not be inſured at all—That the price of ſeamen's wages had ariſen from 30 s. to 3 l. 5 s. *per* month; the price of pot-aſh from 8 s. to 3 l. 10 s. *per* hundred weight; the price of ſpermaceti oil was increaſed from 35 l. to 70 l. *per* ton; of tar from 7s. and 8s. to 30 s. *per* barrel; the price of ſugars, and all commodities from the Weſt Indies, and divers ſorts of naval ſtores from North America, were greatly enhanced—That the preſent diminution of the African trade, the interruption of the America trade to the Weſt Indies, and the captures made of the Weſt India ſhips, have greatly diſtreſſed the Britiſh colonies in the Weſt Indies—That the number of American privateers, of which authentic accounts had been received, amounted to 173; that they carried 2256 guns, and at leaſt 13,840 ſeamen, reckoning 80 men in each ſhip; and that of theſe privateers 34 had been taken, which carried 3217 men, being more than 97 to each veſſel."

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In anſwer to all this it was replied by Lord Sandwich, That every day's experience ſerved to confirm him in his original opinion, that the inquiry into the ſtate of the nation was pregnant with the moſt ruinous conſequences, and could not be productive of the ſmalleſt benefit. It could only publiſh to the world thoſe things which, in prudence and policy, ſhould be concealed. No war could be conducted without difficulty, loſs, and embarraſſment; but it was a new ſyſtem of policy to let our enemies into the ſecret of national difficulty or imbecility. He alſo contended, that the American commerce had ſuffered more than that of Britain ſince the commencement of the war; ſo that, on the whole, we had been gainers in that reſpect; and that, on a fair examination, a conſiderable balance would be found in our favour. In ſupport of this poſition, he controverted the evidence given by the merchants;—ſaid, that their eſtimates, in point of value, were rated too high, and their liſts of ſhips taken by the enemy erroneous. If ſome branches of trade had failed, (which ever was and will be the caſe with all nations, whether in peace or war), others of greater value were eſtabliſhed. On this ground he eſtimated the benefits to be derived from the ſouthern fiſhery, and even its preſent value at a very high rate; and the American ſhare of the Newfoundland fiſhery, which was calculated in its duplicate ſtate of a prize to us and a loſs to them, was appreciated in the ſame manner. He ſtated the number of prizes taken from the Americans at 904, each of which he valued at 2000l. the total amount of which would be 1,808,000 l.; and to this, if we added the value of the fiſheries, it would appear, that this country was not leſs benefited by the war than 2,200,000 l. beſides that every ſhilling of this money was a total loſs to our enemies. He concluded, that theſe facts totally overthrew the Duke's reſolutions in point of eſtabliſhing a national loſs, and that though nobody wiſhed to ſee an end of the war more than himſelf, yet its continuance was,

was, in many reſpects, advantageous to this country, and would be more ſo.

To theſe arguments the Duke of Richmond replied, with exceeding great ſeverity, That the dangers with which we were ſurrounded, and the calamities with which the country was overwhelmed, could no longer excite wonder or ſurpriſe, when a miniſter at the head of the marine, that moſt capital department of the ſtate, and upon which its preſervation entirely depended, ſhould betray ſuch ſhameful ignorance of trade and commerce, as to lay it down as an incontrovertible maxim, that becauſe the great number of ſhips we had loſt in the war might be balanced by another number of veſſels taken from the Americans, the nation, upon the whole, ſuſtained no loſs. He aſked, Whether any other lord preſent could be perſuaded, that the commerce of this country was not affected by the loſs of 773 veſſels, eſtimated in value at conſiderably more than two millions of money, which had been taken from our merchants, becauſe an equal value in prizes (ſuppoſing the aſſertion to be true, which was by no means admitted) had been taken from the Americans, and diſtributed among the ſeamen of the royal navy? The caſe, he ſaid, was ſtill more deplorable, as the value of all theſe cargoes would, in the courſe of trade, have centered in Great Britain. The debate was ended by the Houſe reſuming its proper form, and every one of the Duke's reſolutions being ſet aſide by the previous queſtion.

Ld North's conciliatory plan.

Before the time appointed by Lord North for bringing forth his conciliatory propoſitions, a petition had been framed by the inhabitants of Norfolk, and read the very morning, February 17th, when the plan was to be entirely laid open. This petition was ſigned by 5400 inhabitants of the county juſt mentioned, including the town of Norwich, and was written with uncommon ſpirit and energy. The miniſter, however little he might be ſatisfied with the cenſures paſt or implied on his conduct, could find

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nothing in it that tended to militate with his propoſitions relative to America. He introduced his conciliatory plan with aſſerting, That peace had been at all times his governing principle; but that events had been, in general, exceedingly untoward. He had always known, that American taxation could never be productive of a beneficial revenue. There were many taxes which could not at all be laid on that country, and, of thoſe that could, few would prove worth the collecting. The ſtamp-act was indeed the moſt judicious that could have been choſen for this purpoſe; but, notwithſtanding the high rate at which that duty had been formerly eſtimated, he had not believed that its produce would have been a very conſiderable object. He accordingly had never propoſed any tax on the Americans. He unfortunately found them taxed when he came into adminiſtration. His principle of policy was to have as little diſcuſſion of theſe matters as poſſible, and to keep the affairs of America out of parliament; but as he had not laid on the tea-tax, he did not think it adviſeable for him to repeal it, nor did he look out for any means of enforcing it. The meaſure of enabling the Eaſt India Company to ſend teas on their own account to America, with a drawback of the whole duty here, was a regulation of ſuch a nature, being a relief inſtead of an oppreſſion, that it was impoſſible he ſhould ſuppoſe it could ever excite a ſingle complaint amongſt the Americans, much leſs be productive of the conſequences that followed. Theſe he attributed in part to the diſaffected, and in part to thoſe who were concerned in a contraband trade, who repreſented it to the populace as a monopoly, ſo that the people were excited to tumult upon a principle totally different from every idea of taxation. The coercive acts were called forth by the diſtemper of the times, when they appeared neceſſary; but, in the event, they had produced effects which he never intended, nor could have by any means expected. As ſoon as he diſcovered their failure, a conciliatory propoſition

propoſition was made before the ſword was drawn. At that time he thought, and ſtill continued to think, that the terms of that propoſition would form the happieſt, moſt equitable, and moſt laſting bond of union betwixt Great Britain and her Colonies; but that, by a variety of diſcuſſions, a propoſition that was originally clear and ſimple in itſelf was made ſo obſcure, as to be condemned before it went to America; ſo that the Congreſs conceived, or took occaſion to repreſent it as a ſcheme for ſowing diviſions, and introducing taxation among them in a worſe manner than before, and accordingly rejected it.

The events of war in America, he ſaid, had turned out very different from what he had a right to expect; nor had the great and well-appointed force ſent out, and hitherto ſo amply provided for by government, anſwered his expectations in any degree better. He could not but confeſs himſelf exceedingly diſappointed at this failure in our military force. He did not mean at that time to condemn, or even call into queſtion, the conduct of any of our commanders; but he had been diſappointed. Sir William Howe had been in the late actions, and throughout the whole courſe of the campaign, not only in the goodneſs of troops, and in all manner of ſupplies, but even in point of numbers, much ſuperior to the American army which oppoſed him in the field. General Burgoyne, who was at length overpowered by numbers, until the affair at Bennington, was near twice as ſtrong as the army under General Gates. Conſidering all theſe things, the event had been very contrary to his expectation; but to theſe events, and not to his expectations, his plan muſt conform.

As the foundation of his conciliatory ſcheme, he propoſed to bring in two bills—One "for declaring the intentions of the Parliament of Great Britain concerning the right of impoſing taxes within his Majeſty's colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America;—and another "to enable his

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Majeſty to appoint Commiſſioners, with ſufficient powers, to treat, conſult, and agree upon the means of quieting the diſorders now ſubſiſting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces of North America." It was intended, he ſaid, to appoint five Commiſſioners, and to endow them with very extenſive powers. They ſhould be enabled to treat with the Congreſs by name, as if it were a legal body, and ſo far to give it authenticity, as to ſuppoſe its acts and conceſſions binding upon all America. They might treat with any of their provincial aſſemblies upon their preſent conſtitution, and with any individuals in their preſent civil capacities, or military commands; with General Waſhington, or any other officer. They ſhould have a power to order a ſuſpenſion of arms, and the operation of all laws; and to grant all ſorts of pardons, immunities, and rewards. They ſhould alſo have a power of reſtoring all the colonies, or any of them, to the form of their ancient conſtitution, as it ſtood before the troubles; and in any of theſe, where the King nominated the Governors, Councils, Judges, and other Magiſtrates, to nominate ſuch at their diſcretion, until his pleaſure were further known—That, as the deficiency of powers in the former Commiſſioners had been objected to, and as the Congreſs had raiſed a difficulty, on pretence that their independency was not admitted, he would not now inſiſt on their renouncing it, until the final ratification of the treaty by the King and Parliament of Great Britain—That the Commiſſioners ſhould be inſtructed to negociate for ſome moderate and reaſonable contribution towards the common defence of the empire, when re-united; but, to take away all pretence for not putting an end to this unhappy difference, this contribution was not to be inſiſted on as a *ſine qua non* of the treaty; but that if the Americans ſhould refuſe ſo reaſonable a propoſition, they were not to complain, if hereafter they could not look for ſupport

port to that part of the empire to the expence of which they had refuſed to contribute.

The miniſter now obſerved, that it might be aſked, If his ſentiments had been always ſuch with regard to taxation and peace, as he had now ſtated them to be, why had he not made this propoſition at an earlier period? To this he anſwered, His opinion had always been, that the moment of victory was the proper ſeaſon for offering terms of conceſſion. And, with an eye to ſeveral reflections which had of late been thrown upon him by the oppoſite party, he declared, that, for his part, he had never made a promiſe which he did not perform, or receive any information which he did not communicate: He only kept back the names of thoſe who had given him the information, and which it would have been unfaithful and inhuman to have divulged. He promiſed that a great army ſhould be ſent out—and a great army had accordingly been ſent out, to the amount of 60,000 men and upwards. He had promiſed that a great fleet ſhould be employed—and a great fleet had been, and ſtill was employed. He promiſed that they ſhould be provided with every kind of ſupply—and they had been ſupplied amply and liberally, and might be ſo for years to come. The Houſe had alſo been all along in full poſſeſſion of the ſubject; ſo that, if they were deceived, they had deceived themſelves. He concluded with informing the Houſe, that his conceſſions were from reaſon and propriety, and not from neceſſity. We were in a condition to carry on the war much longer. We might raiſe many more men, and had many more men ready to ſend. The navy was never in greater ſtrength; the revenue but little ſunk; and a few days would ſhow, that he ſhould raiſe the funds for the current year at a moderate rate: But he ſubmitted the whole, with the propriety of his paſt and preſent conduct, to the judgment of the Houſe.

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His plan adopted by the members in Oppoſition.

This ſpeech was by no means received with that applauſe which had ſo long marked every thing that iſſued from the lips of the miniſter. It ſeemed to be received with terror and aſtoniſhment by the whole aſſembly. His declarations, that he had now only delivered what had all along been the genuine ſentiments of his heart, were not believed; and it was univerſally ſuppoſed, that ſomething very extraordinary and alarming had happened, which now produced ſuch an unexpected and ſudden alteration. The oppoſition he now encountered was from his own friends, moſt of whom were exceedingly piqued at one of his expreſſions, *viz.* that "if Parliament had been deceived, they had deceived themſelves." Some of the country gentlemen aſſerted, with great indignation, that they had been groſsly deceived and miſled by the uniform language of Government for three years paſt; and one gentleman went ſo far as to declare, that he ſhould feel for the humiliating bluſh of his Sovereign, while he ſigned the bills. On the declaration of a great law-officer, that a ſecurity for the Congreſs debts, and a re-eſtabliſhment of the credit of their paper currency, would be one of the principal objects of the commiſſion, and one of the principal inducements held out to that body to return to its allegiance, another gentleman affirmed, that he would rather conſent to give currency to forged India bonds, and counterfeit bank-notes, than to paper which had been fabricated to carry on rebellion againſt the King and Parliament of Great Britain. The general voice of the country gentlemen, indeed, was, that as taxation was now given up, peace ought to be procured on any terms, and in the ſpeedieſt manner.

The members in oppoſition, properly ſo called, though they approved of the conciliatory bills, ſhewed no mercy to the conduct of the miniſter. He was reprobated indeed by both parties in ſuch a manner, as muſt have made his ſituation extremely diſagreeable. By his own he was aſked, As taxation had

not

not been his object, what were the real motives which had induced him to begin the war? Had he ſported away 30,000 lives, and thirty millions of money, and, in that amuſement, put not only the unity, but the exiſtence of the empire, to the utmoſt hazard, in order to try the mettle of the Americans, and to diſcover how they would behave in defence of every thing that was dear to them? CHAP. XVII. 1778

Nor were the cenſures of Oppoſition, though they now joined in his meaſures, leſs ſevere. Mr Fox complimented the miniſter on his converſion, and congratulated his own party on the acquiſition of ſuch a potent auxiliary. He was glad to find that his own propoſitions did not materially differ from thoſe made by Mr Burke three years before. He reminded the Houſe, that though they were then rejected, a war of three years had convinced him, that they were really uſeful. Nay, ſo perfect a proſelyte was the miniſter become, that the very ſame arguments, which had at that time been ineffectually uſed by Mr Burke, were now adopted, almoſt in the ſame words, by his Lordſhip. He ſaid, however, that as the preſent propoſitions were much more clear and ſatisfactory than the former, they ſhould receive his ſupport, and he ſuppoſed they would do the ſame from all his friends on that ſide of the Houſe. Undoubtedly, ſaid he, they would have given full ſatisfaction, and have prevented all the loſs, ruin, and calamity, which England and America had ſince experienced, had they been offered in time. But if the conceſſion ſhould be found ample enough, and then come too late, what puniſhment would be ſufficient for thoſe miniſters who adjourned Parliament, in order to make propoſitions of conceſſion, and then neglected to do it, until France had concluded a treaty with the Independent States of America, acknowledging them as ſuch? He did not ſpeak from ſurmiſe: He had it from authority which he could not queſtion, that the treaty he mentioned had been ſigned in Paris ten days before, counting from

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from that inſtant. He therefore wiſhed, that miniſtry would give the Houſe ſatisfaction on that very intereſting point; for he feared that it would be found, that their preſent apparently pacific and equitable diſpoſition, with that propoſition which ſeemed to be the reſult of it, owed their exiſtence to the previous knowledge of this treaty, which muſt, from its nature, render that propoſition as uſeleſs to the peace, as it was humiliating to the dignity of Britain.

The miniſter finding himſelf at laſt cloſely preſſed on all ſides for ſome explanations relative to the treaty between France and America, at laſt declared, that he had no authority upon which to pronounce abſolutely with regard to that event. A report had for ſome time prevailed, that ſuch a treaty was in agitation; that its concluſion was not only poſſible, but perhaps too probable; but that as it had not yet been authenticated by the ambaſſador, the preſumption lay, that it had not taken place. In this matter, however, his doubts, if he had any, were ſoon reſolved, by the formal notification given to his Majeſty by the French ambaſſador, and the annunciation of that by a Royal meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, on the 16th of March.

March 16.

Commiſſioners appointed

The interval was filled up by debates on the nomination of the American Commiſſioners, whom, the Oppoſition aſſerted, the miniſters had no right, on account of their manifeſt incapacity, to chuſe. The matter, however, was at laſt, after warm debates, finally decided in favour of adminiſtration without any diviſion; the members in oppoſition not chuſing to throw any impediment in the way of the bills, when the only hope they had of their ſucceſs, ſmall as that was, depended on the expedition with which they were ſent to America. The Commiſſioners appointed were, the Earl of Carliſle, Mr Eden, Governor Johnſtone, and the Commander in Chief by ſea and land in America for the time being.—Dr Adam Ferguſon ſecretary.

This

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This matter being ſettled, a motion was made by Mr Powys for the repeal of the Maſſachuſetts charter act, which produced much converſation on the affairs of America. During the courſe of this it appeared, that a great majority of the Houſe had conſtantly held the American war in abhorrence; but that many of them had been led from one ſtep to another, without looking much farther before them, and always ſuppoſing, that the ſucceeding one would be concluſive, until the American declaration of independence had at once ſurpriſed and aſtoniſhed them with an awful and unlooked-for revolution. This alarming ſituation of things ſeemed to leave no other alternative than to ſit down ſupinely with the loſs of the colonies, or the greateſt national union and exertions for their ſubjection. The failure in arms afforded another ſcene equally novel and unexpected, and ſeemed now to excite a kind of melancholy wiſh, that the fatal extremities to which we were arrived had been avoided in time.

The conciliatory plan offenſive to the miniſterial party.

The preſent conciliatory meaſures were highly condemned by the miniſterial party. Some inſiſted on the exerciſe, as well as the right of taxation in their utmoſt extent; and even affirmed, that this was a right ſo inherent in Parliament, and ſo effectually interwoven with the conſtitution, that no reſignation of it could ever be valid. A greater number lamented the degradation which the bills would bring upon government, as well as the counſels and dignity of the nation. They inſiſted, that our reſources were not only great, but inexhauſtible; and that nothing but a ſpirited and vigorous exertion of our powers was wanting to accompliſh much greater matters than the ſubjugation of America. They bitterly lamented that puſillanimity in our counſels, which, after ſo great an expence in blood and treaſure, could not only ſubmit to give up all the objects of conteſt, but meanly enter into a treaty with armed rebels, and thereby virtually acknowledge and eſtabliſh that independence which they claimed. They ſaid, that while

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while it would ſerve greatly to excite the courage of the rebels, and increaſe their inſolence to the higheſt degree, it would, on the other hand, greatly diſpirit our own troops, totally diſſolve all that confidence and hope, which the loyal and well-diſpoſed Americans had repoſed in our faith or our power, and would beſides render us contemptible in the eyes of all European ſtates. To crown all theſe ill conſequences, they foretold, that the bills would not anſwer the end propoſed.

With this prediction the members in oppoſition very nearly agreed, though, in other reſpects, they totally differed with the gentlemen above mentioned. They had great apprehenſions, that, from the lateneſs of adopting the meaſure, it would not produce that happy effect which they themſelves ſo much wiſhed, and which they were certain a great majority of the nation began now moſt ardently to pant after. They acknowledged, that the chances in point of calculation were infinitely againſt the ſucceſs of the meaſure; but ſtill there was a chance; and the object of peace with America was of ſo tempting a nature, including not only the happineſs, but the preſervation of this country, that the ſmalleſt chance againſt whatever ſuperiority of odds, was not to be given up at any rate. On this account, they ſaid, they overlooked many things which they diſapproved of in the bills, as they would not in any manner of way impede or delay the buſineſs where ſuch a prize was at ſtake. So great indeed was the apparent eagerneſs of all parties to obtain this deſirable object, that ſome, even of the gentlemen in office, wiſhed to extend the repeal to all the obnoxious acts relative to America. It was agreed on all hands, that, upon the principle of conciliation, this muſt be a meaſure of neceſſity; and the miniſter himſelf, in opening his propoſitions, had declared his willingneſs to give up all theſe laws from the 10th of February 1763. The only difference of opinion now upon the ſubject was concerning the time of carrying it into execution;

cution; that is, whether it ſhould be preliminary to, or a conſequence of the treaty? The latter at length prevailed, and the motion for the repeal of the charter act was rejected by 181 to 108. It was afterwards agreed, however, to repeal the tea-act; and Mr Burke having, the ſame day, moved, that the proviſions of the bill ſhould be extended to the Weſt Indies, his motion was likewiſe agreed to.

Tea-act repealed.

In the debates on the ways and means, ſome motions were made which exceedingly alarmed adminiſtration, and even threatened the total downfal of their power. In order to raiſe the intereſt of ſix millions, which the miniſter found neceſſary to borrow, he propoſed a new tax on houſes and wines. This occaſioned ſome debate in the Committee of Supply on the houſe-tax, which was conſidered by the members in oppoſition as not only a land-tax in effect, but as being alſo exceedingly diſproportionate and oppreſſive, and falling particularly heavy upon the inhabitants of London and Weſtminſter, who already paid ſo vaſt a proportion to the land-tax, and whoſe burdens, including poors rate, window tax, watch, lights, pavement, and other impoſts, amounted in ſeveral pariſhes to more than eight ſhillings in the pound. Whilſt, to render it ſtill more grievous, it frequently happened, that thoſe who were the leaſt able to bear them, had the heavieſt burdens impoſed upon them.

Ways and means.

Tax on houſes and wines.

Such, however, was the preſent temper of the Houſe, that though the motions were at laſt agreed to, another was made by a gentleman in office, and cloſely connected with one branch of the miniſtry, "That the better to enable his Majeſty to vindicate the honour and dignity of his crown and dominions, in the preſent exigency of affairs, there be granted one fourth part of the nett annual income upon the ſalaries, fees, and perquiſites of all offices under the Crown, excepting only thoſe held by the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, the Chancellor, or Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, the Judges, Miniſters to foreign

Tax of one fourth on ſalaries, &c.

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reign parts, Commiſſioners, Officers in the army and navy, and all thoſe which do not produce a clear yearly income of 200l. to their poſſeſſors; the tax alſo extending to all annuities, penſions, ſtipends, or other yearly ſums iſſuing out of the exchequer, or any branch of the revenue; to commence from the 25th of March 1778, and to continue for one year, and during the American war.

This motion, to the aſtoniſhment and terror of adminiſtration, was carried in the committee by 100 to 82; and though the miniſtry ſummoned all their forces againſt the enſuing day, in order to oppoſe it on receiving the report from the committee, it was rejected only by a majority of ſix; nor would even this have been the caſe, had the members in oppoſition been at all unanimous in its ſupport. Some of their principals, however, conſidered it as a meaſure exceedingly diſtreſſing to individuals, without any equivalent advantage to the public. For men in office had frequently no other ſupport but their ſalary, and had long been accuſtomed to live up to its full extent; and thoſe who had intereſt with government would be repaid from the public purſe (frequently with uſury) what they had *apparently* contributed towards it. The only real contribution, therefore, would ariſe from thoſe, who, being deſtitute of intereſt, were the leaſt capable of bearing the tax.

Rejected.

A motion made by Mr Fox concerning the ſtate of the navy, proved likewiſe very troubleſome; but was at length got rid of by the previous queſtion, without a diviſion. That which gave moſt offence, however, was one made by Mr James Luttrel, for an addreſs to his Majeſty, "that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to inſtruct the commiſſioners, whom he might name for the purpoſes of carrying into execution the American bills, that in caſe they ſhould find that the continuance in office of any public miniſter, or miniſters, of the crown of Great Britain, ſhould be found to impreſs ſuch jealouſies or miſtruſt on one or more of the revolted colonies, as might tend materially

Mr Luttrel's motion.

terially to obſtruct the happy work of peace and ſincere reconciliation between Great Britain and her colonies, that the ſaid commiſſioners might be enabled to promiſe, in his Majeſty's name, the earlieſt removal of ſuch miniſter or miniſters from the councils."—This motion, by many, even of the members in oppoſition, thought far too degrading and humiliating, was rejected by 150 to 55.

In the Houſe of Lords, adminiſtration had not been much more at their eaſe than in that of the Commons. On the 16th of February, the Earl of Thanet roſe, and as he was then very much indiſpoſed by a cold, could only inform the Houſe, that he had in his hand a letter from General Gates, which he wiſhed might be read. His requeſt, after ſome oppoſition from the miniſterial party, was performed by the Marquis of Buckingham. The letter was dated October 26. 1777. It in ſubſtance recommended the withdrawing the fleet and army from America, the removal of the preſent miniſtry, and a commercial alliance, as the only means of recovering the friendſhip of the colonies.

Feb. 16. General Gates's letter to the Earl of Thanet.

On hearing the letter, it was moved by the Duke of Richmond, that it ſhould lie on the table. A conſiderable debate enſued, which terminated in the rejection of the Duke's motion without a diviſion; after which the committee of inquiry into the ſtate of the nation was reſumed. In this buſineſs alſo the Duke of Richmond took a leading part, by obſerving, that he had ſeveral reſolutions to propoſe, all of them tending to eſtabliſh the ſtate of the army, and the number of effective men ſerving in America in the different years of 1774, 1775, 1776, and 1777, with the ſervices and events of each campaign, as they appeared from the papers which were referred to the conſideration of the committee. Having then ſtated the neceſſity of the committee's coming to ſome reſult upon the matters that were brought before them, as the name or pretence of an inquiry would otherwiſe be an abſolute mockery, he

Further proceedings on the ſtate of the nation.

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he moved his firſt reſolution, viz. "That it appears to this committee, ſo far as they are informed from the returns referred to them, that the greateſt number of regular land forces ſerving in North America in 1774, did not exceed 6884 men, including officers."—The motion was oppoſed on the old grounds, namely, that it would be impolitic to expoſe the national weakneſs to the enemy; and the committee was diſſolved, by the chairman's leaving the chair; after which all the Duke of Richmond's reſolutions were formally negatived, one by one, in the Houſe.

Feb. 19. The committee was reſumed on the 19th of February, and another ſet of reſolutions propoſed by the Duke of Richmond, relating to the expences which the American war had already coſt the nation. This, for the four laſt years, each of which he ſtated ſeparately, he ſaid, from what already appeared, amounted to the groſs ſum of 23,894,792 l. But he alſo ſhewed, from the example of the laſt war, as well as from various calculations, that there would ſtill remain an expence which could not at preſent be aſcertained, which, at the moſt moderate computation, would at leaſt amount to nine millions more; ſo that the public expence attending the American conteſt, however ſpeedily and happily it might now be brought to a concluſion, and independent of all other contingent loſſes, would, at the loweſt calculation, amount to near thirty-three millions Sterling.

The miniſtry did not pretend to controvert his calculations, but rejected his reſolutions as highly inexpedient, unparliamentary, and incapable of anſwering any uſeful purpoſe. It was equally inexpedient and fooliſh to expoſe the national infirmities and weakneſs; and that, inſtead of promoting the purpoſe held out by the noble Duke, the publiſhing of facts declarative of weakneſs, would produce a directly contrary effect, and render any plan of peace that could be propoſed, infinitely more difficult and hazardous.

hazardous. That if they had foreſeen the purpoſes to which it had been intended to direct the committee, they would have oppoſed its formation originally; they threw out ſome hints concerning its final diſſolution, and concluded with moving, that the chairman ſhould leave the chair. CHAP. XVII. 1778.

In his reply, the duke made many ſevere ſtrictures on the conduct of adminiſtration; but they were attended with no better ſucceſs now than on former occaſions. The motion for the chairman's leaving the chair was carried by 66 to 28; after which the reſolutions were all ſet aſide by the previous queſtion. His grace had now reſigned his ſhare of the inquiry to the Duke of Bolton and Earl of Briſtol, having, he ſaid, gone through thoſe ſubjects with which he was moſt converſant. On the 25th of February, the former moved, that the ſurveyor of the navy ſhould attend the Houſe. This was oppoſed by the Earl of Sandwich on the uſual ground, of its being inexpedient and uſeleſs to give farther information on the ſubject. He had ever held but one opinion, he ſaid, in that reſpect, which was, that it would be highly imprudent, even in its preſent *very flouriſhing* ſtate, to divulge its condition; while, on the other hand, this flouriſhing ſtate of the navy was utterly denied by the lords in oppoſition, and precedents brought for the inquiry. The motion was loſt by a majority of 23 to 11. Feb. 25.

The committee being reſumed on the 2d of March, a new attack was made on the miniſtry by the ſame nobleman, on the ground of the miſmanagements committed in the conduct of our naval affairs. He concluded a long ſpeech on this ſubject with a ſtring of reſolutions, which, after a debate of ſufficient length, were all rejected by a majority of 64 to 26. March 2.

On the 12th of March, the buſineſs was again opened by the Earl of Effingham, who attacked the miniſtry on the profuſion and want of œconomy prevailing in the various departments of ſtate; to prove —— 12.

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which, he had already procured an order for papers and the attendance of witneſſes: but though adminiſtration did not pretend to controvert any of the eſtimates laid before them on this occaſion, or queſtion the authenticity of the facts, they concluded that it was neceſſary to oppoſe his reſolutions, as well as every other on the ſubject. They were therefore all ſet aſide by the previous queſtion; upon which he propoſed his concluding one, which was rejected by a majority of 35 to 17; and thus ended the inquiry into the ſtate of the nation in the Houſe of Lords.

On the conciliatory bills.

The American conciliatory bills paſſed through the Houſe of Lords with very little oppoſition. Many conſidered them as extremely diſgraceful to Britain: and indeed it ſeemed to be the general opinion that they would not anſwer the purpoſe for which they were intended. The eager hope, however, of attaining the great point in view, ſubdued all other conſiderations, and prevented any great degree of oppoſition.

On allowing Independence to the colonies. March 17.

The diſcuſſions on American affairs were not ended by the royal meſſage concerning the declaration of France in favour of the colonies. Several of the moſt reſpectable members in oppoſition, and even ſome of the oppoſite party, conſidered an immediate acknowledgment of the independency of the Americans, as not only the wiſeſt, but the only meaſure now to be adopted, and which was capable of extricating us without ſtill greater loſſes, out of our preſent dangers and difficulties, with any proſpect of advantage from our ancient colonies. Their independence, they ſaid, was not only already eſtabliſhed, but had obtained ſuch time to fix and ſettle upon its foundations, that it appeared now too firm to be ſhaken by our utmoſt efforts, even ſuppoſing it were left, without any foreign ſupport, merely to the exertions of its own internal ſtrength. But, in that ſituation, to form any hope of our being equal to its overthrow, under the acknowledgment and ſupport

of

of the Houſe of Bourbon, was, they ſaid, an idea only fit to be entertained by Bedlamites.

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On this occaſion, Lord Chatham made his laſt and moſt affecting ſpeech in the Houſe of Lords. He had long been a prey to thoſe incurable diſorders which brought him to his grave, and, at this time, was ſo exceedingly weak, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty he could be brought into the Houſe. He delivered his ſpeech, however, with extraordinary energy, and, in the moſt pathetic manner, concluded with giving his hearty negative to the independence of America *.

Celebrated ſpeech of Lord Chatham. May.

* "My Lords," ſays he, "the times are alarming; the State is indeed in danger! and nothing but the poor condition of my health could ſo long have prevented me from attending to my duty in Parliament at this very important period. But advice is now ſo neceſſary, that although ſorely preſſed by the hand of infirmity, I have made an effort, almoſt beyond my conſtitution, to come down to the Houſe, to give my beſt advice to your Lordſhips, and to expreſs my indignation at the puſillanimous, the diſgraceful idea of giving up the dependence of America on the ſovereignty of Britain. Feeble as I am, I rejoice that I am yet alive, that the grave has not altogether cloſed on me, before I had an opportunity of giving my vote againſt ſo impolitic a meaſure, as the ackowledgment of the independence of America.

"That our public affairs have, for ſome years by-paſt, been ſhamefully managed, I have frequently endeavoured to convince your Lordſhips; and although I condemned the meaſures which have for ſome time been adopted by the majority of this Houſe, yet I have been always againſt the independence of America, and never would ſupport meaſures carried on in unrecanted error; but after a full recantation of theſe erroneous meaſures, and after a repeal of all the oppreſſive acts, it is the duty of every lover of his country, of every good citizen, to take care, while, on the one hand, he preſerves the rights and privileges of the colonies, he does not, on the other, tarniſh the luſtre of his Royal maſter's crown, nor ſink the glory of the Britiſh nation. The tendency and plain language of the preſent motion is, to diſgrace our Sovereign, and to bring reproach upon us as a nation. It is, in a manner, totally to annihilate this once great empire. I chuſe to ſpeak out my ſentiments, even though there may be danger in doing ſo. I always hated reſerve; and never did approve of halting between two opinions, when there was no middle path to ſteer with certainty. The perfidy of France ought to rouſe us, and make us ſtrain every nerve, open every vein, to preſerve our national character, and to preſerve us from being ſcoffed and laughed at by foreigners. It is now abſolutely neceſſary either to declare for peace or war; and when the former cannot be preſerved with honour, the latter ought to be commenced without heſitation. What is life without reputation? And does that perſon deſerve the name of a *man*, of an *Engliſhman*, who would not lay down his life to preſerve the ancient dignity of his country? We may poſſibly fail in the attempt, but ſtill let us make an effort, one united effort, to prevent ſuch national diſgrace. If we fall in the attempt, Europe will at leaſt be convinced, that we had as much virtue left as to fall like men.

"But, it is ſaid, we ought to make peace with America on any terms, and bring home our troops in order to protect ourſelves; in ſhort, that we ſhould allow a foreign ambaſſador inſolently

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1778. Duke of Richmond's reply.

The duke of Richmond, after paſſing the higheſt compliments on the great ſucceſs of Lord Chatham's adminiſtration, appealed to the noble lord himſelf if ſuch ſucceſſes could be attained, even by the talents of

to tell *us*, that *his* maſter had made a bargain for that commerce which was *our* natural right, and entered into a treaty with *our own* ſubjects, without ſo much as reſenting it.—Merciful God! to what a low ebb muſt this once great empire be now reduced, when any of her ſenators (pointing to the Duke of Richmond) can raiſe up his head, and with a grave face openly hold forth ſuch timid, ſuch daſtardly councils? This never was the language of Britain, and never ſhall be mine.—What! can it be poſſible that we are the ſame people, who about ſixteen years ago were the envy and admiration of all the world? Is not this England?—Is not this the Senate of Great Britain? And can we forget that we are Engliſhmen? Can we have forgot that the nation has ſtood the Daniſh irruptions—the Scotch inroads—the Norman conqueſts—the Spaniſh armada—and the various efforts of the Bourbon compacts? Of what then are we afraid? Why are we blinded by deſpair? Why ſhould we ſit down in ignominious tameneſs; and, with a deſponding face, ſay to France, "Take from us what you "will; take all we have; but do, pray, "let us live and die in peace."—Shame upon ſuch diſgraceful, ſuch pitiful counſels! My God! How are we altered! What can have occaſioned ſo ſudden an alteration? Is the King ſtill the ſame? I hope he is; but I fear there is ſomething in the dark, ſomething rotten near him; ſomething lurking between him and his people, which has thus diſmembered his empire, and tarniſhed his glory. But I truſt that we ſtill have reſources, ſtill have courage to puniſh the perfidy of France. Why then ſhould we now give up all? and that too without a blow; without an attempt to reſent the inſults offered to us? If France and Spain are for war, why not try an iſſue with them? For, I again ſay, if we ſhould fall in the attempt, let us fall decently; and if we cannot live with honour, let us die like men. Heaven forbid that we ſhould be permitted to live one day for the purpoſe of making ſcourges for our own backs!

"At preſent I cannot point out the means for carrying on the war; but I wiſh to recall to your Lordſhips remembrance, the extent and revenue of the Crown when King George III. came to take poſſeſſion of it. Your Lordſhips will then be ſatisfied, that the internal reſources of the kingdom are great. But I do deny, (pointing to the Duke of Cumberland) that your Lordſhips, ſuppoſing you were ſo puſillanimous, have any right to vote away the inheritance of thirteen American provinces from the Royal family. I revere the deſcendants of the body of the Princeſs Sophia, and before I agree to the preſent motion, I will have the Prince of Wales, the Biſhop of Oſnaburg, and the other riſing hopes of the Royal Blood, brought down to this Houſe, to give their conſent to giving up what they have a legal and natural right to expect to poſſeſs. Feeble and ſhattered as I am, yet ſo long as I have ſtrength to raiſe myſelf on my crutches,—ſo long as I can lift my hand, or utter a ſyllable, I will vote againſt the giving up the dependence of America on the ſovereignty of Great Britain. Even if I ſhould ſtand ſingle, I will, to the laſt moment of my exiſtence, vote againſt a meaſure ſo diſhonourable to my country. From my bad ſtate of health, I am ſenſible that my abilities are not now ſuch as to inſure ſucceſs even to the beſt concerted meaſures; but I ſhall always be ready, when called upon, to give an honeſt advice to my beloved Sovereign.

"I wage war with no ſet of men, nor do I wiſh to get into any of their employments. I think the king has a right to chuſe his own ſervants; but, if they ſhall betray the truſt repoſed in them, I ſhall always be for an inquiry into their conduct; and, if they

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of a Chatham, unaſſiſted by circumſtances. Could he obtain conqueſt without means, without an army, without a navy, without money, without a revenue, without credit? He begged leave to recall to the noble lord's memory, that, when he was called to the management of affairs, the empire was in a flouriſhing ſtate; the finances were delivered to him in the higheſt ſtate of improvement to which the abilities of a Pelham could raiſe them. The national debt was ſeventy millions leſs when he came to the helm than when he left it. Could any analogy be deduced from theſe times to the preſent? America was then with us; ſhe is now againſt us. Our commerce was then extended and profitable; we have ſince loſt the moſt profitable branches of our trade. The African trade was diminiſhed 1,400,000 l. a-year. Our merchant ſhips were now deſtroyed by thoſe who then protected and employed them. We have loſt ſhipping to the value of 2,600,000 l. in the conteſt with America, as had been proved at their Lordſhips bar. Theſe were circumſtances unknown in other times, and required new meaſures. The braveſt princes, and the proudeſt ſtates, have been obliged to temporize, and ſubmit to circumſtances; and this was a moment for us to imitate them. But, in fact, what was the ſhocking humiliation? Acknowledge the Independence of America, and you have no further quarrel with France. And what

are found guilty, I hope there is ſtill ſpirit enough in the nation to bring miniſters to condign puniſhment. I truſt in GOD, however, that his Majeſty will be directed to make a proper choice of his ſervants. There never was a king who ſtood more in need of honeſt and able miniſters.—But I feel my conſtitution fails me.—I am always much indebted to your Lordſhips for your indulgence. If my health would permit, if my frail carcaſe could be ſupported, I could ſpeak for ever on this ſubject, when the dignity of my king and the honour of my country are at ſtake. The good of the nation is my ſole ambition, and although I do earneſtly pray for an honourable peace, yet I hope never to live ſo long as to ſee ſuch diſgrace brought on the kingdom as muſt ariſe from a peace produced by puſillanimous counſels, which any peace with America as independent ſtates muſt be. I feel my mind agitated at the thoughts of it. My ſoul revolts. It ſpurns at the idea of American independency; and therefore I will, on every occaſion, give it a negative.—Here his Lordſhip's ſpeech was cut ſhort by extreme weakneſs.

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was the mighty difference between *dependence* and *independence?* It was a quarrel about words, a mere difference of ſounds: For, if we gave up taxation, if we gave up the appointment of governors, and other officers in the provinces, if we did not inſiſt on keeping up a ſtanding army there, they would only ſtand bound to us by inclination and intereſt, and the names of *dependence* and *independence* could only be deſcriptive of the ſame connection. He might be called daſtardly and puſillanimous, for adviſing peace; but he would ſhew his courage, by perſiſting in the ſame plan, in ſpite of ſuch painful and undeſerved appellations; and he held himſelf amply juſtified in wiſhing to ſave his country, by recommending a pacification on any terms, when ſo great a man as Lord Chatham had publicly declared, he did not know the means of ſaving it by making war. The miniſters who had adviſed the violent meaſures againſt America, were the perſons who had diſinherited the Prince of Wales and the Biſhop of Oſnaburg, and not thoſe who recommended a ſalutary acquieſcence under the loſſes which they had rendered inevitable, and which muſt increaſe by reſiſtance.

Lord Chatham roſe to reply; but, after two or three unſucceſsful attempts to ſtand, fell down in a ſwoon on his ſeat, where he was aſſiſted by the Duke of Cumberland, the Earls Temple, Stamford, &c. After being conveyed out of the houſe, he ſeemed to recover a little, but continued in a languiſhing condition till the 11th of May, when he expired at his ſeat at Hayes, near Kenſington. After his death both parties ſeemed inclined to make amends, by the honours they then paid to his memory, for the neglect with which he had been treated during the latter part of his life. His death was announced in the Houſe of Commons, late the ſame evening, by Colonel Barré, who, after a ſhort eulogium on the deceaſed, and taking a ſlight ſketch of the obligations which the nation owed to his public virtues and ſervices, moved for an addreſs to his Majeſty for directions

May 11. Death and funeral honours of Lord Chatham.

tions that "the remains of William Pitt, earl of Chatham, be interred at the public expence." The motion was ſeconded by Mr Townſhend, and ſeemed to receive a very general approbation.

Notwithſtanding the vaſt effuſions of ſorrow and gratitude now poured forth, it was, however, well known, that, for ſome time paſt, Lord Chatham had been ſo ungracious at Court, that it was not even thought proper frequently to mention his name there. A gentleman (Mr Rigby) at that time high in office, endeavoured, therefore, to get rid of the motion by a propoſal, which, without conveying the ungracious and unpopular idea of directly oppoſing the honour intended to the deceaſed, would, if adopted, tend greatly to leſſen its effect. His propoſal was, to erect a monument to his Lordſhip's memory, which, he could not help thinking, would be a more eligible as well as a more laſting teſtimony of the public gratitude, than merely to defray his funeral expences. This propoſal, however, produced an effect directly contrary to what was intended: The Oppoſition received it with joy; but, inſtead of the ſubſtitution propoſed, they joined it to the original motion, in the following words: "And that a monument be erected in the Collegiate Church of St Peter, Weſtminſter, to the memory of that great and excellent ſtateſman, with an inſcription expreſſive of the ſentiments of the people on ſo great and irreparable a loſs; and to aſſure his Majeſty that this Houſe will make good the expence."

Lord John Cavendiſh aroſe, and ſaid, he hoped that virtue ſhould not, in this inſtance, be merely its own reward; but that the gratitude of the public to Lord Chatham's family, whom he had left deſtitute of all ſuitable proviſion, ſhould be the means of exciting an emulation in thoſe yet unborn to copy ſuch an example.

The miniſter fell in with theſe meaſures in a manner that did him honour; and the whole Houſe ſeemed to participate of a general pleaſure in the ap-

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probation of them. In conſequence of a motion, made by Mr Townſhend, a bill was brought in and paſſed, by which an annuity of 4000 l. a-year, payable out of the Civil-Liſt revenue, was for ever ſettled on thoſe heirs of the late earl, on whom the earldom of Chatham may deſcend; and this was followed by a grant of 20,000 l. from the Commons, for the diſcharge of the late earl's debts.

Though all this paſſed in the Houſe of Commons without any altercation, or without a ſingle diſſentient voice upon any one propoſition, it was otherwiſe in the Houſe of Lords. A motion made by the earl of Shelburne, that the Houſe ſhould attend his funeral, was directly oppoſed, and the motion loſt by the majority of one. The bill for ſettling an annuity on his deſcendents was likewiſe vigorouſly oppoſed by a few Lords; however, it carried, by a majority of 42 to 11 *.

* A proteſt was entered by the Duke of Chandos, the Lord Chancellor, the Archbiſhop of York, and Lord Paget.—"Becauſe," ſaid they, "we cannot agree to ſuch an unwarrantable laviſhing away of the public money, at a time when the nation groans under a heavy load of debts, and is engaged in a dangerous and expenſive war.

"Becauſe we fear that this act may in time be made uſe of as a precedent for factious purpoſes, and for the enriching of private families at the public expence."

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State of affairs in America——French King's letters to Congreſs——Proceedings of the Commiſſioners——Earl of Carliſle challenged by Fayette——General Howe ſucceeded by Sir Henry Clinton——Battle of Freehold——General Lee diſgraced——French fleet under D'Eſtaing arrives——Attempt on Rhode Iſland——Expedition of the Britiſh againſt Egg Harbour and Wyoming——and of the Americans againſt Illinois, the Tories on Suſquehanna, and the Six Indian Nations——Georgia reduced by Campbell and Prevoſt——Attempt of Prevoſt on Charleſton——Aſhe defeated——Northern Colonies——D'Eſtaing leaves Boſton——Vaughan's expedition againſt Virginia——Americans ſurpriſe Stoney Point——Fail at Paulus Hook——Defeated at Penobſcot.

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State of affairs in America.

WE ſhall now take leave of the Parliament of Great Britain, in order to follow the Commiſſioners acroſs the Atlantic, where they found matters in ſuch a ſtate, as would have required more addreſs to conciliate them, than perhaps ever fell to the ſhare of any five perſons in this world. It has been already mentioned, that one of the terms of the convention of Saratoga was, that the troops ſhould have a ſafe paſſage from Boſton back to their own country, on condition of not ſerving in North America during the continuance of the war. It is eaſy to ſee, that however well the performance of this article on the part of Congreſs might accord with that ſyſtem of fairneſs, equity, and good faith, ſo neceſſary to be obſerved in new ſtates, it would be equally contrary to what is reckoned ſound policy, and the principles by which every ſtate endeavours to ſupport itſelf. To have ſent over to Britain ſuch

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a number of ſoldiers, whence they might inſtantly have been replaced by others, appeared to Congreſs exceedingly improper, if any means could be fallen upon to prevent it. Theſe were accordingly ſought after with eagerneſs, at the ſame time that every method was taken to preſerve the neceſſary appearance of equity and juſtice. Here, indeed, it ſeems to have been particularly unlucky, at leaſt in point of time, that a requiſition for a little deviation from ſome of the terms of the Convention had been made by the Britiſh commanders themſelves. This was for the embarkation of the convention-troops either at the Sound, near New-York, or at Rhode-Iſland, inſtead of Boſton, which had been mentioned in the Convention. In conſequence of its being expected that this requeſt would have been complied with, the tranſports for the conveyance of the troops had aſſembled at Rhode Iſland. The Congreſs, however, not only refuſed to comply with this requiſition, but pretended that the meaſure was propoſed merely to afford an opportunity to the Convention-troops to join their fellows at New York, and continue to act in America.

Great complaints were made in the mean time by the Britiſh officers near Boſton, of the badneſs of the quarters with which they had been provided; and General Burgoyne having made ſome ſtrong expoſtulations on this ſubject, and the detention of the troops, his words were wreſted by Congreſs to a declaration, that the convention had been broken on their part, and conſequently that the General muſt conſider himſelf at liberty to act as he thought proper, as ſoon as he was got without the limits of the America power. On this and ſome other frivolous pretences, ſuch as that the ſoldiers had not delivered up their cartouch-boxes, the Congreſs publiſhed a reſolution on the 8th of January 1778, from which they could never be induced to recede, that the embarkation of General Burgoyne and his army ſhould be ſuſpended until a diſtinct and explicit ratification

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of the treaty at Saratoga ſhould be formally notified to them by the court of Great Britain. CHAP. XVIII.

About the middle of April, Governor Tryon at New York received the rough draught of the conciliatory bills, and uſed every method he could think of to diſperſe them among the revolted coloniſts. As the Congreſs had already made a reſolve not to treat with Great Britain, except on the footing of independence, this mode of circulating the bills was conſidered as an inſidious attempt to divide the people; and the Congreſs, to ſhew their contempt of it, cauſed them to be publiſhed in the newſpapers, with ſuitable remarks and reſolutions. 1778. April.

In the beginning of May, Mr Silas Deane arrived at Yorktown in Virginia, where the Congreſs had ſat ſince the loſs of Philadelphia, with the French treaty. He had been conveyed from France in a royal frigate of 28 guns, appointed for the purpoſe; and brought with him, for ratification by the Congreſs, copies of the two treaties of alliance and commerce; the latter having been concluded on the 30th of January, and the former on the 6th of February this year. The joy and exultation of the Americans on this occaſion was extreme. A gazette was inſtantly publiſhed, in which, beſides a general ſummary of the information that had been received, ſome of the moſt flattering articles of the treaties, with the comments of Congreſs upon them, were exhibited to the people, in which the extraordinary equity, generoſity, and unparalelled honour of the Frence king were extolled in the higheſt degree. They ſeemed alſo to count upon Spain as already a virtual party to the alliance, and the naval force of both nations as united in their cauſe, boaſting much likewiſe of the friendly diſpoſition of the other European powers, ſetting them forth as almoſt all viewing America with an eye of friendſhip. May.

It was not, however, until the month of Auguſt that the Congreſs had the pleaſure of formally giving audience to a French ambaſſador and plenipotentiary, named

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named M. Gerard.—Within the bar of the Houſe, the Congreſs formed a ſemicircle on each ſide of the Preſident and the Miniſter, the Preſident ſitting at one extremity of the circle, at a table upon a platform elevated by two ſteps, the Miniſter ſitting at the oppoſite extremity in an arm-chair, upon the ſame level with the Congreſs. The door of the Congreſs chamber being thrown open below the bar, above 200 gentlemen were admitted.

French king's letter to the Congreſs.

At this audience a letter * from his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was delivered by the Secretary of the Sieur Gerard to the Preſident of Congreſs, and read; acquainting them of his having ſigned the treaties with America, and aſſuring them of his affection and friendſhip. This was followed by a ſpeech from the Sieur Gerard, in which among other things he informs them, that his Majeſty had haſtened to ſend a powerful aſſiſtance, in order to eſtabliſh their independence. To this ſpeech a ſuitable anſwer was returned by Henry Laurens, Eſq; Preſident of Congreſs, in which he complimented his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty on his wiſdom and magnanimity, and hoped the aſſiſtance he had ſo generouſly ſent, would bring Great Britain to a ſenſe of her duty, and promote the common intereſts of France and America.

Though this audience had not been given until after the arrival of the Britiſh Commiſſioners, yet as the treaties with France had been abſolutely and finally

* The letter was in the following words.

"*Very Dear Great Friends and Allies,*

"The treaties which we have ſigned with you, in conſequence of the propoſals your Commiſſioners made to us in your behalf, are a certain aſſurance of our affection for the United States in general, and for each of them in particular, as well as of the intereſt we take in their happineſs and proſperity. It is to convince you more particularly of this, that we have nominated the Sieur Gerard, ſecretary of our council of ſtate, to reſide among you in quality of our miniſter plenipotentiary. He is the better acquainted with our ſentiments toward you, and the more capable of teſtifying the ſame to you, as he was intruſted on our part to negociate with your commiſſioners, and ſigned with them the treaties which cement our union. We pray you to give full credit to all he ſhall communicate to you from us, more eſpecially when he ſhall aſſure you of our affection and conſtant friendſhip for you. We pray GOD, Very Dear Great Friends and Allies, to have you in his holy keeping.

Your Good Friend and Ally,
LOUIS.

Verſailles, 28th March 1778.
GRAVIER DE VERGENNES.

nally concluded long before, we may eaſily ſee how little hope the Court of Britain could reaſonably entertain that the Americans would now relinquiſh their independence, for which they had ſo long and ſucceſsfully contended. From the letters indeed betwixt the Reverend Mr Duche, chaplain to Congreſs, and General Waſhington, it appears, that even before theſe treaties were completed, and while matters ſtill remained very doubtful with regard to the event of the war, it was the univerſal ſenſe of America, that their independence could not be given up on any terms whatever. The reaſons adduced for this by General Waſhington in his letter, were ſuch as might naturally have occurred to any perſon who would give himſelf the trouble of reaſoning on the ſubject; but in Britain there ſeemed to prevail ſome kind of infatuation, as it might be called, with regard to the inclination of the Americans to ſubmit to Britain. Indeed this perſuaſion ſeems to have been the true origin of all the misfortunes that attended the Britiſh arms throughout this ill-fated war. Had the miniſtry been apprized of the real forces neceſſary to have ſubjugated the colonies, it is moſt probable that they would not have perſiſted in their deſign of conqueſt, but made thoſe offers in time which they now ſo diſgracefully held out, after the independence of the colonies had been guaranteed by the greateſt power in Europe, and when they could not but expect them to be refuſed with contempt, as they afterwards experienced.

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With theſe inauſpicious perſuaſions the Commiſſioners ſet ſail on the 21ſt of April, the very day before the Congreſs had finally reſolved not only to treat on no other terms than independency, but to hold as enemies to their country any perſon who preſumed to treat with them privately. They arrived at Philadelphia on the 6th of June, and inſtantly ſet about the buſineſs of their commiſſion, by making, when too late, thoſe conceſſions that at a former ſeaſon would have ſaved the Britiſh empire from a moſt deſtructive war. A letter with the late acts of Parliament,

April 21. Proceedings of the Commiſſioners in America.

June 6.

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ment, a copy of their commiſſion, and ſome other papers, were diſpatched to Congreſs; but their Secretary, Dr Adam Ferguſon, profeſſor of moral philoſophy in Edinburgh, who was intended to convey the papers, and to enter into a negociation with Congreſs, being refuſed a paſſport, they were obliged to convey them by common means. In theſe papers they offered to conſent to an immediate ceſſation of arms by ſea and land,—to reſtore a free intercourſe, and renew the common benefits of naturalization through the ſeveral parts of the empire—to extend every freedom to trade that the intereſts of both ſides could require—to agree, that no military force ſhould be kept up in the different ſtates of North America, without the conſent of the General Congreſs, or of the particular aſſemblies—to concur in meaſures calculated to diſcharge the debts of America, and to raiſe the credit and value of the paper circulation—to perpetuate the common union by a reciprocal deputation of an agent or agents from the different ſtates, who ſhould have the privilege of a ſeat and voice in the Parliament of Great Britain; or, if ſent from Great Britain, to have in that caſe a ſeat and voice in the aſſemblies of the different ſtates to which they might be deputed reſpectively, in order to attend to the ſeveral intereſts of thoſe by whom they were deputed—in ſhort, to eſtabliſh the power of the reſpective legiſlatures in each particular ſtate, to ſettle its revenue, its civil and military eſtabliſhment, and to exerciſe a perfect freedom of legiſlation and internal government; ſo that the Britiſh ſtates throughout North America, acting with Great Britain in peace or war, under one common ſovereign, might have the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege that was ſhort of a total ſeparation of intereſt, or conſiſtent with that union of force on which the ſafety of the common religion and liberty depends.

Their offers finally refuſed by Congreſs.

Theſe papers produced conſiderable debates for ſix days; but the anſwer returned at laſt by Henry Laurens, preſident of the Congreſs, was altogether unfavourable.

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unfavourable. They obſerved to the Commiſſioners, that the acts of the Britiſh Parliament, the commiſſion from their ſovereign, and their letter, ſuppoſed the people of thoſe ſtates to be *ſubjects* of the Crown of Great Britain, and were founded on the idea of *dependence*, which was totally inadmiſſible. They informed them, that notwithſtanding the unjuſt claims from which the war originated, and the ſavage manner in which it had been conducted, they would be ready to enter upon the conſideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconſiſtent with treaties already ſubſiſting, when the King of Great Britain ſhould demonſtrate a ſincere diſpoſition for that purpoſe; but the only ſolid proof of that diſpoſition would be an explicit ackowledgment of the independence of thoſe ſtates, or the withdrawing of his fleets and armies.

The Congreſs at the ſame time iſſued an unanimous approbation of General Waſhington's conduct, in refuſing a paſſport to Dr Ferguſon; and although as a body they did not enter into any litigation with the Commiſſioners on the general ſubject of their miſſion, yet ſome of their members, particularly Mr Drayton, one of the delegates for South Carolina, and others, perhaps not officially connected with them, entered the liſts of controverſy in the public papers with no ſmall degree of animoſity. For as the Commiſſioners carried along with them the idea that "the bulk of the Americans were well affected to the Britiſh government, and that the greater part of the remainder were only held in a ſtate of deluſion by the Congreſs," they accordingly, upon this failure of negociation, directed their publications in the manner of appeals to the people at large; ſeeming thereby in ſome degree to realize the charge ſo frequently made, that their only object was, under the appearance of reconciliation, to produce either a ſeparation among the Colonies, or excite the people to tumults againſt their reſpective governments. And as the Congreſs not only permitted, but affected to forward the publication

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blication of all matters upon the ſubject, ſo the writers juſt mentioned undertook to obviate any effect which thoſe iſſued by the Commiſſioners might have upon the minds of the people at large.

They attempt in vain to treat with the people at large.

Such a peremptory denial to their firſt offers of accommodation not only proved very mortifying to the Commiſſioners, but excited their reſentment in no ſmall degree. In their attempts to treat with the people at large, Governor Johnſtone diſtinguiſhed himſelf beyond all the other Commiſſioners, and drew upon him, of conſequence, a greater ſhare of the reſentment of Congreſs. They accuſed him as a ſpy, whoſe only view was to ſow diſſention among them; nay, who had attempted to bribe Joſeph Reid, Eſq; Robert Morris, Eſq; alſo George Waſhington, Eſq; and Preſident Laurens, to deſert the cauſe of their country, and betray it to the Britiſh; abſolutely refuſing, at the ſame time, to have any connection with him as a Commiſſioner. This produced a reply from the reſt of the Commiſſioners, in which they charged the Congreſs with breaking the convention of Saratoga; with inhumanity in prolonging the war, when they had an opportunity of putting a ſtop to it; of deluding the people, &c. In another manifeſto they endeavoured to prove, that the offers of France had been made only in conſequence of the declaration of Lord North, that he was to propoſe a conciliatory plan with regard to the colonies, which was as far back as the month of November 1777; and conſequently, that the Americans ought to accept of their offers, rather than adhere to their treaty with France, whoſe offers had commenced only on the 16th of December.

Earl of Carliſle challenged by the Marquis de la Fayette.

It may eaſily be ſuppoſed that reaſonings of this kind could have very little weight with the Americans. The conſequences therefore were exactly what had been predicted. Inſtead of ſucceeding in their commiſſion, they found themſelves every where treated with ridicule and contempt; nay the Marquis de la Fayette, a young French nobleman, who, from mere

mere enthuſiaſm in the cauſe of liberty, had joined the Americans, ſent a challenge to the Earl of Carliſle on account of ſome expreſſions he had made uſe of to the prejudice, as he conceived, of the French nation. Tho' the challenge was treated with the contempt it merited, it ſerved to ſhew the very hoſtile diſpoſition which reigned throughout the whole continent with regard to Britain, and how very little hope of ſucceſs remained. Finding, therefore, that nothing could be accompliſhed, they put a concluſion to their treaty by a manifeſto, dated October 3d 1778, and addreſſed to the Congreſs, the general aſſemblies or conventions of the colonies, plantations and provinces, and the free inhabitants of every rank and denomination. In this, after once more holding forth the bleſſings they were empowered to confer, the great advantages the Americans would find in a re-union with Britain, and the danger of a connection with France, they concluded with warning them of the calamities in which they would inevitably involve themſelves by perſiſting in their oppoſition to Great Britain, and aſſuring them that their independence never would be acknowledged by the mother country.

This manifeſto was quickly anſwered by another from Congreſs, in which they contraſted the behaviour of Britain in the moſt diſadvantageous manner with their own.

It would ſwell this work to an enormous ſize, were we to enter minutely into this paper war: We ſhall, therefore, now proceed to give an account of thoſe more ſerious operations which the arrival of the commiſſioners had ſcarce interrupted.

Succeſsful expedition of the Britiſh.

In the beginning of the year, ſome ſucceſsful predatory incurſions had been made into the Jerſeys, and on the banks of the Delaware, by which the Americans ſuſtained a prodigious loſs, beſides the defeat of a party of ſoldiers by Colonel Abercrombie, in which great numbers of the Provincials were killed and wounded. Towards the end of May,

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ſome expeditions from Rhode Iſland were conducted in ſuch a manner, as undoubtedly muſt have contributed greatly to fruſtrate that little expectation of peace, which the ill-adviſed proceedings at home had rendered almoſt totally deſperate. Ships, boats, houſes, places of worſhip, ſtores of all ſorts, of whatever nature, whether public or private, in a word, every thing uſeful to man, that was liable to the action of fire, was in ſome places conſumed.

On the Rhode-Iſland ſide a leſs ſevere mode of operation was practiſed, namely, the carrying off the peaceable and defenceleſs inhabitants of the country, and detaining them as priſoners of war, until they ſhould at ſome time or other be exchanged for an equal number of ſoldiers taken on their ſide in arms. Of this the American general having made a complaint, it was replied, that by the laws of America, every inhabitant from ſixteen and ſixty was liable to be called on to take up arms, and was therefore to be conſidered at all times, and treated as a ſoldier. It could be no injuſtice therefore to carry off, and detain as priſoners of war, as many of them as could be taken, whether armed or not, to be exchanged for ſoldiers or ſailors.

Gen. Howe reſigns the command to Sir H. Clinton.

In the beginning of May, Sir Henry Clinton took upon him the command of the army, in place of Gen. Howe, who now returned to England. The deſign of evacuating Philadelphia was put in execution on

June 18.

the 18th of June, on which day the whole Britiſh army paſſed the Delaware without interruption. The American General being informed of the intended evacuation, had ſent out a ſtrong detachment, with orders to interrupt their march as much as poſſible. This detachment, however, not being able to cope with the whole Britiſh force, could do nothing but break down the bridges, after abandoning a ſtrong poſt they had occupied, with a view to diſpute the paſſage of the enemy. The troops, therefore, purſued their march for ſome time without any interruption from the Americans, though greatly encumbered

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cumbered with a vaſt quantity of baggage, the number of loaded horſes and wheel carriages being ſo great, as to occupy a line of twelve miles in length, though in this were included the proviſions neceſſary for their whole retreat, and which could not have been procured in a country ſo extremely inimical to the Britiſh cauſe. The march was exceedingly retarded by the heat of the weather, which at that time was exceſſive, the cloſeneſs of the narrow roads through the woods, and the conſtant labour of renewing or repairing bridges, in a country every where interſected with creeks and marſhy brooks.

In the mean time, the Generals Waſhington and Lee, with a very conſiderable force, watched the motions of the Britiſh army, eagerly waiting for an opportunity of attacking them to advantage. The evident difficulty of paſſing the Rariton, induced Sir Henry Clinton to avoid the ſtreight road to Staten Iſland, and to direct his courſe towards the ſea-coaſt, in order to reach Sandy Hook. On diſcovering this deſign, the American commander diſpatched ſome bodies of choſen troops under the general conduct of the Marquis de la Fayette, to haraſs the enemy in their march, himſelf following, with the whole force, at a proper diſtance. On the near approach of the van of the one army to the rear of the other, General Lee was diſpatched with two brigades to reinforce, and take the command of the advanced corps, which, according to Waſhington's account, amounted to 5000 men. Sir Henry Clinton now judging from the number of the enemy's light troops which hovered on his rear, that the main body was at no great diſtance, placed the baggage under the care of General Knyphauſen, who led the firſt column of the army. The other, which covered the line of march, and which was compoſed of moſt excellent troops, now remained free for action, and was under the immediate inſpection of Sir Henry himſelf.

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1778. Battle of Freehold, June 28.

On the morning of the 28th of June, General Knyphauſen, with the carriages, began to move at day-break, directing their courſe towards Middle Town, a place diſtant about ten or twelve miles, in a high and ſtrong country. The ſecond diviſion, under the Commander in Chief, continued for ſome hours longer on their ground, in the neighbourhood of Freehold, both to cover the line of march, and to afford time for the carriages to get on their way. About eight o'clock, ſome parties of the enemy, which haraſſed their left flank from the woods, were engaged and diſperſed by the light troops; but as the rear-guard deſcended into a valley about three miles in length, and one in breadth, ſeveral columns of the enemy appeared likewiſe deſcending into the plain, who began a cannonade about ten o'clock; at the ſame time that the enemy were diſcovered marching in great force on both flanks. Sir Henry, now judging that the enemy's principal deſign was on the baggage, immediately concluded, that the only way to ſave it would be to make a vigorous attack on that body which incommoded his rear, and which would oblige them to call in the flanking detachments to their aſſiſtance. Having, therefore, recalled a brigade of Britiſh infantry, and the 17th regiment of light dragoons from Knyphauſen's diviſion, he directed them to take ſuch a poſition as would effectually cover his right flank, where he was moſt jealous of the enemy's deſign. In the mean time, the Queen's light dragoons had, with their uſual ſpirit, attacked and routed the cavalry of the enemy under the Marquis de la Fayette, and driven them back in confuſion on their own infantry. The General then took meaſures for attacking the enemy on the plain; but before this could be accompliſhed, they unexpectedly fell back, and took a ſtrong poſition on ſome adjacent high grounds.

Though the troops were already greatly fatigued by reaſon of the heat of the weather, which even in that ſultry climate was uncommonly intenſe, the Britiſh

tiſh grenadiers attacked the enemy with ſuch ſpirit, that their firſt line ſoon gave way. The ſecond line behaved much better, and reſiſted a fierce attack with great obſtinacy, until being at length compelled to give way, they took a third poſition with ſo much judgment, that any attack ſeemed almoſt impracticable, their front being well covered by a marſhy hollow. Diſpoſitions, however, were made for diſlodging them, and their left flank had been already turned for this purpoſe; but the army were now ſo greatly overpowered with fatigue, that it was thought expedient to delay any further operations at that time; eſpecially as the General was now confident that the purpoſe of the action was gained, and the baggage in perfect ſafety. His judgment, indeed, in this caſe appeared very conſpicuous; for two brigades of the enemy's light troops had actually made the attempt, but were repulſed at the firſt onſet; after which, the engagement in the plain inſtantly commencing, they were recalled to aſſiſt in the defence of the main body.

Though, from the account juſt now given, this appears to have been a kind of drawn battle, or rather to the diſadvantage of the Americans, the latter nevertheleſs pretended that the victory belonged to them; nay, according to their account of the matter, the engagement would have been deciſive in their favour, had it not been for the miſconduct and diſobedience of General Lee.

From theſe diſcordant accounts it is difficult, indeed impoſſible, to collect the real truth. By the conſequences it is natural to ſuppoſe that very little was gained on either ſide. Both parties, however, ſeem to have exerted themſelves to the utmoſt, as by the Britiſh accounts it appears that fifty-nine of their ſoldiers died of mere fatigue, without any wound; and the like happened to ſeveral of the American ſoldiers, notwithſtanding their being ſo much accuſtomed to the climate. With regard to thoſe killed and wounded at this time, we are no leſs at a loſs

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than as to the circumſtances of the battle. If we may believe the Gazette accounts, the loſs of the Britiſh in killed and miſſing amounted only to one hundred and twenty-nine, and the wounded to one hundred and ſeventy; whereas General Waſhington ſays, in his account of the affair to Congreſs, that two hundred and forty-five Britiſh were buried on the field of battle, beſides others whom they themſelves had buried.

Gen. Lee diſgraced.

The behaviour of General Lee was highly reſented by the Commander in Chief, who, it is ſaid, made uſe of ſome very harſh expreſſions to the former in the face of the whole army. Theſe amounted to a charge of diſobedience to orders, want of conduct, or want of courage. He was put under arreſt that very night on which the action happened, and wrote two paſſionate letters to Waſhington, to which he received an anſwer the ſame night. A court martial was held on his conduct in the beginning of July, which, after ſix weeks, found him guilty of diſobedience and diſreſpect to the Commander in Chief, and ſentenced him to be ſuſpended from any command in the American army for a twelvemonth.

The Britiſh army now purſued their march, without any interruption, to Sandy Hook, which at this time happened to be entirely ſeparated from the continent by a violent breach of the ſea. This might have proved of fatal conſequence at the preſent criſis, had not the arrival of the fleet, with the extraordinary efforts of the ſeamen, and ſkill of the commander, removed the impediment. A bridge of boats was conſtructed with ſuch expedition, that the whole army paſſed over this channel on the 5th of July, whence they were afterwards ſafely conveyed to New-York, thus happily eſcaping the danger with which they were threatened from a new enemy who had now appeared on the coaſts of America.

July 5.

French fleet under d'Eſtaign.

From the whole hiſtory of the tranſactions between the Court of France and Congreſs, it appears, that the former had been unuſually ſincere in their profeſſions of friendſhip. A powerful fleet, with a conſiderable

derable body of land forces on board, commanded by the Count d'Eſtaing, had been ſent from France, and appeared on the coaſt of Virginia the very day on which the Britiſh army had paſſed the bridge at Sandy Hook. Had this commander met with the tranſports either in the Delaware, or on the paſſage from thence, loaded and encumbered as they were, and convoyed only by two ſhips of the line and ſome frigates, they muſt have been undoubtedly taken; and the army ſhut up on one ſide by that under General Waſhington, and on the other by the French fleet, could by no means have proſecuted its way to New-York, but muſt undoubtedly have fallen a prey to the enemy. The danger would ſcarce have been leſs, had he directed his courſe immediately to New-York, inſtead of the Cheſapeak; but as the great object of his enterprize was the ſurpriſe of the fleet, and incloſure of the army at Philadelphia, all dangers were happily eſcaped by their timely removal.

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On the 11th of July, d'Eſtaing with his whole force arrived ſuddenly in ſight of the Britiſh fleet at Sandy Hook. He had under his command twelve ſhips of the line, and three large frigates. Of the former one carried 90, another 80, and ſix carried 74 guns each, and the ſquadron was ſaid to have no fewer than 11,000 men on board. On the other ſide, the fleet under Lord Howe conſiſted of no more than ſix ſhips of 64 guns each, three of 50, and two of 40 guns. They had alſo been ſo long in ſervice, that many of the ſhips of the line were exceedingly out of repair, ſo that they could by no means be ſuppoſed adequate to an engagement with ſuch a powerful fleet as that which now oppoſed them. The Britiſh admiral, however, had the advantage of being in poſſeſſion of the harbour of Sandy Hook, into which it was expected that d'Eſtaign would have attempted to force his way; though ſome have doubted whether it would have been practicable for ſhips of ſuch a force to have entered that harbour. On the part of the Britiſh commanders every diſpo-

July 11.

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ſition was made that conſummate military ſkill could ſuggeſt, for withſtanding the formidable power which threatened to aſſail them; but d'Eſtaing, not chuſing to riſk ſuch a deſperate engagement as muſt neceſſarily be the conſequence of an attack, having continued quietly to look at them for eleven days, at laſt ſailed away, to the great ſatisfaction of every one concerned.

During the time that the French commander remained, the moſt eager hopes were entertained of the arrival of a ſquadron from Britain under the command of Admiral Byron. Fortunately, however, none of the ſhips appeared while d'Eſtaign remained on the coaſt. The ſquadron is ſaid to have been very ill equipped and manned, and in that ſtate it met with weather unuſually bad for the ſeaſon, ſo that many of the ſhips at laſt arrived ſingly, and in a very ſhattered condition, at Sandy Hook, which reinforcement, however, was a matter of very great joy to every one in the fleet, being looked upon as a piece of good fortune, ſcarcely inferior to their original eſcape from d'Eſtaing.

Unſucceſsful attempt on Rhode Iſland.

The excellent ſcheme for the ſurpriſe and capture of the Britiſh fleet in the Delaware, laid by the French miniſtry, having thus failed through unavoidable accidents, it was reſolved to make an attempt on Rhode Iſland. For this purpoſe d'Eſtaing had left Sandy Hook, and for the ſame purpoſe General Sullivan aſſembled a body of troops in the neighbourhood of Providence, with a view to invade the Iſland from the Continent, while the French fleet was to enter the harbour of Newport, near its ſouthern extremity, and after deſtroying the ſhipping by a powerful aſſault on the works facing the ſea, to place the Britiſh forces between two fires. On that ſide, however, every precaution which the military art could furniſh was taken, in order to obviate the very great danger in which they were. The commanding officer, General Pigot, alſo received a reinforcement of five battalions; his troops were in excellent

lent ſpirits; and at laſt the force deſtined to act againſt them, was found leſs conſiderable than had at firſt been apprehended.—General Sullivan, however, having collected about 10,000 men, of whom one half at leaſt were volunteers from New England and Connecticut, paſſed over into the Iſland on the 8th of Auguſt, when the French fleet alſo entered the harbour, cannonading the batteries as they paſſed along, and receiving their fire without any material effect on either ſide. Their entrance, however, obliged the Britiſh commanders to burn three frigates, and ſink two others. Auguſt 8.

Lord Howe no ſooner received advice of the danger which threatened Rhode Iſland, than he haſtened to its relief, though his ſquadron was ſtill conſiderably inferior to that of the enemy. But the utmoſt expedition he could uſe, would not have prevented the French fleet from entering the harbour before his arrival; and the reſult of his communication with General Pigot was, that in the preſent circumſtances he could afford no eſſential aid. The bad conduct of d'Eſtaing, however, ſoon altered the face of affairs. The wind no ſooner ſhifted, than, as if he had forgot that his deſign was to reduce the Britiſh forces in Rhode Iſland, not fight their fleet, he abandoned the harbour, and ſailed out to attack them. The engagement was prevented by a violent tempeſt, in which both fleets ſuffered extremely, but the French much more than the Engliſh; the conſequence of which was, that d'Eſtaing was obliged to return to Boſton to refit his ſhips, leaving General Sullivan to carry on the enterprize againſt Rhode Iſland as he thought proper.

The loſs ſuſtained by the French fleet was ſo conſiderable, that ſome of their capital ſhips were in the utmoſt danger of being taken. D'Eſtaing's own ſhip, the Languedoc, of 90 guns, having loſt all her maſts, was met in that condition by the Renown of 50 guns, Captain Dawſon, who engaged her with ſuch fury, that nothing but the approach of night

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night prevented the Admiral from becoming a prize; nor could ſhe poſſibly have eſcaped next morning, had not ſix French men of war made their appearance at that time, which obliged the Engliſh captain to ſheer off.—The Tonnant of 80 guns, with only her main-maſt ſtanding, was about the ſame time engaged by another 50 gun ſhip, and eſcaped in the very ſame way, night having put an end to the engagement, and the appearance of part of the French fleet preventing its renewal next day.—The moſt remarkable action, however, was betwixt the Iſis of 50, Captain Raynor, and the Cæſar, of 74 guns; both of which had entirely eſcaped the effects of the tempeſt. Betwixt theſe two a deſperate and cloſe engagement, within piſtol ſhot, was maintained for an hour and a half; at the end of which time, the Iſis had obtained ſuch a manifeſt ſuperiority that the Frenchman was glad to put before the wind, in order to eſcape from ſo furious an adverſary. The Iſis, however, had ſuffered ſo much in her ſails and rigging as to be incapable of purſuit.

In the mean time, the extreme badneſs of the weather prevented General Sullivan for ſome days from bringing forward his artillery and ſtores, and of courſe retarded the progreſs of his army. On

Auguſt 17.

the 17th of Auguſt, however, he began his operations; but as the Britiſh had greatly ſtrengthened themſelves by additional works, they were now under very little apprehenſion from the efforts of the Americans, who, on their part, complained loudly of the ſcandalous deſertion of their ally, from whom ſo much had been expected. So impracticable did their enterpriſe now appear to the beſiegers themſelves, that Sullivan was ſoon deſerted by the greater part of his army, conſiſting of the New England and Connecticut volunteers; ſo that, being left with a force inferior in number to thoſe he was beſieging, nothing was left but to think of a retreat. This he conducted in ſuch a maſterly manner as to obtain deſervedly the thanks of Congreſs; for though he was moſt

moſt vigorouſly purſued, and repeatedly attacked by the Britiſh forces, wherever an opportunity occurred, he found means to paſs his army over to the continent without any conſiderable loſs. Nor was his good fortune inferior to his conduct; as Sir Henry Clinton arrived at Rhode Iſland immediately after his departure with ſuch a force as muſt have decided the fate of the American army, had they been there at that time.

The ſame day that Sullivan abandoned Rhode Iſland, Lord Howe entered the bay of Boſton, where, to his great mortification, he found d'Eſtaing already arrived, and ſo effectually protected by batteries in Nantuket Road, that it was utterly impoſſible to attack him with any proſpect of ſucceſs; on which he proceeded for Rhode Iſland; but finding that place already out of danger, he returned to New York, where he reſigned the command of the fleet to Admiral Gambier, and returned to England.

Succeſsful expeditions from New York.

In the mean time, Sir Henry Clinton, who had embarked with 4000 troops for Rhode Iſland, had two other objects in view beſides the relief of that place: the one was, to cut off Sullivan's retreat from thence: the other, to attack the Americans in their head quarters and principal place of arms at Providence. Theſe deſigns, however, being fruſtrated by the timely retreat of Sullivan, Major General Gray was diſpatched on an expedition to the eaſtward, in order to deſtroy ſome neſts of privateers abounding in the rivers and creeks adjoining to Buzzard's Bay, in that part of New England called the Plymouth Colony; and which, from their vicinity to Rhode Iſland and the Sound, proved very prejudicial to the trade of New York and Long Iſland.—This ſervice was very effectually performed. About ſeventy ſail of ſhipping, beſides a number of ſmall craft, were deſtroyed, together with the magazines, wharfs, ſtores, warehouſes, ropewalks, and veſſels on the ſtocks, on both ſides of Acuſhinat river.—From thence they proceeded to the iſland called Martha's

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tha's Vineyard; where having collected 10,000 ſheep, and 300 oxen, they returned to New York, literally *laden with ſpoil.*

1778. Expedition againſt Egg harbour.

Encouraged by this ſucceſs, Sir Henry projected another expedition. It was againſt Egg harbour on the Jerſey coaſt, where the enemy had a number of privateers, and ſome very conſiderable ſalt-works.—The attention of the Americans was drawn away from the object of this enterpriſe by ſome maſterly diſpoſitions and movements, by which a great part of the Jerſeys were laid open to the Britiſh forces under Cornwallis and Knyphauſen, while General Waſhington's army was at that time divided in ſuch a manner that it could not have been aſſembled in ten days, and even that not without hazard of bringing on a general engagement on very diſadvantageous terms on his part. The expedition was conducted with more ſucceſs than humanity, on the part of the Britiſh. A regiment of light horſe, raiſed a ſhort time before in Virginia, and known by the name of Baylor's or Mrs Waſhington's regiment, were ſurpriſed naked and aſleep in ſome barns where they lodged, and in that condition put to the ſword, inſtead of being made priſoners. A ſimilar diſaſter happened to another body called Pulaſki's regiment, who, from their unaccountable careleſſneſs in not placing proper guards, were likewiſe ſurpriſed in the houſes where they lay, and their light horſe almoſt entirely cut to pieces. Only five priſoners were taken; as an excuſe for which, the Britiſh officer (Captain Ferguſſon) obſerved, in his account of the affair, that "as it was a night-attack, little quarter could be given." A further excuſe was, that Pulaſki had ordered no quarter to be given to the Britiſh ſoldiers. This expedition to Little Egg harbour anſwered the purpoſe of deſtroying ſome of the enemy's privateers, as well as Britiſh prizes which could not be brought off.

Deſtruction of Wyoming.

But however reprehenſible the conduct of the Britiſh and Heſſians might have been in the mode of treating

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treating their opponents, as above mentioned, their severities were far exceeded by those of their allies, the Indians and American refugees. As leaders in these scenes of destruction, the names of Colonel Butler and Brandt must stand consigned to perpetual infamy. The former had been an Indian agent in the wars on the Canada side, and had great influence with some of the northern Indians; the other was an half Indian by blood, and possessed the ferocity and cruelty natural to these savages, joined to a desperate courage, which is not one of their characteristics. It is easy to conceive how miserable the situation of those poor wretches must be who fell into their hands, where no submission could procure mercy, nor any condition, age or sex, allay their fury.

In their course of destruction, the ruin of the fine settlement of Wyoming was particularly affecting, as well as detrimental to the cause of the Americans. That district, situated on the eastern branch of the Susquhanna, though naturally seeming to belong to Pennsylvania, had been peopled by a numerous colony from Connecticut. This, however, was so much resented by the Pennsylvanians, that after much altercation, it became the cause of actual war between the two colonies, which was not terminated until the contest with the mother-country obliged both parties to suspend their hostilities. It consisted of eight townships, each containing a square of five miles, beautifully situated on both sides of the river. The climate was mild, and the soil luxuriantly fertile; every person possessed an abundance, the fruit of moderate labour and industry, where no man was very rich, nor very great; so that, on the whole, this settlement exhibited such a picture of primeval happiness as can scarcely be supposed to be exceeded, indeed very seldom equalled, in the present state of humanity.

In such circumstances the population of Wyoming became so vigorous, that they had already sent 1000 men

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men to ſerve in the continental army. Yet, with this exceſſive drain from the cultivation of a new colony, their farms were ſtill ſo loaded with crops of every kind, and their paſtures ſo abundantly covered with cattle, that their ſupplies to the army in thoſe reſpects were at leaſt in full proportion to that which they afforded in men. Nor had they been deficient in providing againſt thoſe dangers to which, from their remote ſituation, they were particularly expoſed; they had accordingly conſtructed for that purpoſe four forts, which ſeemed at leaſt fully ſufficient to cover the ſettlement from the incurſions of the ſavages.

July. In the beginning of July 1778, the enemy appeared ſuddenly, but in full force, on the Suſquehanna. They were led by Butler, aſſiſted by moſt of thoſe barbarians who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their cruelties in the frontier war. Their force was eſtimated at about 1600 men, of whom not quite one fourth were Indians, led by their own chiefs; the others were diſguiſed and painted in ſuch a manner as not to be diſtinguiſhed from the ſavages, excepting only their officers, who being dreſſed in regimentals, carried the appearance of regulars. One of the ſmaller forts, moſtly garriſoned by thoſe called Tories, was by them given up, or, as it was ſaid, betrayed; another was taken by ſtorm, where, although they maſſacred the men in the moſt inhuman manner, they ſpared the women and children.

It would ſeem odd enough, that another Colonel Butler, ſaid to be a near relation to the invader, ſhould chance to have the defence of Wyoming either committed to his charge, or by ſome means fallen to his lot. This man, with nearly the whole ſtrength of the ſettlement, was ſtationed in the principal fort called Kingſton, whither alſo the women, children, and defenceleſs of all ſorts had repaired, as the only place of common refuge. It would ſeem, from his ſituation and force in that place, that he might

might there have waited, and ſucceſsfully reſiſted all the attempts of the enemy; but he was ſo wretchedly weak, that he ſuffed himſelf to be enticed by his nameſake and kinſman to abandon the ſecurity afforded by this fortreſs, and to devote theſe under his charge to certain deſtruction, by expoſing them naked to ſuch a dreadful enemy. Under the colour of holding a parley for the concluſion of a treaty, he was led into an agreement, that, upon the enemy withdrawing their force, he ſhould march out to hold a conference with them in the open field, and that at ſo great a diſtance from the fort as excluded every poſſibility of the protection which it otherwiſe afforded. To render this meaſure ſtill more unaccountable, he, at the ſame time, ſhewed ſo great a diſtruſt of the enemy, and ſeemed ſo thoroughly apprehenſive of their deſigns, that he marched 400 men, well armed, being nearly the whole ſtrength of the garriſon, to guard his perſon. CHAP. XVIII. 1778.

On his arrival at the place appointed, he was greatly ſurpriſed to find nobody there to treat with; but not being willing to return without finiſhing his buſineſs, he advanced towards the foot of the neighbouring mountains, ſtill hoping he might hear or ſee ſomething of thoſe he wanted.—As the country began to grow dark and woody, a flag at length appeared at a conſiderable diſtance among the buſhes, the holders of which ſeemed ſo much afraid of treachery and danger from his ſide, that they retired as he advanced; whilſt he, endeavouring to remove this ill impreſſion, ſtill purſued the flag.

The commander of the garriſon did not once perceive his danger until his party was thoroughly incloſed, and he was ſuddenly awakened from his dream by finding himſelf at once attacked on every ſide. His behaviour in this dangerous ſituation could ſcarcely have been expected from his former conduct: He and his party fought with reſolution and bravery, keeping up ſuch a continual and heavy fire for three quarters

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quarters of an hour, that they ſeemed ready to gain a decided ſuperiority over their numerous enemies. In this critical moment, ſome ſudden impulſe of fear, or premeditated treachery in a ſoldier, which induced him to cry out that the Colonel had ordered a retreat, determined at once the fate of the party. In the ſtate of confuſion that enſued, the enemy breaking in on all ſides without obſtruction, commenced an unreſiſted ſlaughter. Conſidering the great ſuperiority of numbers on the part of the victors, the fleetneſs of the ſavages, and the fierceneſs of the whole, together with the manner in which the vanquiſhed had been originally ſurrounded, it is not a little ſurpriſing that the commander of the garriſon, with about 70 of his party, ſhould have been able to effect their eſcape, and to make their way to a ſmall fort on the other ſide of the river.

Cruelties of Colonel Butler.

The conquerors immediately inveſted Fort Kingſton, and, to damp ſtill more the drooping ſpirits of the weak remaining garriſon, ſent in the bloody ſcalps of 200 of their late relations, friends, and comrades. Colonel Denniſon, the preſent commander of the fort, ſeeing the impoſſibility of any effectual defence, not having force ſufficient to man the works even for one effort, went with a flag to Butler, to know what terms he would grant on a ſurrender. To this application of weakneſs and miſery, Butler, with all the phlegm of a real ſavage, anſwered, in two ſhort words, "The hatchet!" In theſe dreadful circumſtances, the unfortunate governor, having defended his fort until the moſt of the garriſon were killed or diſabled, was at length compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion. Some of the unhappy perſons were carried away alive; but the barbarous conquerors, to ſave the trouble of murder in detail, ſhut up the greater part promiſcuouſly in the houſes and barracks, which having then ſet on fire, they enjoyed the ſavage pleaſure of beholding the whole conſumed in one general blaze.—They then proceeded to the only remaining fort called Wilkeſburgh,

burgh, which, in hopes of obtaining mercy, surrendered without reſiſtance, or without even demanding any conditions. Here the tragedy was renewed with aggravated horrors. They found in this fort about 70 of that ſort of militia who were engaged by the different provinces merely for the guard and defence of their reſpective frontiers, and who are not called to any other ſervice. With theſe, as objects of particular enmity, the ſlaughter was begun, and they were butchered with every poſſible circumſtance of the moſt deliberate, wanton, and ſavage cruelty. A Captain Bedlow, who had been taken priſoner, being ſtripped naked, had his body ſtuck full of ſharp pine ſplinters, and then a heap of knots of the ſame wood being piled round him, the whole was ſet on fire; and his two companions, the Captains Ranſon and Durgee, thrown alive into the flames. The remainder of the men, with the women and children, not demanding ſo much particular attention, were ſhut up, as before, in the houſes, which being ſet on fire, they periſhed all together in the flames.

A general ſcene of deveſtation was now ſpread through all the townſhips. Fire and ſword alternately triumphed. Nay, the mercileſs ravagers, when the main objects of their cruelty were exhauſted, ſeemed to direct their animoſity againſt every part of the animated creation; and, as if it were a relaxation or amuſement, cut out the tongues of the horſes and cattle, leaving them ſtill alive only to prolong their agonies.

Colonel Clarke's expedition againſt the French and Indians.

Though the Americans were fully reſolved to take ample vengeance for the barbarities committed at Wyoming, their attention was ſo much engaged by affairs of the utmoſt importance, that they could not for ſome time undertake any thing of conſequence againſt thoſe who had been perpetrators of that horrid tragedy. A ſmall expedition, however, was, during the courſe of the ſummer, undertaken from Virginia by a Colonel Clarke with no more than

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200 or 300 men. The object was to reduce thoſe French ſettlements which had been planted by the Canadians on the upper Miſſiſſippi, ſituated in a fine fertile country called the *Illinois*, from a nation of Indians of that name. Much of the miſchief which had fallen upon the back ſettlements was attributed to the activity of the governor of thoſe colonies, who, ſince the commencement of the preſent diſpute, it was ſaid, had acted as an agent for government, and beſides his paying a large reward for ſcalps, had been indefatigable in his continual endeavours to excite the Ohio and Miſſiſſippi Indians to attack the defenceleſs parts of the Colonies.—In proſecution of this deſign, the aggreſſors were obliged to traverſe 1200 miles of a boundleſs uncultivated deſart, through which every neceſſary for ſubſiſtence was to be conveyed, as well as their accoutrements of war.

After a long and tedious voyage down the Monongahela, and another down the Ohio, they arrived at length at the great Falls of the latter, within about 60 miles of its mouth, where they hid their boats, and proceeded by land to the northward. In this ſtage of the expedition, having conſumed all the proviſion which they had been able to carry on their backs, they marched two days without any ſuſtenance; after which they arrived, about midnight, at the principal town of the ſettlement, named Kakaſkias, ſo diſtreſſed with hunger and fatigue, that they were determined either to ſucceed or periſh in the attempt.

This town conſiſted of about 250 houſes, and was fortified in ſuch a manner as would have ſufficed to withſtand a much ſtronger enemy; but the remoteneſs of their ſituation, as it had precluded all fear, ſo it had alſo induced that fatal ſecurity, ſo common in America, which occaſioned the neglect of proper guards. The ſurpriſe was therefore complete; the town and fort were taken, without oppoſition, before the people were well awake; and the inhabitants ſo

effectually

effectually ſecured, that not a ſingle perſon eſcaped to alarm the neighbouring ſettlements. The governor, Philip Rocheblave, was conſidered as ſuch an inveterate enemy to the United States, that he was ſent to Virginia with all the written inſtructions he had received from Detroit, Quebec, and Michillimackinack, for inſtigating and paying the Indians. The inhabitants were obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the United States; and the conquerors took up their head quarters at Kakaſkias. The ſmaller towns were ſubdued without difficulty, and the inhabitants, without compulſion, flocked in by hundreds, to take the oaths to their new maſters.

Settlement of the Tories on the Suſquehanna deſtroyed. October.

Theſe called Tories, who had been the immediate actors in the maſſacre at Wyoming, now became the object of vengeance. In October 1778, an expedition was undertaken againſt them from the remote and upper parts of Pennſylvania, under the conduct of a Colonel Butler. The people againſt whom it was deſtined, inhabited the country about the upper parts of the Suſquehanna, and were intermixed in ſuch a manner with the Indians, as to be in a manner united to them. The adverſe party, conſiſting of a Pennſylvania regiment, covered by rifleмen and rangers, took its departure from Schoharie; and, having gained the head of the Delaware, marched down that river for two days; from whence, turning to the right, they ſtruck acroſs the mountains to the Suſquehanna. Here they deſtroyed the Indian caſtles and villages in that quarter, and other ſettlements; but notwithſtanding their utmoſt addreſs and precaution, both Tories and Indians had the good fortune to eſcape. The deſtruction of their ſettlements, however, was extended for ſeveral miles on both ſides of the Suſquehanna; in the courſe of which, the fruits of a plentiful harveſt, together with the only ſaw-mill and griſt-mill in that whole country, ſhared the ſame fate with the houſes, and every other article uſeful or neceſſary to man.

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The Six Nations of India entirely ruined by General Sullivan.

These expeditions, however, were but a small part of the chastisement to which these barbarians were destined. The languid manner in which the campaign at that time happened to be carried on at New-York, afforded leisure to Congress to pour forth upon them that *exemplary vengeance* which they had threatened in their answer to the Commissioners' manifesto. The objects of this vengeance were the Five or Six Nations, for they are called by both these names, whose confederacy seems to form in these deserts the wide outlines of a republic. These nations, lying at the back of the northern and middle colonies, amidst the great lakes, rivers, and almost impenetrable forests, which separate them from Canada, had long been renowned for the courage, constancy, and fidelity, with which they had adhered to the English in their wars with the French; and had even assisted them frequently against different nations of their own countrymen. In the beginning of the present contest, they had concluded a treaty with the Americans, by which they bound themselves to observe a strict neutrality during the progress of the struggle. The Americans gave out, that they offered, at that time, to take up the hatchet against the English; but that they had rejected the offer upon principle, only requiring them to observe a strict neutrality. From this pacific conduct, however, they were soon led to depart, by the presents distributed among them by order of the British ministry, the influence of Sir William Johnson, and above all by their own innate propensity to murder and bloodshed, which seems to be greater among the American Indians than any other people on earth. It was therefore now thought expedient to dispatch against them General Sullivan, with a small army and train of artillery; the object of his expedition being of the most savage nature, not to conquer, but *exterminate*, as far as possible, his enemies.

The Indians marched boldly towards their frontiers to meet the invaders. They were led on by Butler,

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Butler, Brandt, Guy Johnſon, and Macdonald; and, beſides aſſembling all their own tribes and allies, were joined by ſome hundreds of Refugees, or Tories, as the Americans called them. They poſſeſſed themſelves of a difficult paſs in the woods, between Chemung and Newtoun, in the neighbourhood of Teagoa river, where they conſtructed a ſtrong breaſtwork, of above half a mile in extent, made of large logs; from whence other works of leſs ſtrength reached for a mile and a half to the top of a mountain in their rear, where a ſecond breaſtwork was formed. Here a fierce attack commenced on the 29th of Auguſt 1779, which continued for two hours. The Indians reſiſted with uncommon bravery; nor could the breaſtwork have been forced without the aſſiſtance of the artillery, which the Provincial army had carried along with them. On perceiving, however, that ſome diſpoſitions were made for turning their flank, and thereby cutting off their retreat, no perſuaſions could prevail on the Indians to ſtand their ground any longer. They fled with the utmoſt precipitation; and ſo complete was the victory obtained by General Sullivan on this occaſion, that the enemy never dared to make another ſtand to interrupt the deſolation of their country.

But though the way was thus cleared for the paſſage of the Provincial army into the Indian territories, one great obſtacle yet remained, *viz.* the want of proviſions. To render the ſervice in any degree effectual, it was neceſſary that the army ſhould lie out for a month at leaſt, in a country totally unknown, and where no ſupplies of any kind could be hoped for; but with all the care and induſtry both of the General and his employers, ſuch difficulties occured, as rendered it impoſſible to procure more than half the quantity; nor indeed were there any pack-horſes to be found to convey more; although, to lighten the carriage, the cattle deſtined for the uſe of the army were driven along with it. The violent deſire of being revenged on the barbarians

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againſt whom they were ſent, with the animating ſpeeches of their commander, removed all impediments: the propoſal of ſhort allowance, was received with the loudeſt ſhouts of approbation; and the ration for twenty-four hours was unanimouſly fixed at half a pound of flour, and as much beef per day; the reduction extending even to ſalt.

In attempting to proceed into the country of the Indians, Sullivan found to his ſurpriſe that no guides could be found who knew any thing of the nature of it; and the only method he had of finding his way to their towns, was that which finds out a wild beaſt in his den, namely, the track of the inhabitants. It was even more difficult in the preſent caſe, as the laſt of a file of Indians always covers with leaves the tracks made by his fellows and himſelf; ſo that it requires much experience, as well as patience and induſtry, to be able to develope and trace them. All theſe difficulties, however, were overcome; the towns were found out, and ſuch a ſcene of deſolation begun as muſt be read with horror, and which nothing, not even the implacable nature of thoſe againſt whom it was exerciſed, could poſſibly juſtify. Forty of their towns, the largeſt containing 128 houſes, were deſtroyed; their corn, computed at no leſs than 160,000 buſhels, ſhared the ſame fate; their fruit-trees were cut down, and themſelves purſued and ſlaughtered, till there was not, as far as the conquering army could perceive, a ſingle houſe, fruit-tree, field of corn, or inhabitant remaining in the whole country. On this occaſion the Americans were not leſs cruel than thoſe whom they have thought proper to ſtyle ſavages and barbarians. In this expedition it was remarked, that the Indians had attained to a much higher degree of knowledge of the uſeful arts, than what had ever been imagined by any perſon. The beauty of their ſituation, together with the ſize, conſtruction, and neatneſs of their houſes, were great objects of admiration to the American army. In ſeveral places the houſes were not only large,

large, but elegant, and built of frame-work. The size of the corn-fields, as well as the high degree of cultivation in which they were, alſo excited wonder; and ſo numerous were the fruit-trees, that in one orchard they cut down 1500, many of which were obſerved to be of great age.—The whole of this deſtructive expedition was comprized within the ſpace of a month, as no more time could poſſibly be ſpared. By it, however, the colonies were effectually ſecured againſt the incurſions of the Indians, who were now no longer in a condition to attempt any thing. The Oneida Indians, who had wiſely adhered to their neutrality, were allowed to remain unmoleſted. CHAP. XVIII. 1779.

Till the autumn of 1778, the ſeat of war betwixt the Britiſh and Americans had been chiefly confined to New York, the Jerſeys, Pennſylvania, and the borders of Connecticut; while the ſouthern colonies enjoyed a profound tranquillity, excepting only ſome petty hoſtilities betwixt the inconſiderable colonies of Georgia and Eaſt Florida. An expedition undertaken againſt ſome Britiſh ſettlements in the country of the Indians, called *Natches*, however, greatly alarmed the whole colony of Weſt Florida, and drew the attention of the Britiſh commander ſo much to the ſouthward, that he reſolved upon an immediate conqueſt of Georgia; which was alſo deſirable on account of the quantity of rice it produced. It was likewiſe known that the continental credit in Europe was chiefly upheld by the ſouthern colonies, from whom France took off ſuch quantities of their moſt valuable productions, that their trade ſeemed little affected by the war, farther than what it ſuffered from the Britiſh cruizers. But, before any thing of this nature could be accompliſhed, the Britiſh ſettlers, in the country of the Natches, had ſurrendered without reſiſtance to a Captain Willing; who, although they had been ſurpriſed, and totally in his power, granted them every condition which they required for their preſent and future ſecurity. His 1778. Georgia reduced by Colonel Campbell and General Prevoſt.

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views, however, were thought at this time not to have been entirely confined to the reduction of these settlements, but to have extended to a correspondence with the Spaniards at New Orleans, as it was known that the Court of Spain was now about to make a declaration in favour of the Americans.

The motives just mentioned, and perhaps some others, now induced the British commanders to take the resolution, fatal as it afterwards proved, of dividing their force, by sending a detachment to the southward. The conduct of the expedition was committed to Colonel (now Sir Archibald) Campbell, a brave and able officer, who, in the beginning of the war, had been taken by a mistake in sailing into the harbour of Boston after it was evacuated by the British troops, and had afterwards undergone a long and severe confinement in that place. His force consisted of the 71st regiment of foot, two battalions of Hessians, four of Provincials, and a detachment of the royal artillery. The transports sailed from
Nov. 27. Sandy Hook on the 27th of November 1778, being escorted by a small squadron of ships of war, under the command of Commodore Hyde Parker.

From the accounts of this expedition it appears, that the Georgians fell victims to that fatal negligence which so frequently marked the conduct of the Americans throughout this war. The British commanders having arrived at the island of Tybee,
Dec. 23. the place of their destination, towards the end of December, were informed by two men, whom they seized for that purpose, that the batteries which ought to have defended the town of Savannah, had been entirely neglected, and were out of repair; that there were very few troops in it, though reinforcements were daily expected; at the same time, that they gave such an exact account of the situation of two armed gallies as effectually enabled the British to cut off their retreat. Some obstacles, however, occurred: several transports grounded on the flats, and the landing place appeared to be very difficult,

ficult, and capable of defence againſt a ſuperior number of men. The former was ſoon got over by the activity and ſkill of Captain Stanhope, who acted as a volunteer on this expedition; and though the enemy made a ſhow of defending the landing-place, they fled after the firſt fire, by which only ſeven of the Britiſh were killed; one of which, however, was a brave officer, Captain Cameron of the light infantry. The ſubſequent conduct of the Americans under a Major General Robert Howe, diſplayed equal want of reſolution in the men, and want of military ſkill in the commander. Having taken what he imagined to be a very ſtrong poſt, he continued to amuſe himſelf with an idle cannonade, to which the Britiſh never anſwered a ſingle gun, until part of the light infantry, privately conducted by a negro through a woody ſwamp, were ready to fall upon their rear, at the ſame time that they found themſelves attacked in front and in flank by the remainder of the army, with a well-directed artillery. Even without this advantage, the Provincials fled at the firſt onſet, and that with ſuch rapidity, that only about 80 were killed, and 30 more drowned in an attempt to croſs a ſwamp. Thirty-eight commiſſioned officers, 415 non-commiſſioned and privates, 40 pieces of cannon, 23 mortars, the fort, with its ammunition and ſtores, a large quantity of proviſions, with the town of Savannah itſelf, inſtantly fell into the hands of the victors; who, upon this occaſion, ſhewed themſelves worthy of that character of clemency they had all along aſſumed; for though the fugitives directed their courſe through the town of Savannah, where many of the inhabitants happened to be in the ſtreets, none ſuffered who had not arms in their hands. The American general, with the remains of his army, retreated into South Carolina.

By this deciſive victory, the whole province of Georgia was once more reduced under the Britiſh government in leſs than a fortnight, the town of Sunbury alone excepted; and this alſo quickly ſubmitted

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mitted to General Prevoſt, who had been called from Eaſt Florida with all the force he could collect.

Inſurrection of the Loyaliſts in North Carolina.

The ſudden reduction of Georgia proved no leſs matter of exultation to the Loyaliſts in the Carolinas than of depreſſion to the oppoſite party. The former, ever impatient to catch at any opportunity, were inſtantly in motion. Notwithſtanding the extreme readineſs, however, which theſe people ſhewed on all occaſions to riſe in arms, it appears that they were either very much deſtitute of military ſkill, or ſome how incapable of conducting their affairs to an happy termination. Their bad ſucceſs under Macdonald we have already ſeen; and the ſame bad fortune attended them at preſent. About 700 of them aſſembled in the back parts of North Carolina; but before they were able to accompliſh any thing of conſequence, they were attacked and utterly defeated by the neareſt militia, with the loſs of near half their number in killed, wounded, and priſoners.—About 300 of the remainder found means to make good their retreat to the back part of Georgia, where, by degrees, they joined the neareſt poſts of the royal army.

General Prevoſt purſues his march to Charlestown.

In the mean time, General Lincoln had arrived with a reinforcement of continental troops for the protection of South Carolina, which probably induced General Prevoſt, on whom the ſupreme command had devolved, to recall Colonel Campbell, who, with a detachment of troops, had penetrated as far as Auguſta, and to contract his poſts in ſuch a manner that Hudſon's Ferry, about twenty-four miles diſtant from the capital, was the upper extremity of the chain which he formed along the frontier. Here Lieutenant Colonel Prevoſt formed a deſign of ſurpriſing a General Aſhe, who, with a detachment of about 2000 men, had poſted himſelf thirteen miles farther up the river, at a place called Briar's Creek, in order to cover the upper part of the country, where the American party had again aſſumed

assumed their wonted superiority. The situation of this officer, however, did not very easily admit of surprise. Briar's Creek, which for several miles covered his front, was too deep to be forded; his left was covered with the Savannah and a deep morass; and his right was guarded by 200 horse. General Prevost having, nevertheless, made proper movements for attracting the attention of General Lincoln, the Colonel divided his force into two parts, with one of which he advanced towards Briar's Creek, as if he meant an attack on their front, where it was absolutely impracticable. The other division, amounting in the whole to about 900 men, the Colonel himself led by a circuitous march of 50 miles, in order to get round or to cross Briar's Creek, and thereby turning the right, to fall unexpectedly on the enemy's rear. This enterprise proved successful, as most commonly happened when any surprise was intended against the Americans. The general had injudiciously sent away his light horse on some useless expedition, by which means, being destitute of intelligence, he was completely surprised in open day-light, and received the first notice of his danger from the havock made in his camp by the British troops. Whole regiments fled without firing a shot, and some of them without even attempting to lay hold of their arms. Great numbers, blinded by their fears, ran into the river or marsh, and were drowned. Only one regiment of North Carolina, with a few of the officers, took to their arms, though their resistance was totally ineffectual. Brigadier General Elbert, the second in command, with some other officers of note, were taken; 150 were killed of inferior rank, and 200 taken prisoners; besides a great number lost in the Savannah and swamp.

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Defeats Gen. Ashe, March 3. 1779.

By this victory the Provincials were once more driven out of Georgia. The hostile armies continued to look at one another till towards the end of April. At that time, however, General Lincoln, in order to protect the Provincial Congress, which had now

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sat

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ſat down at Auguſta, marched towards that place with the beſt part of his army. It did not, indeed, appear probable to him that the Britiſh forces could attempt any thing in his abſence, the river being ſo much ſwelled by the rains, that it ſeemed to be a ſufficient defence; and even ſuppoſing this could be paſſed, the deep ſwamps and flooded country on the other ſide appeared inſuperable obſtacles to the progreſs of an army. In this, however, he was miſtaken; the Britiſh troops paſſed the river in ſeveral places, and went through the ſwamps with ſuch alacrity, that they ſtruck with aſtoniſhment a body of militia whom General Lincoln had left under General Moultrie, ſo that they fled every where before them, leaving the road quite open to Charleſtown.

The force which General Prevoſt now commanded, did not exceed 3000 men; nevertheleſs, influenced by the aſſertions of the Loyaliſts in his army, to hope that Charleſtown would ſurrender on the firſt ſummons, he marched forwards to that place. To this he was further determined by the conduct of General Lincoln, who looked upon an attempt on the capital at that time as ſo utterly improbable, that he could not, by any means, be induced to return to its defence until ſeveral days after the Britiſh commander had paſſed the river.

The march of the Britiſh army was very little retarded by the enemy. Some ſlight ſkirmiſhes indeed took place; but the militia under General Moultrie, already diſheartened, and in the neighbourhood of their own families, deſerted every day, ſo that by
May 11. the 11th of May they had paſſed Aſhley river a few miles above Charleſtown, and advancing along the neck of land formed by the rivers Aſhley and Cooper, poſted themſelves a little beyond cannon ſhot of the enemy. The town, however, refuſed to ſurrender, though very favourable conditions were offered; but they would willingly have agreed to a neutrality both for the city and province during the continuance of the war. The negociations being thus broken

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ken off, every preparation was made for a vigorous reſiſtance. General Prevoſt, however, finding his force altogether inadequate to the taſk, without either heavy artillery, or a naval force to co-operate with his attack by land, reſolved not to hazard a failure in the enterpriſe, eſpecially as he underſtood that General Lincoln, with a force ſuperior to his own, was approaching. He, therefore, decamped ſilently that very night, and having, before morning, croſſed the river Aſhley, took poſt on two of the adjacent iſlands, called St James and St John, lying to the ſouthward of Charleſtown harbour, and which, from their cultivation and fertility, afforded good quarters and plenty of proviſions for the troops.—Here they waited ſome time for ſupplies of ammunition and neceſſaries from New York. The firſt ſhips diſpatched with theſe ſupplies had the misfortune of being either taken or deſtroyed by the enemy; but at length the arrival of two frigates of war enabled them to reduce the iſland of Port Royal; which afforded the moſt eligible ſituation during the intenſe heats and unhealthy ſeaſon then approaching. Thus alſo he could not only ſecure a firm footing in South Carolina, but was moſt excellently ſituated for the protection of Georgia. The only interruption given by the Americans was an attack by General Lincoln on a paſs called Stone Ferry; in which, though the ſuperiority on the American ſide was prodigious, being no leſs than ſix to one, they were nevertheleſs repulſed with great loſs. The army then quietly took poſſeſſion of Port Royal, which put an end to all operations for the ſeaſon.

1779. Prevoſt obliged to deſiſt.

We muſt now return to the French Admiral d'Eſtaing, whom we left at Boſton refitting his ſhips which had been ſo ſeverely ſhattered by a tempeſt, after deſerting his allies at Rhode Iſland. His conduct had been ſo offenſive to the Americans in general, that it was impoſſible to prevent the revival of thoſe ancient animoſities which had ſubſiſted between the Boſtonians and French. The affair at Boſton produced

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produced continual diſputes betwixt the oppoſite parties, which, about the middle of September 1778, broke out in a violent tumult. At this time, ſome of the French are ſaid to have been killed, and ſeveral were certainly wounded, among whom were ſome officers, and one of conſiderable diſtinction.—A reward of 300 dollars was offered by the Council of State for the diſcovery of any of the parties concerned in the riot; but no diſcovery of the actors was made.

1778. Sept. Diſſentions between the French and Americans.

A much more violent affray happened about the ſame time between the American and French ſeamen in the city and port of Charleſtown. The quarrel began there, as at Boſton, on ſhore, and at night, and ended in the moſt deſperate hoſtilities. A pitched battle was fought with cannon and ſmall arms; the French firing from their ſhips, whither they had been haſtily driven from the town, and the Americans from the adjacent ſhore and wharfs. Several were killed, and a much greater number wounded.

As ſuch dreadful affrays threatened the moſt dangerous conſequences to the United States, the greateſt care was therefore taken to prevent them for the future. A reward of 1000l. was offered for the diſcovery of the particular perſons who had fired ſome guns from one of the wharfs which were obſerved to be fatal in their effects. No diſcovery, however, was made in conſequence of this offer.

D'Eſtaing ſails from Boſton, Nov. 3.

D'Eſtaing having with much difficulty victualled his fleet, owing to a great ſcarcity of proviſions at that time in Boſton, at laſt ſet ſail from that port; but inſtead of endeavouring to co-operate with the American army, he quitted the continent altogether, in order to attack the Britiſh Iſlands in the Weſt Indies. Before his departure he publiſhed a manifeſto, to be diſperſed among the Canadians, in which he addreſſed them in the name of their former king and maſter, labouring to recall their affection to their ancient government, and to prepare them for an invaſion either from France or America.

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Expedition to Virginia. May.

Leaving d'Eſtaing to purſue his voyage, we ſhall now proceed with a detail of the military operations in the northern colonies after the unſucceſsful attempt of General Sullivan on Rhode Iſland.—While General Prevoſt was employed in the ſucceſsful expedition already related, Sir Henry Clinton, in conjunction with Sir George Collier, who now commanded the maritime force at New York, concerted an expedition to the Cheſapeck, and a deſcent upon Virginia, which ſeemed more likely to diſtreſs the enemy than any other meaſure that could be thought of. For this purpoſe, a ſufficient naval and land force was diſpatched under the conduct of Sir George Collier and General Matthew. The fleet having ſucceſsfully paſſed the Capes of Virginia, a man of war, with ſome armed tenders, were left to block up James river, while Sir George Collier, ſhifting his pendant to a frigate, proceeded with the ſmaller ſhips of war and tranſports up Elizabeth river.—The town of Portſmouth was the immediate object of the expedition, and in itſelf defenceleſs, though covered by Fort Nelſon, which had been conſtructed for its protection, at about half a mile's diſtance. The garriſon, however, knowing that no aſſiſtance was at hand, and that the fort was incapable of any defence, abandoned it at the approach of the army, who accordingly poſſeſſed themſelves both of the town of Portſmouth, and the remains of Norfolk on the oppoſite ſide. The Americans burnt ſeveral veſſels in their ports, among whom were two large French ſhips loaded with 1000 hogſheads of tobacco, though, by the celerity of the invaders, the progreſs of the flames was checked, and ſeveral others were taken.

The general puſhed on detachments to take poſſeſſion of two ſtrong poſts ſeveral miles in front, which, from the nature of the country, ſerved to cover the approaches to his camp from any ſudden attack of the enemy. In the mean time, the army made an excurſion to Suffolk, at about eighteen miles diſtance,

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diſtance, on Nanſemond river. They reached the place about day-break; but finding it abandoned, they proceeded to the deſtruction of a very large magazine of proviſions, together with the veſſels and naval ſtores they found there. A ſimilar deſtruction enſued at Kempe's Landing, Shepherds, Goſport, Tanner's Creek, and ſome other places in that quarter; nor were the frigates and armed veſſels leſs active or ſucceſsful in the work of deſtruction on the rivers and ports near the bay.

On this expedition they remained a fortnight, during which time the Americans ſuſtained prodigious loſs. Several thouſand barrels of pork, with other proviſions in proportion, which had been prepared for Waſhington's army, were deſtroyed, and 130 veſſels of different ſizes either burnt or taken; every thing that could conveniently be moved being carried off. A propoſal was made by the Loyaliſts for erecting the King's ſtandard in the country, which they repreſented as ready to return to its allegiance; but though this idea was entered into by Sir George Collier, and a letter written to Sir Henry Clinton on the ſubject, the latter could not by any means be induced to agree to it, but commanded the immediate return of the fleet and army. To this recall, beſides the danger of being ſurrounded by the enemy, to which the Virginia adventurers were liable, a new expedition which General Clinton was on the point of undertaking up the North river, probably contributed. The Provincials had been for ſome time engaged, at great labour and expence, in conſtructing two very ſtrong works, at the important poſts of Verplank's Neck and Stoney Point in the Highlands. Theſe poſts, which are on nearly oppoſite points of land, the former being on the eaſt, the latter on the weſt ſide of the North river, were of the utmoſt importance for keeping the communication open between the eaſtern and weſtern colonies; the great paſs, called King's Ferry, lying directly between them. As theſe were nearly completed, but not yet defenſible,

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sible, the general thought it a proper time to avail himself of the industry of the enemy, and to reap the fruits of their toil; Washington being at too great a distance, and otherwise incapable of giving any interruption.

Expedition against Connecticut, May 30.

The troops destined for this service were embarked, May 30th 1779, under the command of Major General Vaughan; and, before they set sail, were joined by the force from Chesapeak, with whom they proceeded up the North River. The following morning, General Vaughan, with the greater part of the army, landed on the east side of the river, about eight miles from Verplanks; whilst the remainder under the conduct of General Pattison, and accompanied by the commander in chief, advancing farther up, landed within three miles of Stoney Point. On the appearance of the ships, the enemy abandoned the place, after setting fire to a large block-house; and though some shew of resistance was made on the approach of the troops to take possession of Stoney Point, they did not venture to stand an engagement.

On the opposite side of the river, the Americans had completed a small but strong fort called La Fayette, which was defended by four pieces of artillery, and a garrison of between 70 and 80 men. But this little redoubt, though strong in itself, was effectually commanded by Stoney Point, which is situated at about 1000 yards distance on the opposite shore; and it being exceedingly difficult of approach from its own side, at least for the conveyance of artillery, the attack was accordingly intended from the other.—For this purpose, General Pattison, with infinite fatigue and labour, and the most indefatigable perseverance during the night, overcame the difficulties of dragging the heavy artillery from a very bad landing place, up a steep precipice to the top of the hill; and his arrangements and exertions were so effectual and judicious, that by five on the following morning, he had opened a battery of cannon, and another of

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mortars, on the ſummit of the difficult rocks of Stoney Point, which poured a dreadful fire on Fort La Fayette. The attack was ſupported by Sir George Collier, who advanced with the gallies and gunboats within reach of the fort. The cannonade was continued on all ſides during the day; and as ſoon as it was dark, Sir George ordered two of the gallies to paſs the fort, and anchor above it, in order to prevent the eſcape of the garriſon by water. In the mean time, General Vaughan, with his diviſion, having made a long circuit through the hills, had at length arrived, and had cloſely inveſted the place on the land ſide. The garriſon, ſeeing that all poſſibility of eſcape was now cut off, and that their fire was totally overpowered and loſt in the magnitude of that which they received, ſurrendered their little fortreſs on the following morning, and themſelves priſoners of war, without any other ſtipulation than that of humane treatment. Immediate directions were given for completing the works of both poſts, and for putting Stoney Point in particular in the ſtrongeſt ſtate of defence. For their better ſupport and protection, as well as with a view to the further operations of the campaign, he encamped his army at Philipſburgh, about half way down the river to York Iſland; which he likewiſe rendered a poſt of ſome importance, by throwing up works in order to eſtabliſh and preſerve a free communication for the future. By the loſs of theſe poſts, the Provincials in the Jerſeys were under a neceſſity of making a circuit of above ninety miles through the mountains, to communicate with the countries eaſt of Hudſon's River.

The ſtate of the hoſtile armies on both ſides, with reſpect to actual force, together with the want of money and deficiency of military proviſions on one ſide, neceſſarily limited the views of the oppoſite commanders, and prevented their undertaking any deciſive or extenſive operations. They were each in a ſtrong ſtate of defence, and neither had ſuch a ſuperiority

periority of force as could compel the other to relinquish the advantages of his situation. Washington was, besides, in expectation of foreign aid; and it would have been inconsistent with his usual caution and judgment, to have run the hazard, by any previous attempt, of weakening his strength to such a degree as might render him incapable of profiting by the assistance of his ally, and the American arms and force of course contemptible in his eyes. The campaign was accordingly languid, and its operations confined to the surprise of posts, and to desultory excursions; to the last of which, the Americans were now, as well as at all times, exceedingly exposed, and upon no footing of equality with their enemy. CHAP. XVIII. 1779.

The numberless small cruizers, whale-boats, and other craft of that nature from the Connecticut coasts, which infested the Sound, lying between that colony and Long Island, were so watchful in their depredations, and their situation afforded them such opportunities, that they had nearly destroyed the trade to and from New York on that side, to the very great inconvenience and distress of that city, as well as of the fleet and army. Upon this account Sir Henry Clinton and Sir George Collier determined on a course of desultory invasions along that coast, with a view of curing the evil, by cutting off the means of depredation in the destruction of their privateers, and, as far as it could be done, of their other vessels and materials for building.

Governor Tryon, who had likewise been invested with a military command, was appointed to the conduct of the land-service in this expedition: his force amounted to about 2600 men, and he was seconded by Brigadier General Garth, an officer of distinguished merit and ability. The forces were landed at the town of Newhaven, which they instantly took possession of, as well as of a battery that covered it, without any great loss, though considerable resistance was made by the inhabitants and militia.— July 5.

CHAP. XVIII. 1779. The fort, with all the naval and military ſtores, were deſtroyed; but the town, though, at firſt doomed to deſtruction, was ſpared, as the militia had not attempted to moleſt the troops in their retreat. From Newhaven the fleet ſailed to Fairfield, where the troops were again landed and again oppoſed. Here the town was ſet on fire, and conſumed, with every thing of value; and the ſame deſtruction took place at Norwalk, where the militia were more numerous, and made a greater reſiſtance than in the other places. Here the loſs of the Americans was very great; both Norwalk and Greenfield, a ſmall town in the neighbourhood, were totally deſtroyed, with a conſiderable number of ſhips either finiſhed or on the ſtocks, and a ſtill greater of whale-boats and ſmall craft, with ſtores and merchandize to a large amount.

July 13. The expedition, however, was ſuddenly ſtopped by a peremptory order from General Clinton for the return of the troops, on the 13th of July, only eight days after it began. The loſs ſuſtained by the Britiſh troops was very trifling, not exceeding 150 in killed, wounded, and miſſing.

This expedition ſeems not to have been attended with any great effect as to its immediate purpoſe; for ſo bold and numerous did the American privateers continue, that in a very few days two of the royal ſloops of war were taken by them.

Among other views of the Britiſh commander in the Connecticut expedition, it was ſuppoſed to be a probable method of drawing General Waſhington from his ſtrong poſts in the Highlands into the Low Country, where he might be forced to a battle on diſadvantageous terms; and on the ſame principle ſome other expeditions of leſs note were undertaken. But this cautious general in every inſtance avoided the ſnare; nor could any art on the part of the Britiſh commander ever make him quit his poſts in ſuch a manner as to afford him the leaſt advantage. On the ſurpriſe of Stoney Point and Verplanks he had indeed moved from the Jerſeys, and taken poſt among

among the high grounds farther up the North River, but this only with a deſign of watching the motions of the Britiſh army, not of undertaking any action of conſequence. A very ſpirited enterpriſe, however, was now undertaken and ſucceſsfully executed by General Wayne. This was no leſs than an attempt to ſurpriſe the ſtrong poſts of Verplanks and Stoney Point. The works of the former had been completed and repaired with the utmoſt induſtry by the Britiſh, as far as the ſhort time they had poſſeſſed the place would admit, ſo that it was now in a very ſtrong ſtate of defence, and was garriſoned by a whole regiment of foot; the grenadier companies of another; a company of loyal Americans, and ſome artillery; the whole being under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Johnſon. The garriſon, in the oppoſite poſt at Verplank's Neck, was under the conduct of Lieutenant Colonel Webſter, and was at leaſt equal in force to that at Stoney Point.

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General Wayne ſet out on this arduous taſk on the 15th of July, attended by a ſtrong detachment of the beſt American infantry. They went from Sandy Beach about noon, and marched 14 miles over high mountains, through deep moraſſes, difficult defiles, and roads exceedingly bad and narrow, ſo that they could only move in ſingle files during the greateſt part of the way. About eight in the evening the van arrived within a mile and a half of the fort, where they halted, and the troops were formed into two columns as faſt as they came up. The General iſſued the moſt expreſs orders to both columns, and which they ſeem to have exactly obeyed, not to fire a ſhot on any account, but to place their whole reliance on the bayonet. Two attacks were, therefore, made on oppoſite ſides of the fortification, to which the ſoldiers marched with unloaded muſkets and fixed bayonets, whilſt a detachment in front amuſed the garriſon with a feint. They found the approaches more difficult than, from their knowledge of the place, they had been led to expect,

Stoney Point ſurpriſed by the Americans, July 15.

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the works being covered by a deep moraſs, which at this time was overflowed by the tide. According to the American accounts, neither the deep moraſs, the formidable and double rows of abbatis, or the ſtrong works in front and flank, could damp the ardour of their troops, who, in the face of an inceſſant and tremendous fire of muſquetry, and cannon loaded with grape-ſhot, forced their way through every obſtacle, until the van of each column met in the centre of the works, and the garriſon were obliged to ſurrender priſoners at diſcretion. General Wayne was wounded in the head by a muſket ball as he paſſed the laſt abbatis, but was gallantly ſupported and helped through the works, by his two brave aid-de-camps, Fiſhbourn and Archer, to whom he acknowledged the utmoſt gratitude in his public letter. The total number of priſoners amounted to 543; the number of ſlain, on the part of the Britiſh, to 63. The artillery, ſtores, &c. were by no means inconſiderable.

As ſoon as Stoney Point was taken, the artillery was directly turned againſt Verplanks, and a furious cannonade enſued, which neceſſarily obliged the ſhipping to cut their cables, and ſail down the river. The news of this diſaſter, and of Colonel Webſter's ſituation, who likewiſe expected an immediate attack on the land ſide, no ſooner reached Sir Henry Clinton, than he took meaſures for the immediate relief of Verplanks, and recapture of Stoney Point. But of whatever importance the poſſeſſion of the latter might be to the Americans, General Waſhington was by no means diſpoſed to hazard a deciſive engagement on its account, eſpecially in a ſituation where the command of the river would afford ſuch deciſive advantages to his opponents in the diſpoſition and ſudden movement of their troops, either with reſpect to the immediate point of action, or the ſeizing of the paſſes, and cutting off the retreat of his army, as might probably be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. The works were therefore deſtroyed,

deſtroyed, and the artillery and ſtores brought off; three days after which the Britiſh took poſſeſſion of the place without oppoſition.

Unſucceſsful attempt on Paulus Hook.

The ſucceſs of the Americans in the ſurpriſe of Stoney Point, encouraged them to make a ſimilar attempt on Paulus Hook four days after. This was a ſtrong poſt lying in the Jerſey ſide, oppoſite to New York. Such a remiſſneſs, however, had prevailed on the part of the garriſon, that the enemy completely ſurpriſed the place at three o'clock in the morning, and carried a blockhouſe and two redoubts almoſt without any reſiſtance. In that critical moment Major Sutherland, the commander, threw himſelf haſtily, with forty Heſſians, into another redoubt, from which they kept ſuch a warm fire, that the Americans ſcandalouſly deſerted their new poſts with as much expedition, and as little difficulty, as they had attained them.—In the mean time ſuch intelligence was received at New York as neceſſarily called Sir George Collier, with the greater part of his naval force, away from that city. This neceſſity originated from an expedition, undertaken in the ſummer from Halifax by Colonel Macleane, with a view of eſtabliſhng a ſtrong poſt on the river Penobſcot, in the eaſtern confines of New England, where that colony borders on Nova Scotia, and amidſt ſome new and weak ſettlements which the Maſſachuſet's people had eſtabliſhed after the peace of 1763, and formed into a county under the name of Lincoln. Here he arrived about the middle of June this year, with a force of about 650 men, convoyed by three ſloops of war; and here he began to erect a ſmall fort in a ſituation perfectly well choſen for annoying the enemy.

June.

Americans defeated at Penobſcot.

This tranſaction occaſioned an unuſual alarm at Boſton, and the moſt vigorous meaſures were adopted in order to prevent the ſcheme from being completed. Orders were immediately given for an expedition to the Penobſcot; and, in order to ſecure armed veſſels and tranſports, an embargo for 40 days

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was laid on all their ſhipping; as an encouragement to adventurers, the ſtate alſo gave up to the captors its ſhare in all the prizes that ſhould be taken. A very conſiderable naval armament, and a body of land forces, were likewiſe ſent thither.

On the other ſide, the works of the new fort, though the utmoſt diligence had been uſed in their conſtruction, were yet ſo far from being finiſhed, that they afforded but very imperfect means of defence againſt any great ſuperiority of force. Colonel Macleane, however, had the good fortune to receive intelligence of the armament preparing at Boſton, a few days before its arrival; upon which he immediately changed his plan of operation; and inſtead of proceeding further in the conſtruction of works which he could not have time to complete, uſed the utmoſt diligence to put himſelf in the beſt poſture of defence which the preſent ſtate of the place, and the ſhortneſs of the notice, would admit.

July 25. On the 25th of July the American fleet appeared, to the number of 37 ſail; and ſoon after their ſhips of war began to cannonade the veſſels lying there, and a battery of four twelve pounders, which had been erected on the bank of the river for their protection. Their fire, however, was ſo well returned, that their ſhips found it neceſſary to retire; and though they renewed their attack the following day, they ſuffered a ſecond repulſe, and were not able

July 28. to make good their landing till the 28th of the month.

Two days after their landing, the Americans opened a battery about 750 yards diſtance from the works, and another ſomewhat nearer, but without being able to make any impreſſion. In this ineffectual manner the ſiege was carried on till towards the middle of Auguſt, when the Britiſh commander received intelligence from a deſerter, that a general aſſault was determined, and that the ſhips and fort were to be attacked at the ſame inſtant. But while the troops in the fort were eagerly expecting the attack,

1779. August. 14.

tack, on the morning of Auguſt 14, they were ſurpriſed at obſerving an unuſual calm in the camp of the enemy, and, on a cloſer inſpection, found that they had abandoned it in the night, and reimbarked both their forces and artillery. Nor were they long in the dark as to the cauſe of this myſterious event; for while they were endeavouring to profit in ſome degree by the confuſion they obſerved in the enemy's fleet, Sir George Collier, with his ſquadron, appeared full in view, ſailing up the river. The wretched aſſailants at firſt made ſome ſhew of reſiſtance, by drawing up in a creſcent acroſs the river, as if they deſigned to diſpute the paſſage; but their reſolution ſoon failed, and they betook themſelves to an ignominious flight. A general chace, which terminated in univerſal deſtruction, took place. One frigate of 20 guns, and another of 18, were taken. The Warwick, a new frigate, of 32 guns; 7 others of ſmaller force; 6 armed veſſels, and 24 tranſports, were burnt or ſunk, ſome of theſe by the Americans themſelves.—The conduct of the Provincial Admiral, Saltonſtal, was execrated in the higheſt degree by his countrymen. It was even ſaid, that the indignation of the land forces roſe to ſuch a pitch, that they came to blows with the ſeamen in their way home.

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CHAP. XIX.

Unſucceſsful attack on the Savannah by d'Eſtaing——Diſſention between the French and Americans——Spain joins the confederacy againſt Britain——Takes Penſacola——Expedition of Sir Henry Clinton againſt Charleſtown——General Lincoln capitulates——Tarleton defeats the Americans at Waxſaw——South Carolina reduced——Diſturbances in North Carolina——Cornwallis victorious at Camden——Tarleton defeats Sumpter——Unſucceſsful expedition from New York——Fayette and Ternay arrive in America——French fleet blocked up by Arbuthnot——Sir George Rodney arrives at New York——Arnold's revolt from the Americans——Major Andre executed as a ſpy——Colonel Ferguſſon killed——General Sumpter defeated——General Leſlie's expedition to Charleſtown.

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1779. Unſucceſsful attack on the Savannah by d'Eſtaing.

WHILE matters were going on in this diſaſtrous way for the Americans, Admiral d'Eſtaing arrived from the Weſt Indies, where he had taken the Iſlands of Grenada and St Vincent's, and been reinforced by a conſiderable ſquadron under M. La Motte, with 10,000 land forces. The firſt object to which he turned his attention was the deſtruction of the ſmall force under General Prevoſt, which would free the ſouthern colonies from their preſent alarm and danger. The ſecond was to attack, in conjunction with General Waſhington, the Britiſh forces at New York, by ſea and land at the ſame time; and thus, by the reduction of that iſland and its dependencies, with the ruin of the Britiſh fleet and army, to bring the war to a concluſion at once.

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With these grand expectations, d'Estaing set sail for the coasts of Georgia, where he appeared so suddenly, that the Experiment man of war, of 50 guns, and three royal frigates, fell into his hands; and had he proceeded all along to use his force with the same rapidity, while the British were in their weak and unprepared state, there is very little reason to doubt that he would have succeeded in his first object. General Prevost was at this time at the town of Savannah; but the better part of his army was still at Port Royal in South Carolina, where it had continued posted ever since the retreat at Charlestown. As the enemy were masters by sea, it was now impossible that Colonel Maitland could join the troops at Savannah, but by means of the numerous inland navigations which intersect the country betwixt them. An express to this purpose was dispatched to Port Royal; but, happening to be intercepted by the Americans, it was delayed so long, that the enemy had time to seize the principal communications before the junction could be effected.—Some delay, however, in the operations of d'Estaing was necessarily occasioned by his being obliged to communicate with the government of Charlestown relative to the movements of General Lincoln, who was to act in concert with him in the intended reduction of Georgia. Though he arrived on the coast of Georgia about the 1st of September, it was not till the 9th of that month that his fleet, consisting of above 40 sail, anchored off the bar of Tybee, at the mouth of the River Savannah. For three or four days afterwards, the French troops were taken up in passing, by means of small American vessels, thro' the Ossabow Inlet, and landing them at a place called Beaulieu, about thirteen miles from the town of Savannah, at the same time that their frigates were occupied in taking possession of the lower river, and of the different inlets, approaching as near to the town and lines as the circumstances of water and of defence would admit.

Experiment man of war, &c. taken.

D'Estaing arrives at Tybee, Sept. 9.

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1779. Sept. 15. Summons Gen. Prevoſt to ſurrender.

On the 15th, the French, with Count Polaſki's American light horſe, appeared ſo near the Britiſh lines, as to ſkirmiſh with the piquets; and as the force under General Prevoſt did not admit of his having any other object in view than the mere defence of the town, he contracted his poſts within the cover of the artillery on the works. Next day the French commander ſent a moſt haughty ſummons to General Prevoſt, vaunting in the higheſt language of his proweſs, the valour of his troops, and commanding him to yield to a force which he was utterly incapable of reſiſting.

Though General Prevoſt, with the Officers about him, were determined, even with the ſmall force they had, to defend the place to the laſt extremity, yet it was thought prudent and neceſſary to gain all the time that was poſſible; and this the more eſpecially, as the lines were ſtill in a very imperfect ſtate of defence, and there had not been time to convey the artillery from the ſhipping. By ſending different meſſages, therefore, he found means to protract the time conſiderably, and at laſt was allowed a truce of twenty-four hours for deliberation. During this interval, Colonel Maitland, having ſurmounted every difficulty and danger, arrived with the troops from Port Royal. The face of affairs was now entirely changed, and inſtead of the eaſy conqueſt which preſented itſelf on the arrival of d'Eſtaing, a moſt obſtinate defence was threatened. The general returned a poſitive anſwer to the ſummons, that he was determined to defend the place to the laſt extremity; and the ſailors, who had been all drawn from the ſhips to conſtruct and man the batteries, expreſſed their approbation by three cheers, when the gun was fired as a ſignal for the recommencement of hoſtilities.

Col. Maitland arrives.

On the day after delivering the ſummons, d'Eſtaing was joined by General Lincoln, as he had been before by Count Polaſki. The allies took ſeparate, but adjoining camps, and each began immediately

to

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to make approaches as in a regular ſiege. Their joint force has been computed at about 9000 men, while that of the garriſon did not exceed 3000.— The utmoſt exertions, however, were made on the part of the Britiſh. Every man, without diſtinction, was employed in the hardeſt labour, and cheerfully underwent his ſhare of the common toil. At the time that the French ſummons was received, the lines were not only weak and imperfect, but were not protected by above eight or ten pieces of cannon; while, at the concluſion of the ſiege, or blockade, the works, by the aſſiſtance of the ſhip guns, and the continual exertion in landing and bringing them forward, were covered with a numerous artillery, amounting to near 100 pieces. Nor was the ſkill and dexterity with which they were uſed and directed by Captain Moncrieffe, the engineer, at all inferior to the labour uſed in bringing them forward, as was owned both by friends and enemies.

Numbers on both ſides.

Capt. Moncrieffe's addreſs.

The enemy were by no means idle in their endeavours to interrupt the works, though their efforts were ineffectual; nor did they ſpare any pains in carrying on their own, ſo that in a week they had puſhed a ſap to within 300 yards of the abbatis. Few ſkirmiſhes took place, as the Britiſh commander was exceedingly ſparing of his men; but in the few that were fought, the allies were conſtantly defeated. About midnight, between the 3d and 4th of October, the enemy began a heavy bombardment, and at daylight a violent cannonade from 37 pieces of heavy artillery, nine morters from their land batteries, and 16 cannon from the water. Though this cannonade continued for five days, its deſtructive effects were felt only by the women, children, and negroes, and by the houſes of the town; the works, ſo far from being demoliſhed, continually acquiring additional ſtrength, through the induſtry of the beſieged. —In this diſtreſs of the women and children, which was further increaſed by the throwing of carcaſes, in order to ſet the town on fire, General Prevoſt ſent a letter

Peogreſs of the ſiege.

Oct. 4.

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a letter to d'Eſtaing requiring permiſſion for the women and children to deſert the place; but after three hours, during which the diſcharge of cannon and ſhells continued, this humane requeſt was refuſed, in a letter ſigned by both commanders, Lincoln and d'Eſtaing, and the refuſal conveyed in the moſt inſulting terms.

The impatient temper of d'Eſtaing at laſt prompted him to order a general aſſault, confiding ſo much in the goodneſs of his troops, that he hoped thus to make a ſucceſsful end of the buſineſs at once.—This deciſive attack took place in the morning of the 9th of October, a little before day-light, after a heavy diſcharge of cannon and mortars for ſeveral hours. The firing began on the left of the Britiſh lines, but ſoon after became general. As it was ſtill too dark to perceive the movements of the enemy, and uncertain where their principal attacks would take place, no change was made in the diſpoſition of the Britiſh troops, but each diviſion waited cooly in its poſt, expecting what ſhould happen.

Grand attack, October 9.

The nature of the ground on both flanks of the lines was ſo favourable to the approaches of the enemy, that the defect could not be remedied by all the ſkill of the engineer. Thus, an attack was to be expected towards either or both of the points. The grand attack, however, was directed to the right, whither d'Eſtaing in perſon led the flower of both armies, and was accompanied by all the principal officers of each. They advanced in three columns, under cover of a ſwampy hollow, which reached within a very little diſtance of ſome of the principal works. By reaſon of the darkneſs of the night, however, they took a greater circuit, and went deeper in the bog than they needed to have done; a circumſtance, which, beſides a critical loſs of time, could not fail of producing ſome diſorder. The attack was nevertheleſs made with great ſpirit, and ſupported with obſtinate perſeverance. One redoubt, particularly, was the ſcene of much gallantry. It was obſtinately defended

defended by Captain Tawſe. The enemy planted two ſtand of colours upon it; and at length the brave Captain fell, gallantly fighting in his redoubt, his ſword being plunged, at the inſtant of death, in the body of the third man he had killed with his own hand.—But while the conflict was ſtill dubious and bloody, particularly at that redoubt, three batteries, which were occupied by the ſeamen, aſſailed the enemy in almoſt every direction, and made ſuch havock in their ranks as cauſed ſome little diſorder, or at leaſt a pauſe in the violence of their attack. At that inſtant a body of grenadiers and marines advanced ſuddenly from the lines, and charged the enemy with ſuch rapidity and fury, throwing themſelves headlong into the ditches and works amongſt them, that in an inſtant the redoubt, and a battery to the right of it, were totally cleared of them. The advantage was purſued with the greateſt vigour; the enemy were inſtantly routed, and driven into the ſwamp with ſuch celerity, that three companies of the moſt active troops in the army could not, with all their exertion, come in for any ſhare of the honour. The purſuit was prevented by a thick fog and darkneſs, which did not admit of the Britiſh General's perceiving how far it was proper to venture his troops out of the town. As the day cleared, the works and ditches near the redoubt preſented a moſt ſhocking ſpectacle of killed and wounded, ſaid by ſome officers and ſoldiers to have been only equalled at Bunker's Hill. At ten o'clock the enemy requeſted leave to carry off their wounded and bury their dead; which, with ſome reſtrictions as to the former, was granted.

1779. Captain Tawſe killed.

French, &c. repulſed.

In this fatal attack the loſs of the allies was computed at between 1000 and 1200 men in killed and wounded. The French owned 44 officers, and about 700 private men in killed and wounded.—— The loſs of the Americans was not acknowleged, but was certainly very conſiderable. The celebrated Poliſh Count Polaſki was mortally wounded.

Loſs on both ſides.

D'Eſtaing

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D'Eſtaing himſelf was grievouſly wounded in two places. Several other French officers of diſtinction were alſo wounded. The loſs on the Britiſh ſide was inconceivably ſmall.

Diſſenſions betwixt the French and Americans.

The diſſenſions betwixt the Americans and their allies were renewed by their ill ſucceſs, each party accuſing the other of miſconduct, or bad performance, and being the author of his own particular loſs or diſgrace. It was even ſaid, that the troops on both ſides were with difficulty reſtrained from proceeding to the moſt deſperate extremities; and that the French and American commanders, and principal officers, were as little ſatisfied with each other as the private men. It was likewiſe ſuppoſed, that a jealouſy had previouſly ſubſiſted on the American ſide, from d'Eſtaing's ſummoning the place to ſurrender to the arms of the French king only.—But however theſe might be, it was now neceſſary to think of getting away with ſafety; and even this it was neceſſary to maſk with the appearance of continuing a blockade. Great civilities now paſſed between the French and Britiſh; and numberleſs apologies were made for the refuſal with reſpect to the women and children. They were now preſſed to place themſelves in the ſituation they had formerly requeſted; and a particular ſhip of war and commander were named for the reception of Mrs Prevoſt, her children, and company. But the anſwer was, that what had once been refuſed, and that in terms of inſult, could not in any circumſtance be deemed worth accepting.

On the 18th of the month, upon the clearing up of a fog, it was diſcovered that the French and Americans had abandoned their camps in the preceding night. Some purſuit was made, but it was ſoon found that they had broken down all the bridges behind them, and purſued their reſpective routs with the greateſt diſpatch. The French Admiral found his fleet in better condition than his army; and, therefore,

therefore, totally abandoned the coaſts of America. About the beginning of November he proceeded with the greater part of his fleet to France to refit, the reſt having returned to the Weſt Indies.

Spain joins the confederacy againſt Britain.

The year 1779, however, ruinous to the United States in general, was yet fortunate to them in one inſtance, namely, that their independency was now acknowledged by the Court of Spain. The declaration to this purpoſe was delivered to the Court of London on the 16th of June; but it appears, from various circumſtances, that the Spaniſh governors and commanders in America and the Weſt Indies had been made acquainted with the intended rupture long before. It would even ſeem, that they were informed of the preciſe time, or very near it, at which the rupture was to take place; as it was aſſerted, that war was declared in Port Rico a few days after the delivery of the Spaniſh reſcript in London; and it is certain, that Engliſh veſſels were carried into the Havannah as prizes, before any intelligence of that event could poſſibly arrive there from Europe.

June 16.

By means of this early intelligence, the whole colony on the Miſſiſſippi, along with the troops deſtined for its protection, fell into the hands of the Spaniards. The ſettlements in that part, being as yet too weak for a particular government, had been annexed to that of Weſt Florida; which was, however, too diſtant to afford any effectual protection. We have alſo taken notice of an expedition by the Americans to that country, though they did not ſtay to enforce their dominion. In conſequence of this, however, ſome troops had been ſent for the protection of that infant colony. Theſe were ſuddenly attacked, towards the end of Auguſt 1779, by Don Bernardo de Galvez, Governor of Louiſiana, with the whole force he could collect; who, having firſt publicly declared the independency of Britiſh America by beat of drum at New Orleans, ſet out on his expedition. His meaſures had been ſo well con-

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certed, that Major General Campbell, who commanded at Penſacola, did not receive the ſmalleſt information of the danger which threatened the weſtern part of the province, or even that hoſtility was intended, until the affair was almoſt over. A royal ſloop of war, and ſeveral veſſels were taken by ſurpriſe, laden with proviſions and neceſſaries for the Britiſh detachment, together with ſome troops belonging to the regiment of Waldeſk. This was quickly followed by the reduction of the whole Britiſh force in that country, which, indeed, did not amount to 500 men, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Dickſon of the 16th regiment; and theſe had no other cover againſt an enemy, much their ſuperior, than a newly conſtructed fort, or more properly a field redoubt, at Batton Rouge.—Here, however, they ſtood a ſiege for nine days, until the opening of a battery of heavy artillery left no farther hope; yet, notwithſtanding the deſperate ſituation in which they were, honourable terms were obtained, to which the Spaniſh governor exactly adhered. This diſaſter, on the part of Britain, was ſoon revenged by the conqueſt of the ſtrong fortreſs of Omoa, of which we ſhall ſpeak particularly afterwards.

Col. Dickſon ſurrenders to Don Galvez.

1780. Armed Neutrality.

The beginning of the year 1780 preſented a moſt alarming appearance to Britain. She was now engaged in a war, not only with her own revolted colonies, together with the kingdoms of France and Spain; but ſuch a combination was entered into by the neutral powers, under the title of an *Armed Neutrality*, as indicated a general inclination to take up arms in favour of America, ſhould the eſtabliſhment of her independence yet remain doubtful.—This extraordinary aſſociation originated with the Court of Peterſburgh, whom the Britiſh miniſtry looked upon as their beſt, if not their only allies in the preſent criſis. The declaration of the Empreſs on this occaſion would, in other circumſtances, have been conſtrued as a declaration of war. At preſent, however, the Court of London, ſtanding

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ing alone and unſupported, was obliged to ſubmit. The propoſals of the Empreſs were acceded to not only without the leaſt heſitation, but with the utmoſt applauſe of her juſtice and wiſdom by all other powers of Europe to whom they were preſented, Portugal alone excepted. CHAP. XIX. 1780.

Though the powerful combination in favour of the revolted colonies, of which this Armed Neutrality might be conſidered as a principal part, rendered the conteſt with them ultimately hopeleſs on the part of Great Britain, the war was nevertheleſs kept up with equal ſpirit by our commanders, and the ſame deluſive hopes of ſucceſs were held out by the miniſtry. The conqueſt of the ſouthern colonies was now looked upon as an object within reach, and for this purpoſe an expedition was undertaken by Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, for which the ſtate of General Waſhington's army was peculiarly favourable. His auxiliaries had already returned home; the term of enliſtment of a great number of continental ſoldiers was expired; and the filling up of the regiments, by waiting for recruits from their reſpective ſtates, muſt neceſſarily be a work of conſiderable time. The expedition, however, was not undertaken till the 26th of December 1779, nor did the fleet arrive at the Savannah until the end of January 1780. The voyage, beſides its tedioufneſs, was otherwiſe very unproſperous. The ſea was ſo rough, and the weather ſo tempeſtuous, that great miſchief was done among the tranſports and victuallers. Several were loſt; others diſperſed and damaged; a few were taken by the Americans; an ordnance ſhip went down with all her ſtores; and almoſt all the horſes, whether for draught or belonging to the cavalry, were loſt. Expedition againſt Charlestown by Sir Henry Clinton. Jan. 1780.

From Savannah the fleet and army proceeded before the middle of February to the inlet or harbour of North Eaſts, on the coaſt of South Carolina, where the army was landed without oppoſition, and took poſſeſſion with equal facility of the Iſlands of St James and St John; but, from ſome difficulties, the February.

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1780. April 1.

nature of which were never well explained, it was not till the end of March that they paſſed the River Aſhley. On the 1ſt of April they broke ground within 800 yards of the enemy's works, and in a week their guns were mounted in battery.

In the mean time, the Admiral had by no means been deficient in his endeavours to paſs Charleſtown bar, in order to co-operate with the land forces; but ſo difficult was the taſk, that the fleet lay in that ſituation expoſed on an open coaſt, in the winter ſeaſon, to the danger of the ſeas and the inſults of the enemy, for above a fortnight before a proper opportunity offered. The bar was, however, paſſed, on the 20th of March, without loſs, and the entrance of the harbour gained without difficulty.

The Provincials had a conſiderable marine force in the harbour, which might have been expected to contribute more to the defence of the town and paſſage than it actually did. It conſiſted of an American ſhip built ſince the commencement of the war, and pierced for 60 guns, but mounting only 44; ſeven frigates of the ſame country, from 32 to 16 guns; a French frigate of 26 guns, and a poleacre of 18. Theſe, at firſt, upon the admiral's getting over the bar, ſhewed ſome inclination to reſiſt, and took a favourable poſition for this purpoſe. On the approach of the Britiſh force, however, their reſolution appears to have failed them; and, therefore, leaving Fort Moultrie, on Sullivan's Iſland, to its fate, they retired to Charleſtown; where moſt of the ſhips, with a number of merchant veſſels, being fitted with *chevaux de frize* on their decks, were ſunk to obſtruct the navigation of the river. This obſtacle, however, was ſoon removed; and the ſucceſs of the attack on the land-ſide depending almoſt entirely on the joint operation of the fleet, the admiral took a favourable opportunity of paſſing the heavy batteries at Fort Moultrie, ſo much celebrated for its obſtinate defence againſt the attack of Sir Peter Parker.

On

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On the 9th of April this paſſage was effected with little loſs of men, under a ſevere fire from the fort, though ſome of the ſhips ſuffered conſiderably; and a tranſport, with ſome naval ſtores, was of neceſſity abandoned and burnt. The great object, however, was now gained; they were in poſſeſſion of the harbour, and took ſuch effectual meaſures for blocking up or ſecuring the various inlets that the town was almoſt completely inveſted. April 9.

In this ſtate of things, the batteries ready to be opened, a ſummons was ſent to General Lincoln, who commanded in Charleſtown, to ſurrender.—This ſummons, however, being refuſed, hoſtilities inſtantly commenced. The defences of the town conſiſted of a chain of redoubts, lines, and batteries, extending from one river to the other, and covered with 80 cannon and mortars. In the front of either flank, the works were covered by ſwamps, originating from the oppoſite rivers, and tending towards the centre; through which they were connected by a canal paſſing from one to the other. Between theſe outward impediments and the works, were two ſtrong rows of abbatis, the trees being buried ſlanting in the earth; ſo that their heads facing outwards, formed a kind of fraize-work againſt the aſſailants; and theſe were farther ſecured by a ditch double picketted. In the centre, where the natural defences were unequal to thoſe on the flanks, a horn-work of maſonry had been conſtructed, as well to remedy that defect, as to cover the principal gate; and this during the ſiege had been cloſed in, in ſuch a manner as to render it a kind of citadel, or independent fort. Summons ſent to Gen. Lincoln to ſurrender, refuſed.

The ſiege was carried on with great vigour; the batteries were ſoon perceived to acquire a ſuperiority to thoſe of the enemy, and the works were puſhed forward with unremitting induſtry. By the 19th of April the ſecond parallel was completed; the approaches to it ſecured; and it was carried within 450 yards of the main works of the beſieged. April 19.

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jor Moncrieffe, who had gained ſo much honour at the Savannah, acquired no leſs applauſe, from the very ſuperior and maſterly manner in which he conducted the offenſive operations of the ſiege.

The town had kept its communication open with the country on the farther ſide of Cooper's River, for ſome time after it had been inveſted on other ſides by the fleet and army; and ſome bodies of militia, cavalry, and infantry, began to aſſemble on the higher parts of that river, who, being in poſſeſſion of the bridges, might, at leaſt, have become troubleſome to the foraging parties, if not capable of diſturbing the operations of the army. The general, as ſoon as his ſituation would permit, detached 1400 men under Lieutenant Colonel Webſter, in order to deſtroy this corps which the enemy were preparing to aſſemble in the field, to break in upon their remaining communications, and to ſeize the principal paſſes of the country. On this expedition Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton, at the head of a corps of cavalry, and ſeconded by Major Ferguſſon's light infantry and markſmen, with a very inferior force, ſurpriſed, defeated, and almoſt totally cut off the rebel party; and thereby opened a way for Colonel Webſter to ſhut up the place entirely.

As the arrival of a large reinforcement from New York enabled the general conſiderably to ſtrengthen the corps under Webſter; ſo the importance of the ſituation induced Cornwallis to take the command on that ſide of Cooper's River; and under the conduct of this nobleman, Colonel Tarleton entirely ruined another body of cavalry which the enemy had with the utmoſt difficulty collected.

In the mean time, the beſiegers had completed their third parallel, which they carried cloſe to the provincial canal; and by a ſap puſhed to the dam which ſupplied it with water on the right, they had drained it in ſeveral parts to the bottom. On the other hand, the admiral, who had conſtantly preſſed and diſtreſſed the enemy, having taken the fort at Mount

Mount Pleaſant, acquired from its vicinity, and the information of the deſerters which it encouraged, a full knowledge of the ſtate of the garriſon and defences of Fort Moultrie in Sullivan's Iſland. In purſuance of this information, he landed a body of ſeamen and marines to ſtorm the place by land, while the ſhips battered it by ſea in every poſſible direction. In theſe circumſtances, the garriſon ſeeing the imminent danger to which they were expoſed, and ſenſible of the impoſſibility of relief, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. Thus, driven to its laſt reſource, the general ſtill wiſhing to preſerve Charlestown from deſtruction, and to avoid the cruelty of ſtorming the place, ſent a ſecond ſummons to General Lincoln, with an offer of the ſame terms which the latter had before refuſed, but which were now accepted without heſitation. The garriſon were allowed ſome of the honours of war.

Lincoln capitulates. May 11.

On this occaſion the number of priſoners amounted to 5611, excluſive of near 1000 ſeamen. An immenſe quantity of artillery, amounting to upwards of 400 pieces of cannon, were found in the town and forts adjacent. One French and three American frigates, which had eſcaped the operation of being ſunk in the river, fell likewiſe into the hands of the conquerors.

The moſt rapid ſucceſs now every where attended the Britiſh arms in Carolina. Lord Cornwallis having marched up the north ſide of the great river Santee, received intelligence that there were ſome Virginia troops, under the command of Colonel Burford, near the borders of North Carolina. He accordingly detached Colonel Tarleton with 700 light cavalry, and a new corps of infantry called the Legion, mounted on horſeback, in order to rout and diſperſe that body, before it could receive any reinforcement from the neighbouring colonies. The Americans, confiding in their diſtance from the enemy, had been at no pains to chuſe a proper ſituation. Colonel Tarleton, therefore, having marched 105 miles in 54 hours,

Colonel Tarleton defeats the Americans at Waxſaw.

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preſented himſelf ſuddenly and unexpectedly before them at a place called Waxſaw. But, although the enemy were ſurpriſed and diſpirited, they poſitively refuſed the offer of the Britiſh commander to ſurrender on the ſame terms with the garriſon of Charleſtown. An engagement, therefore, enſued, in which the Provincials, though ſuperior in number, made but a faint defence; above 100 were killed on the ſpot, and 150 ſo badly wounded that they were unable to travel, and about 50 were brought away priſoners. Their colours, baggage, with the remains of the artillery of the ſouthern army, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

South Carolina entirely reduced. June.

This ſucceſs ſeemed deciſive as to the fate of South Carolina. General Clinton conſidered it as ſo entirely ſubjugated, that on his return to New York, in the beginning of June, he acquainted the American miniſter that there were few men in the province who were not either priſoners to, or in arms with the Britiſh forces; and he exulted in the numbers of thoſe who came in from every quarter to teſtify their allegiance, to offer their ſervices in ſupport of his Majeſty's government, and who in many inſtances had brought as priſoners their former oppreſſors or leaders. This appearance of loyalty induced Sir Henry to put in execution a ſcheme often recommended by the partizans of the Britiſh miniſtry, viz. the obliging the province to contribute largely to its own defence, and even to take an active part in ſuppreſſing the rebellion on its frontiers.

Notwithſtanding theſe poſitive aſſertions, however, and the flattering appearance of loyalty in South Carolina, at the time of Sir Henry Clinton's departure from thence, it ſoon became obvious, that many of the inhabitants were ſo little ſatisfied with their preſent government, that they endeavoured to diſpoſe of their property on the beſt terms they could obtain, and totally to abandon the country. This conduct became ſo frequent and glaring, that Lord Cornwallis found it neceſſary, towards the end of July, to iſſue a

July.

proclamation,

proclamation, ſtrictly forbidding all ſales and transfers of property, including even negroes, without a licenſe firſt obtained from the commandant of Charlestown; and likewiſe forbidding all maſters of veſſels from carrying any perſons whatever, whether black or white, out of the colony, without a written paſsport from the ſame officer.

In the mean time the part of the Britiſh army deſtined to active ſervice was advanced towards the frontiers, under the command of Lord Rawdon, who fixed his head quarters at the town of Camden. The advantageous ſituation of that place on the great river Santee, which afforded an eaſy communication with ſeveral remote parts of the country, together with other inviting and favourable circumſtances, induced Lord Cornwallis not only to make it a place of arms, but a general ſtorehouſe or repoſitory for the army in its intended operations. He, accordingly, uſed the utmoſt diſpatch in conveying thither from Charleſtown the ſtores neceſſary for the troops, which, by reaſon of the heat of the weather, proved a matter of great labour and difficulty. He likewiſe ſpared no pains in arming and embodying the militia of the province, and in raiſing new military corps, under well-affected leaders.

New diſturbances in North Carolina.

But, during theſe tranſactions, a great change in the aſpect of affairs took place in North Carolina. Beſides the ſuppreſſion of the Loyaliſts, who were treated with little mercy, Major-General Baron de Kalbe, a German officer in the American ſervice, arrived in that province with 2000 continental troops, and was followed by ſome bodies of militia from Virginia. The governors of the colony were likewiſe indefatigable in their exertions and preparations, at leaſt for defence, if not for conqueſt. Troops were raiſed, the militia every where drawn out; and Rutherford, Caſwel, Sumpter, and other leaders, advanced to the frontiers, at the head of different bodies. Skirmiſhes took place on all ſides, and were attended with various fortune; the enemy became ſo dangerous

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gerous, that Lord Rawdon was obliged to contract his poſts.

It ſoon appeared that the loyalty of South Carolina was not to be depended on, and that nothing could deter the inhabitants from adhering to the cauſe of Congreſs, whenever an opportunity offered. As the enemy increaſed in ſtrength, and approached nearer, numbers of thoſe who had ſubmitted to the Britiſh government, and others who were on parole, abandoned or hazarded all things in order to join them. A Colonel Liſle, who had exchanged his parole for a certificate of being a good ſubject, carried off a whole battalion of militia, which had been raiſed by another gentleman for Lord Cornwallis, to join Sumpter. Another battalion, who were appointed to conduct about 100 ſick down the Pedee to George Town, ſeized their own officers, and carried them, with the ſick, all priſoners to the enemy.

Provincials entirely defeated near Camden.

General Gates was now in North Carolina, to take the command of the new Southern Army, and the time was faſt approaching, when the high military reputation he had acquired was to be ſtaked in a conteſt with Earl Cornwallis. In the ſecond week of

Auguſt.

Auguſt, the latter having received intelligence at Charleſtown, that Gates was advancing with his army, and that Sumpter was endeavouring to cut off the communication between that city and the army; that the whole country between the Pedee and the Black River had revolted; and that Lord Rawdon was collecting his whole force at Camden—he immediately ſet off for that place. On his arrival he found he had no ſmall difficulties to encounter.—Gates was at hand with a great ſuperiority of force: his army was computed at not leſs than 5000 or 6000 men, and was ſuppoſed to be very well appointed; and rendered ſtill more formidable by the name and character of its commander. On the other hand, Lord Cornwallis's regular force was ſo much reduced by ſickneſs and caſualties, as not much to exceed 1400 fighting men, with 400 or 500 militia, or

North

North Carolina Refugees. The poſition of Camden, however convenient or advantageous in other reſpects, was a bad one to receive an attack. He could indeed have made good his retreat to Charlestown with thoſe troops that were able to march; but, in that caſe, he muſt have left about 800 ſick, with a vaſt quantity of valuable ſtores, to fall into the hands of the enemy. He likewiſe foreſaw, that excepting Charleſtown and the Savannah, a retreat would be attended with the loſs of the two provinces of Carolina and Georgia.—In his own words, there was "little to loſe by a defeat, and much to gain by a victory." The intelligence which he received that General Gates had encamped in a bad ſituation at Ruggles, about 13 miles from Camden, undoubtedly ſerved to confirm Lord Cornwallis in his determination. He accordingly marched from Camden, about 10 o'clock at night, with a full intention of ſurpriſing General Gates at Ruggles, and making his diſpoſitions in ſuch a manner, as that his beſt troops and greateſt force ſhould be directed againſt the continental regiments, laying little ſtreſs on the militia, if theſe were ſufficiently provided againſt. CHAP. XIX. 1780.

It was very ſingular, that at the very hour and moment at which Lord Cornwallis ſet out from Camden to ſurpriſe Gates, that General ſhould ſet out from Ruggles to ſurpriſe him.——As the two armies mutually approached, the light troops, and advanced guards on each ſide, neceſſarily fell in with, and engaged each other in the dark. In this blind encounter the American light troops, being driven back on the van, conſiderably diſordered it, as well as their centre, which probably was never afterwards recovered. Lord Cornwallis repreſſed the firing early, and immediately formed. He found that the enemy were in bad ground, and he could not hazard in the dark the advantages which their ſituation would afford him in the light. A movement, however, made by the Americans on the left by day-light, indicating ſome change of diſpoſition, offered ſome ad- August 16.

vantage

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vantage to the Royal army. This being eagerly ſeized by their ſkilful General, he inſtantly ordered Colonel Webſter, who commanded the Britiſh right, directly to charge the enemy's left with the light infantry, ſupported by the 23d and 33d regiments. The action ſoon became general, and was ſupported with the utmoſt obſtinacy, the firing being intermixed with ſharp and well-ſupported conteſts at the bayonet. The hazineſs of the morning, with the cloud of ſmoke which involved both armies, prevented the effects of the fire from being well obſerved. It was evident, however, that the Britiſh troops puſhed forward, and the Americans gave way, until at laſt the rout becoming general, they fled on all ſides, and were purſued 20 miles from the field of battle. All their artillery, amounting to 7 or 8 braſs field-pieces, with 2000 ſtand of arms, their military waggons, and ſeveral ſtandards, were taken. About 800 or 900 were killed on the ſpot, and 100 taken. The whole body of American militia, (which conſtituted by far the greater part of their force), excepting only one North Carolina regiment, run away at the firſt fire, and were incapable of being rallied, or even perſuaded to make a ſingle ſtand; ſo that, gaining the woods as faſt as poſſible, they totally diſperſed. The continental regular troops, however, and the ſingle regiment of North Carolina militia, vindicated their own and the national character. General Baron de Kalbe, a Pruſſian officer, the ſecond in command, who was mortally wounded in this engagement, ſpent his laſt breath in dictating a letter expreſſive of the warmeſt affection for the Americans, and containing the higheſt encomiums on the valour of the regular troops, the ſatisfaction that he felt in having been a partaker of their fortune, and having fallen in their cauſe. Beſides General Kalbe, the Americans loſt ſeveral other officers, among whom were Brigadier-General Gregory killed, and General Rutherford taken. The loſs on the part of the Britiſh

tiſh amounted only to 324, killed, wounded, and priſoners, among whom, however, were ſeveral brave officers.

Tarleton defeats Sumpter.

The victory at Camden was quickly followed by another.—General Sumpter had for ſome time been very ſucceſsful in cutting off or intercepting the Britiſh parties and convoys, and lay now, with about 1000 men, and a number of priſoners and waggons which he had lately taken, at Catawba Fords. As Lord Cornwallis conſidered it a matter of ſome conſequence to give a check to this body before he advanced to North Carolina, he detached Colonel Tarleton, with the light infantry and cavalry of the legion, to the number of 350, on this ſervice. Sumpter, confiding in his diſtance from the enemy, was ſurpriſed at noon-day ſo completely, that his men were moſtly cut off from their arms. The victory was, therefore, nothing more than a ſlaughter and rout. About 150 were killed, and 300 taken priſoners, with two pieces of cannon, and the priſoners and waggons retaken which had fallen into his hands at the Catawba Fords.

While the military operations already related were going on in the ſouthern colonies, the hoſtile armies on the ſide of New York were ſo nearly poiſed, that no great exploits could be performed on either ſide.

Aſſociation of Loyaliſts at New York.

Mean time the refugees were now grown ſo numerous, that, thro' ſome miſtaken policy, they were permitted to ſet up a diſtinct government in New York, under the name of "The Honourable Board of Aſſociated Loyaliſts;" and this board was ſaid to be authorized by the Britiſh Legiſlature. But, be this as it will, as theſe refugees had a common ſtock, and their infant excurſions at ſea proved extremely ſucceſsful, they became every day more powerful, and poſſeſſed ſomething like a fleet of ſmall privateers and cruizers. Their knowledge of the adjoining coaſts afforded them ſuch advantages, that they generally proved ſucceſsful in their enterprizes; but their want of any effectual diſcipline or government, along

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along with their peculiar, and frequently perſonal animoſity, leading them to exceſs, produced retaliation on the other ſide, ſo that the war was carried on with unrelenting cruelty on both ſides, without the leaſt tendency either to conqueſt or reconciliation.

Unſucceſsful expeditions from New York,

A few days before the arrival of Sir Henry Clinton from Charleſtown, the Generals Knyphauſen, Robertſon and Tryon, with a view of attacking ſome of Waſhington's out poſts, paſſed over by night with 5000 or 6000 men from Staten Iſland to Elizabeth Town in New Jerſey. On the following morning, though ſeverely harraſſed in their march by the Provincial militia, they advanced a few miles to a ſettlement called the Connecticut Farms, from its having been planted and ſettled, a few years before, by ſome inhabitants of that province. This new and thriving ſettlement was burnt, together with the Preſbyterian church in that place. But what produced the loudeſt complaints, was the death of the clergyman's wife, who, ſitting with her family, was ſhot, by accident, through a window in her own houſe.

June 6.

From thence the army proceeded to Springfield, and met with the like annoyance on their march, but with greater effect, as the militia now had aſſembled in greater numbers. At laſt they found themſelves oppoſed by General Maxwell, at the head of the Jerſey Brigade, and reinforced by all the militia he could collect, well poſted in the ſame place. Whether it proceeded from Maxwell's good countenance and poſition, or from whatever other cauſe; the army halted, and continued on the ſame ground till midnight without advancing. The Americans, however, though inferior in ſtrength, kept up a conſtant and inceſſant firing, without coming to any cloſe action; by which the Britiſh officers, finding themſelves in all probability more likely than uſual to be over-matched, were induced to give up the main object of their enterprize, and return to Elizabeth Town at night.

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The arrival of Sir Henry Clinton at New York made no change in the situation of the Royal forces, who still kept their post at Elizabeth Town. On the contrary, the Commander in Chief determined to prosecute the intended enterprize with still more vigour. For this purpose a feint was made of an expedition up the North River, which had the desired effect of drawing Washington from the place where he was encamped, and where he would have obstructed the design, in order to defend the strong posts in the Highlands, the taking of which would have been destructive to his army. This point being gained, the forces at Elizabeth Town again advanced towards Springfield. This village lay at the foot of those hills which constituted the strength of the country, and led directly to some of the principal passes, which were now guarded by General Greene, at the head of Stark's and the Jersey brigades, with some of the neighbouring militia. The bridge which led to the village was defended by 170 men, under a Colonel Angel, who maintained his ground for about a quarter of an hour with great gallantry against a vast superiority of force, and though obliged at last to give way, found means to carry off his wounded, though nearly one fourth of the whole corps were by this time killed or disabled; the British troops having suffered more in this trifling affair than could be imagined.

June 23.

At this time Greene lay about a mile above Springfield; but his troops were so divided that he could not make any detachment sufficient for the relief of Colonel Angel, without hazarding the security of the post he himself occupied, and which was of much greater importance. The British troops, therefore, having met with such an unexpected check from the handful of men at the bridge, did not venture to attack General Greene, but closed their expedition with burning the village of Springfield. The Royal forces passed over the same night to Staten Island; while Washington continued to be amused for some days

Springfield burnt.

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days longer with the appearance of an expedition up the North River, which probably never was intended.

The event of this ſhort campaign in the Jerſeys ſhewed, more than any thing that had yet happened, the utter impoſſibility of reducing the Americans by force of arms. A force which had once been thought ſufficient to ſweep every obſtacle before it, had been baffled by a body of Americans not exceeding 1200 men; for General Greene, whom they durſt not attack, had not above 1000 under his command. It was now evident that the Britiſh forces had an enemy in the field little leſs reſpectable than themſelves; that all the ſuperiority in arms, which had produced ſuch effects at the beginning of the conteſt, was, in a great meaſure, at an end; nor did General Waſhington fail to ſhew the greateſt exultation in the public orders given by him afterwards, on the effects of the improvements in diſcipline he had already made, and the greater which he ſtill hoped.

M. de Fayette, and de Ternay, arrive in America.

During the courſe of the ſummer the Americans were further encouraged by the return of the Marquis de la Fayette from France, whither he had gone ſome time before. His early engagement and great zeal in the American ſervice, in which he held an high rank, cauſed him to be received with diſtinction by Waſhington, who gave him a letter to Congreſs full of the moſt flattering encomiums.

July 11.

In a ſhort time after the arrival of M. de Ternay at Rode Iſland, he ſeemed to decide matters at once in favour of the Colonies. He had along with him a ſquadron of ſeven ſail of the line, five frigates, and two armed veſſels. His own ſhip, Le Duc de Burgoyne, carried 84 guns, and 1200 men; two others carried 74, and four had 64 guns each. He likewiſe convoyed a fleet of tranſports, with five old French regiments, and a battalion of artillery, amounting in all to about 6000 men, under the conduct of Lieutenant-general the Count de Rochambeau. They

They were received by Major-general Heath; who, for the ſecurity of the troops and ſquadron againſt any attempts from New York, put them in poſſeſſion of the numerous forts and batteries of the iſland, which, with the induſtry peculiar to the Americans, they ſoon put in a ſtrong ſtate of defence.

French Fleet blocked up in Rhode Iſland by Arbuthnot.

In the mean time the American Commander, in order to prevent any jealouſies or conteſts from ariſing between the two nations, iſſued a requiſition in public orders, to the American officers, ſoliciting, and ſtrongly recommending to them to wear black and white cockades, (the ground of the former, and the relief of the latter colour), as a compliment and ſymbol of affection to their generous and magnanimous allies.—There were now indeed the greateſt hopes that matters would be ſpeedily decided; for as Admiral Arbuthnot had only four ſail of the line at New York, he was by no means able to cope with the French ſquadron; but, on the contrary, in expectation of being himſelf attacked by them. This ſtate of affairs was ſoon changed by the arrival of July 13. Admiral Graves, with ſix ſail of the line, from England; ſo that the French now, inſtead of being able to act on the offenſive, found themſelves blocked up in Rhode Iſland. Here, however, the Britiſh found the enemy ſo ſtrong, that an attack by ſea was impracticable; and though Sir Henry Clinton meditated an attack by land, it did not appear that ſuch a meaſure was agreeable to the Admiral. Diſagreement and diſlike appeared to take place between the commanders of the ſea and land forces, ſo that, after much delay and ambiguous correſpondence, the troops were relanded. It does not appear, however, that, even ſuppoſing the moſt cheerful co-operation between the fleet and army, the expedition againſt Rhode Iſland could have been attended with ſucceſs; for, beſides the natural advantages of ſituation which that iſland poſſeſſes, and the ſtrength of its forts and batteries, the New England provinces were ready to pour in their whole force to the ſupport of the

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French. So much were they ſet on diſplaying their valour before their great allies, that, on the firſt report of the deſign, above 10,000 of their militia and ſix month's men, were ſuddenly in arms, and marched towards Providence; at the ſame time that General Waſhington, with 12,000 choſen troops, marched rapidly towards King's Bridge, with a deſign to attack New York, which, in the ſituation it then was, deprived of its beſt troops, could ſcarce have been ſaved: but the failure of that expedition neceſſarily fruſtrated both theſe deſigns.

Great expectations of the allies diſappointed.

In the mean time, the vaſt ſuperiority which the combined fleets of France and Spain had acquired in the Weſt Indians, not only gave the greateſt hopes of cruſhing the naval force of Britain in thoſe parts, but of relieving the Americans, and even enabling them to act on the offenſive. In conſequence of theſe grand ideas, a number of preparations were made for a winter expedition to Canada, to be conducted by the Marquis de la Fayette. That officer accordingly publiſhed a preparatory memorial, addreſſed to the French Canadians, calling upon them by all the ancient ties of blood, religion, and country, as well as by the natural and fervent deſire of recovering their own freedom, to be in preparation to aſſiſt him on his arrival among them. At the ſame time the univerſal expectation of ſuch grand objects being accompliſhed, raiſed the military ardour of the people to ſuch a pitch, that Waſhington's army was ſuddenly augmented to more than 20,000 men; the northern provinces were ready to ſend in their militia; and all orders of men were ready to ſhare, with their French allies, the honour and profit of finally overthrowing the Britiſh power by the capture of New York.—Theſe vaſt expectations, however, were ſuddenly diſappointed by the departure of the French fleet under M. Guichen. This ſtep was rendered abſolutely neceſſary by the very diſtreſſed ſituation to which they were reduced by ſickneſs, long ſervice in the Weſt Indies, and the various

various engagements which they had with the Britiſh fleet; at the ſame time, as it was not by any means proper that their real ſituation ſhould be known, the French Admiral did not think fit to communicate his deſign to any perſon; but, taking the opportunity of convoying a large fleet from the Weſt Indies, ſailed to France, leaving his allies in eager expectation of his return to accompliſh their grand deſign on New York. CHAP. XIX. 1780.

Nothing ever proved more galling to the Americans than this diſappointment. Even General Waſhington, ſo remarkable for his prudence and equanimity, is ſaid to have loſt his temper on this occaſion. All the views of France and America, with reſpect to the campaign, were now finally given up, while the force ſent to Rhode Iſland was reduced to act on the defenſive as a mere garriſon, being kept cloſely blocked up by the Admirals Arbuthnot and Graves. On the departure of M. Guichen, Sir George Rodney, who had been ſtationed at St Lucia, ſailed from thence with a view to ſave the naval force at New York and Rhode Iſland; but though he found his care in this reſpect uſeleſs, his removal from that ſtation was the means of preſerving his fleet from the dreadful hurricane which was about to take place in the Weſt Indies. Sir G. Rodney arrives at New York, Sept. 14.

The particulars of this terrible calamity ſhall afterwards be given; in the mean time we ſhall purſue, without interruption, the hiſtory of the American war till its final cataſtrophe.—The Continent of America had pretty well eſcaped the ravages of the hurricane, while the univerſal horror, occaſioned by its dreadful devaſtation, ſuſpended, for a while, the calamities of war. Admiral Arbuthnot ſtill continued to block up the French in Rhode Iſland; while they, on their part, were aſſiduous in ſtrengthening their fortifications, from an apprehenſion of being attacked by the force of the Admirals Arbuthnot and Graves, combined with that of Sir George Rodney. No attempt, however, was made to profit by the pre-

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sent naval superiority, which gave occasion to much criticism on the conduct of the present commanders, as well as of those who had gone before them.

Arnold revolts from the American service.

During this apparent calm, and a sort of tacit cessation of hostility, the revolt of General Arnold had almost produced a decisive stroke against the liberties of America. That commander, having retired from military service on account of the wound he had received, was appointed to the government of Philadelphia on the retreat of the British army; but in this employment his conduct had been of such a nature, that he fell under the general odium of the inhabitants, as well as of the province in general, being charged with extortion, oppression, and exorbitant and enormous charges on the public, in his accompts. Matters had at last proceeded to such a height, that Commissioners, appointed by Congress to inspect these accompts, had rejected one half of them; but Mr Arnold, not satisfied with their judgment, appealled from them to the Congress itself. A committee of Congress having been appointed to settle the business, not only confirmed the accounts given by the Commissioners, but reported, that more had been allowed him than he had any right to expect or demand. This determination proved highly disagreeable to Mr Arnold, who thereupon uttered violent invectives against both Congress and Commissioners. However, he was soon obliged to abide by the determination of a court martial, upon the various charges of malversation in office exhibited against him by the executive government of Philadelphia, as well as on some other grounds. His conduct was, in general terms, declared to be highly reprehensible; and he was ordered to be reprimanded by the Commander in Chief. This sentence proved unsatisfactory to both parties; the accusers representing it as too mild, and Arnold himself making loud complaints of the ingratitude and injustice of his countrymen. His favour with Washington, however, still continued; and soon after his reprimand,

reprimand, he was again taken into actual ſervice, and appointed to a ſtation of conſiderable rank and truſt. In this ſituation he determined to revenge himſelf; in conſequence of which, he carried on a negociation with Sir Henry Clinton, for the purpoſe of returning to his allegiance, and delivering up the poſt, and that part of the army which he commanded, to the Britiſh General.

His negociation with the Britiſh commanders.

In what manner this negociation was firſt begun, or how it was carried on, are matters which never were publiſhed to the world. The failure of it, however, was attended with the deſtruction of Major André, the Britiſh Adjutant-general, who had been unhappily drawn into a connection with it.—The departure of M. de Guichen, with the French fleet, having overthrown all ſchemes of carrying on an offenſive war for the preſent ſeaſon, Waſhington ſtationed his army, for the winter, in ſome ſtrongholds in the Highlands on both ſides of the North River, where its ſituation afforded an opportunity of watching the motions of the Britiſh forces, and of repreſſing the incurſions from New York. In this arrangement of the American forces, the ſtrong and very important poſt of Weſt Point, with its neighbouring dependencies, and a wing, or very conſiderable diviſion of the army, was entruſted to the care of Major-general Arnold.

Waſhington's abſence in Connecticut was deemed a favourable opportunity for putting a final concluſion to this treaty. The Vulture ſloop of war had, for ſome time, been ſtationed in the North River, at ſuch a diſtance from Arnold's poſt, as, without exciting ſuſpicion, would ſerve for carrying on any communication. A written correſpondence, by other means, had alſo been carried on between Arnold and André, under the feigned names of *Guſtavus* and *Anderſon*.

The outlines of this project were, that Arnold ſhould make ſuch a diſpoſition of the diviſion under his command, as would enable the Britiſh General

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completely to ſurpriſe their ſtrong poſts and batteries, and throw the troops ſo entirely into his hands, that they muſt inevitably either throw down their arms, or be cut to pieces on the ſpot.

Major André employed. Sept. 21.

The neceſſary preparation being made, Major André was landed on the night of September 21, 1780, from the ſloop of war, without the American poſts, where he found Arnold waiting for him on the ſhore. The latter conveyed him into the camp, where he continued with him during the night and the following day; during which time, it unfortunately became neceſſary to change the Britiſh uniform of his regiment, which he had hitherto worn under a ſurtout coat, for ſome common dreſs. From ſome cauſe, a proper account of which was never laid before the public, Arnold could not fulfil his promiſe of conveying him back by the ſame way he had come, in order to get on board the Vulture. He was, therefore, conducted through a remote part of the camp; where, being furniſhed with an horſe and a paſſport, he got clear of the different advanced guards, all of which he paſſed under the aſſumed name of *Anderſon*.

Major André had now a journey of conſiderable length to purſue, alone and unattended. However, as he had got clear of the enemy's camp, the leſs danger was to be apprehended during the remainder of the journey. But, on the day after his leaving the camp, he was ſtopped at a place called Tarry-Town, by three young volunteers, or militia men, who were not at that time on any particular duty. On producing his paſſport they ſuffered him to proceed; but he had not been gone many yards, when one of them, ſtruck by ſomething particular in the behaviour of the ſtranger, peremptorily inſiſted on his being called back and more ſtrictly examined. Major André now, apprehenſive of being detained, offered the captors a very valuable watch, and a conſiderable purſe of gold, to let him paſs; but the

Taken up as a ſpy.

three

three militia men, notwithſtanding their low ſtation, withſtood, with great fortitude, not only this bribe, but the more faſcinating offers of permanent proviſion, and future promotion in the Britiſh army, on conveying and accompanying the Major to New York.

But though the firſt ſeizure of his papers ſubjected this unfortunate Gentleman to the ſummary execution practiſed on ſpies, he choſe rather to run the riſk of this ſudden and ignominious death, than to ſay any thing which might tend to criminate Arnold. The papers, which were found in the Major's boot, were all in Arnold's hand-writing, and contained exact returns of the ſtate of the forces, ordnance, and defences at Weſt Point, and its dependencies, with the artillery orders, critical remarks on the works, an eſtimate of the number of men ordinarily on duty to man them, with a copy of ſome very intereſting affairs which had lately been laid before a council of war by the Commander in Chief.

General Waſhington returned from Connecticut on the 25th of September, after Major André had been full 48 hours in cuſtody, without any knowledge of the tranſaction having yet reached the camp. At Arnold's quarters the General was informed, that he had been out for ſome hours, and it was ſuppoſed that he had gone to Weſt Point; but on going thither, he was ſurpriſed to find that Arnold had not been there that day; and ſtill more ſo, when on returning to his quarters, he was diſcovered to be abſent. A packet, however, ſoon arrived, with an account of the capture of John Anderſon, incloſing the papers found upon him; accompanied likewiſe with a letter from the priſoner himſelf to the General. He was now informed, that Arnold, previous to his departure in the morning, had received a letter which threw him into viſible agitation. Orders were inſtantly iſſued to prevent his eſcape, if poſſible; but theſe were now too late, as he had already got down the river, under the

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protection of a flag, and was ſafe on board the Vulture ſloop of war.

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Arnold, while yet in the camp, had been appriſed, as has already been mentioned, of the diſcovery of his treachery; upon which he fled with ſo much precipitation, that he had taken no precaution to ſecure or deſtroy his papers, or even to facilitate the removal of his wife from a place where it was evident ſhe could not remain any longer without danger. He was, therefore, reduced to the neceſſity of writing a humiliating letter to General Waſhington, requeſting that Mrs Arnold might be permitted to return to her friends in Philadelphia, or to him, as ſhe thought proper; and that his clothes, and baggage of little value, might be delivered to him, for which, if required, he would pay their worth in money.—Both theſe requeſts were punctually complied with, but no other notice was taken of this or any other letter from Arnold.

The ſame day, a letter was ſent by Colonel Robertſon, who had likewiſe been on board the Vulture, and appears to have been concerned in the ſame enterpriſe with André, reclaiming him on the footing of his having had a flag of truce, paſſports from Arnold, &c. and next day he was reclaimed by General Clinton himſelf on the ſame grounds.—To theſe letters, however, the American commander did not return any immediate anſwer; but having appointed a board of 14 general officers, of whom were the two foreign Major Generals, la Fayette and the Baron de Steuben, to inquire into the circumſtances of the caſe, and to determine the degree of puniſhment he ought to ſuffer, reſolved to wait their deciſion.

Trial of Major André, September 29.

The trial commenced on the 29th of September, when Major André, diſdaining all ſubterfuge and evaſion, and ſtuding only by the magnanimity which he ſhould now diſplay, to throw ſuch a luſtre over his character as might prevent the ſmalleſt ſhare of that imputation

imputation which he ſo much dreaded, voluntarily confeſſed more than he was aſked; ſeeking not to palliate in the leaſt any thing that could make againſt himſelf, but manifeſting the utmoſt nicety in uttering what might involve others in his calamity. He acknowledged that the boat in which he came on ſhore carried no flag; that he wore a ſurtout coat over his regimentals; that he changed his dreſs in the camp; that Arnold's papers were found concealed in his boot; and that a letter from New York, ſigned *John Anderſon*, was his own hand writing.

Though the Board were exceedingly ſtruck with the candour and magnanimity of the priſoner, it produced no effect on their final reſolution. They did not indeed examine a ſingle witneſs; but founded their report merely on his own confeſſion. In this, after reciting a few of the facts already mentioned, they declared "that Major André, Adjutant General to the Britiſh army, ought to be conſidered as a ſpy from the enemy; and that, agreeable to the law and uſage of nations, it was their opinion, that he ought to ſuffer death."

General Waſhington now wrote a ſhort letter to the Britiſh commander, in which he informed him, that though Major André had been taken under ſuch circumſtances as would have juſtified the moſt ſummary proceedings againſt him, he had, however, determined to refer his caſe to the examination and deciſion of a board of general officers, whoſe report, founded on his free and voluntary confeſſion and letters, was incloſed. From theſe proceedings it was evident, that Major André had been employed in the execution of meaſures very foreign to the objects of flags of truce; and that gentleman himſelf had, with the greateſt candour, confeſſed that it was impoſſible for him to ſuppoſe that he came under the ſanction of a flag of truce. This produced another letter from Sir Henry Clinton, who, under a preſumption that the board of general officers could not have been rightly informed of all the circumſtances on which

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which their judgment ought to be founded, propoſed to ſend Lieutenant General Robinſon, the governor of New York, and two other gentlemen, as well to give his Excellency a true ſtate of facts, as to explain and declare to him his own ſentiments and reſolutions upon the ſubject. But though General Robinſon was readily permitted to converſe with General Greene upon the ſubject, though another letter was written by Clinton himſelf, and two by General Arnold, not the leaſt abatement of the ſentence could be made. The laſt requeſt made by the unfortunate major, concerning the mode of his death, was even refuſed, though it was thought more conſiſtent with humanity to evade than give a direct anſwer to his requeſt. He ſuffered on the 2d of October 1780, and met his fate with great dignity and compoſure.

His execution, October 2.

Notwithſtanding the ſeverity with which this ſentence was put in execution, and which might be apologized for by the peculiar circumſtances of the times, the ſympathy which André excited in the American army is perhaps unexampled. It is ſaid, that the whole board of general officers ſhed tears at the time of drawing up and ſigning the report; and that even Waſhington's eyes, were not dry at hearing the circumſtances of his death.

Operations of Lord Cornwallis in South Carolina.

During theſe tranſactions on the ſide of New York, Lord Cornwallis had been prevented from making any further progreſs in Carolina for a conſiderable time after the battle of Camden. As the rebellious diſpoſition of the province was ſtill far from being ſubdued, his lordſhip, about the middle of September, iſſued a proclamation for ſequeſtrating the eſtates of thoſe perſons within the province, who were either actually in arms, who had abandoned their plantations with a view of joining or ſupporting the enemy, or who, by an avowal of rebellious principles, and other criminal acts, ſhould manifeſt a deſperate perſeverance in oppoſing the re-eſtabliſhment of his Majeſty's government. For this purpoſe, he appointed a commiſſioner to take poſſeſſion of ſuch

Sept. 16. He ſequeſtrates eſtates.

eſtates

eſtates and property, the annual product of which, excepting the part allotted for the maintenance of the families of the parties, was to be applied to the public ſervice, in contributing towards the expences of the war.

Colonel Ferguſſon defeated & killed.

In the mean time, Colonel Ferguſſon had been detached, with his own body of light infantry, and another of militia which was attached to it, to make incurſions on the borders of North Carolina. No great conſequences were expected from this expedition; yet, as he was neither encumbered with baggage nor artillery, and his troops were particularly diſtinguiſhed by their alertneſs and activity, it was conceived that they might ſtill further break the ſpirits of the enemy, and prevent them from collecting together any conſiderable force in theſe parts. This commander was, however, tempted, by the hopes of cutting off a Colonel Clarke, who, with his party, were returning from an expedition into Georgia, to ſtay longer in the mountainous parts than was abſolutely neceſſary; and to this he was the more encouraged, that he had no idea there was any force in the country now capable of looking him in the face. The ſcattered inhabitants of the mountains, however, aſſembled without noiſe or warning, under the conduct of five or ſix of their militia colonels; and forming a body of 1600 horſemen, excellently mounted, eagerly purſued and overtook him on his way to paſs the Catawba Ford. Having diſcovered his danger, from which he could not eſcape, he took the beſt poſition the place would admit, and which was by no means diſadvantageous. But his men being covered neither with horſe nor artillery, and beſides diſmayed and aſtoniſhed at finding themſelves ſo unexpectedly ſurrounded and attacked on every ſide by this cavalry, were not at all capable of withſtanding ſuch an impetuous aſſault. A total rout enſued; the colonel, with 150 of his men, were killed on the ſpot; about as many were wounded; and the priſoners, including the wounded, amounted to 800.

According

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According to the American accounts, 1500 ſtand of arms were taken, and Ferguſſon's force was ſaid to amount to 1400 men.

This defeat proved exceedingly detrimental to the royal cauſe; and even the loſs of the colonel himſelf was very ſenſibly felt. He was perhaps the beſt markſman living; and probably brought the art of rifle-ſhooting to its utmoſt perfection. He had invented a gun of that kind, upon a new conſtruction, which was ſaid to have exceeded, in execution and facility, every thing of the kind that had been known. He was even ſaid to have greatly exceeded the American Indians in the adroitneſs and quickneſs of firing and loading, and the certainty of hitting the mark, lying upon the back, belly, or every other poſſible poſition of the body. It is ſaid, that, at the battle of German Town, General Waſhington owed his life to this gentleman's total ignorance of his perſon, as he had been ſufficiently within reach and view during that action for the purpoſe.

General Sumpter defeated by Colonel Tarleton.

This misfortune, the firſt that Lord Cornwallis had yet experienced, was ſoon apparently recompenſed by a ſevere blow given to General Sumpter by Colonel Tarleton. The former having raiſed 1000 men, advanced towards the poſt called Ninety-Six, with a view of attacking either it, or ſome others in its neighbourhood. Confiding, as he had formerly done, in the diſtance of his enemy, he had almoſt been ſurpriſed on the ſouth banks of the river Enorree; and though, by a lucky information, he was enabled to paſs the river before the enemy came up, he could not prevent his rear-guard from being cut in pieces. He continued his flight to the river Tyger, but was purſued with the utmoſt rapidity by Tarleton, with the cavalry of his legion, and the 63d regiment mounted on horſeback; the infantry of the legion, with a three pounder, being all the artillery he had, were left ſeveral miles behind.—Sumpter, unwilling to paſs the river in ſight of an enemy already flushed with ſucceſs, perceiving that Tarleton

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Tarleton had left his infantry behind, and confiding alſo in his ſuperior numbers, attacked the Britiſh forces, but was obliged to paſs the river in the utmoſt diſorder, after having loſt 120 men in killed, wounded, and priſoners. Three American colonels were killed, and Sumpter himſelf dangerouſly wounded. Of the Britiſh troops above 50 were killed or wounded; and among the former were ſome gallant and promiſing young officers. Tarleton purſued the blow with the ſame rapidity which uſually diſtinguiſhed his operations; nor did he leave the purſuit until this body was totally diſperſed.

Addreſs of Gen. Arnold to his countrymen.

In the mean time, General Arnold, having failed in his grand project, finding himſelf utterly reprobated and proſcribed by his countrymen as a traitor, and, inſtead of performing any meritorious ſervice to the cauſe in which he was embarked, having occaſioned the death of a brave and much-eſteemed officer, determined if poſſible to efface theſe ſtains by ſome ſignal exploit. Having been made a brigadier-general in the royal army, he began with iſſuing an addreſs directed to the inhabitants of America; in which he took a review of his former conduct, aſſigned his motives for it, and juſtified thoſe by which he was then influenced.

This proclamation was ſoon followed by another, inſcribed to the officers and ſoldiers of the continental army who had the real intereſt of their country at heart, and were determined to be no longer the tools and dupes of Congreſs or of France. In this he rejoiced in the opportunity he now had of inviting thoſe whom he addreſſed to join his Majeſty's arms. He was authoriſed to raiſe a corps of infantry and cavalry, who, with reſpect to pay, clothing, and ſubſiſtence were to be on the ſame footing with the other troops in the Britiſh ſervice. The private men were to receive a bounty of three guineas each, beſides payment at the full value for horſes, arms, and accoutrements; and as he had the appointment of officers, he ſhould, with the greateſt ſatisfaction,

embrace

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embrace the opportunity of advancing men to whoſe valour he had been witneſs. Great as theſe encouragements, he ſaid, muſt appear, to ſuch as had ſuffered every diſtreſs of want of pay, hunger and nakedneſs, from the neglect, contempt, and corruption of Congreſs, they were nothing to the motives which, he expected, would influence their brave and generous minds. He wiſhed to lead a choſen band of Americans to the attainment of peace, liberty, and ſafety; and to ſhare with them in the glory of reſcuing their native country from the graſping hand of France, as well as from the ambitious and intereſted views of a deſperate party among themſelves, who had already brought the colonies to the very brink of deſtruction.

Diſtreſſes of the Americans.

Theſe proclamations were at preſent ſeconded by the moſt powerful arguments that could influence the minds of any people; we mean the diſtreſſes in which the country was really involved. The depreciation of the American paper currency was now arrived at its utmoſt height. Some of the earlier emiſſions had fallen below the real value in the proportion of one hundred to one; and even the latter emiſſions, which were moſt valued, had fallen at the rate of forty to one; at the ſame time that the circumſtances of the war had raiſed the price of foreign commodities and every neceſſary of life to the moſt enormous pitch. This was exceedingly ruinous to the American officers, more than even to the ſoldiers; for though the latter were ill clad, they had in general been well ſupplied with proviſions; while the officers had, for the moſt part, been obliged to mortgage their ſmall eſtates almoſt to the full value, in order to defray the enormous expences of the ſervice. Theſe grievances had been long and repeatedly complained of both to the Congreſs, and the general aſſemblies of their reſpective ſtates, without receiving any redreſs, ſo that a great number of officers were on the point of throwing up their commiſſions.

Notwithſtanding all this diſcontent, however, and the real grievances that occaſioned it, the proclamations

clamations iſſued by General Arnold, and the the vaſt offers held out to them, produced not the leaſt effect in the American army. The high reputation which that general had acquired was ſo totally ſunk in the deteſtation of his treachery, that, far from being able to bring over any conſiderable body, it never could gain a ſingle officer, nor even, as far as appeared at the time, a ſingle ſoldier to the cauſe of Britain.

Infatuation of Britain.

On the part of this country, however, it was a misfortune that every inſtance of ſucceſs was conſidered as deciſive and final. The frenzy of making rejoicings and illuminations for our ſuppoſed victories was carried to ſuch an extreme, as to become altogether ridiculous *; and it does not appear that even the commanders in America were free from the general deception. The victory at Camden was looked upon to be ſo deciſive with regard to the ſouthern colonies, that no farther obſtruction was thought to lie in the way of Lord Cornwallis from South Carolina to the Cheaſapeak; and under this miſtaken notion, that the reſiſtance in theſe parts was abſolutely at an end, the commander in chief at New York diſpatched General Leſlie with 3000 men to the Cheaſapeak, in order to co-operate with his lordſhip, and to prevent any ſuccours from paſſing to the aſſiſtance of the ſouthern colonies; but at all events he was to act entirely according to the orders he received from Cornwallis. His Lordſhip, however, being at too great a diſtance either to profit by a diverſion, or to form a junction with Leſlie, orders were inſtantly ſent to that commander to proceed for Charleſtown. Here he arrived in the month of December, and Leſlie, with one half of his troops, was ordered to join the army, while the other was ſtationed in Charleſtown for the ſecurity of the place, and in order to preſerve communications.

General Leſlie's expedition to Charleſtown.

CHAP.

* It is to be queſtioned whether ſo many illuminations were occaſioned by the ſplendid victories of the war of 1755, as by thoſe indeciſive inſtances of Britiſh valour during the war with America. In the metropolis of Scotland, *Illumination-candleſticks* were advertiſed, as if we had been for ever ſure of an uninterrupted courſe of victory.

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General Greene appointed in place of Gates——Tarleton defeated by Morgan——Cornwallis purſues Morgan——Deſtroys his baggage——Defeats Davidſon——Takes Wilmington——Defeats Greene at Guilford——Colonel Webſter killed——Exploits of Philips and Arnold in Virginia——Diſcontents of the Americans——Lord Rawdon defeats Greene——Abandons Camden——Retires to Nelſon's Ferry——Relieves Fort Ninety-Six——Cornwallis's operations in Virginia——Attacked by Fayette and Wayne——Fortifies York Town and Glouceſter——Plan laid for his capture——Sir Samuel Hood arrives off Cheaſapeak——Arnold's expedition into Connecticut——Engagement between de Graſſe and Admiral Greaves——Cornwallis beſieged at York Town and Glouceſter——Capitulates.

CHAP. XX.

1780. General Greene ſucceeds Gates.

TOWARDS the cloſe of the year, while Cornwallis was making preparations for a powerful invaſion of North Carolina, General Greene was ſent by Waſhington to take the command of the ſouthern army inſtead of Gates, who had been ſet aſide after his misfortune at Camden, though without any mark of diſhonour, but rather of applauſe. The new commander brought no troops along with him, but was obliged to depend entirely on the reſources he ſhould find in the ſouthern colonies. He was looked upon to be the beſt officer in the American ſervice next to Waſhington himſelf, with whom he was in high favour; and he was accompanied by Colonel Morgan, a brave and diſtinguiſhed partizan, who, like Ferguſſon in the royal army, excelled in the knowledge of rifle-arms. He had commanded thoſe

thoſe rifle-men who oppoſed Burgoyne in the northern war, and who ſo much excelled the Indians in their own way, that, to uſe the expreſſion of that general, "they could not be brought within the ſound of a rifle-ſhot." CHAP. XX. 1781.

The new commander loſt no time in aſſembling his force, which had its rendezvous in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina. Being as yet in no condition to encounter the royal army, which was advancing towards the borders between the Broad and Catawba rivers, he attempted to impede their progreſs by making an attack on the important poſt of Ninety-Six; while, to favour and ſupport the diverſion, Morgan advanced with 500 regular troops, moſtly belonging to Virginia, and ſome hundreds of militia, with a detachment of 100 cavalry under Colonel Waſhington, upon the river Paulet. Here he was encountered by Colonel Tarleton, who, with his legion, of about 300 cavalry and as many infantry, the firſt battalion of the 71ſt regiment, and one three pounder, the 7th regiment, and another three pounder, was ordered to ſtrike a blow, if poſſible, at Morgan; or, at all events, to oblige him to paſs the Broad River, and thus prevent all future embarraſſment on that ſide. Morgan boldly ſtood on his defence, and drew up his troops with great judgment. Seven hundred militia, on whom he placed no great dependence, were expoſed to open view in the firſt line on the edge of a wood; but the ſecond line, compoſed of the Continental and Virginia troops, were out of ſight in the wood itſelf, where they were drawn up in excellent order, and prepared for all events. Tarleton defeated by Morgan, Jan. 18.

The Britiſh troops began the attack with their uſual impetuoſity; and the American militia, by no means able to reſiſt ſuch an aſſault, were routed and ſcattered in every direction. The victors purſued them into the wood with great eagerneſs; but the ſecond line of the Americans having opened to the right and left, to afford a paſſage to the fugitives, as

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well as to incloſe their purſuers, as ſoon as they perceived the latter were far enough advanced, poured in a cloſe and deadly fire on both ſides. The ground was in an inſtant covered with the bodies of the killed and wounded, and a total rout enſued. Tarleton, however, in the midſt of this diſaſter, retained his uſual ſpirit, and having rallied a part of his routed cavalry, unexpectedly charged and defeated Waſhington's horſe, and retook his baggage, after deſtroying the ſlender guard in whoſe cuſtody it was. In this unfortunate action, the loſs of the Britiſh in killed, wounded, and priſoners, was not under 400 men. The colours of the 7th regiment were alſo loſt, with the two three-pounders; and all the artillery men were killed.

Lord Cornwallis's activity.

Such an unexpected ſtroke could not but be very mortifying to Lord Cornwallis, as well as detrimental to the operations of the ſubſequent campaign.—The Britiſh commander, however, perſevered with great reſolution in his plan of penetrating into North Carolina. His great objects were, by rapid marches, to get between General Greene and Virginia, to cut off his reinforcements from that country, and either to reduce him to a neceſſity of fighting with the force he then had, or to abandon North Carolina altogether.

Purſues Morgan without ſucceſs.

The firſt attempt made by his lordſhip, after the defeat of Tarleton, was to intercept Morgan, or at leaſt to recover the priſoners; for which purpoſe he diſpatched a part of the army, unincumbered with any baggage; but ſuch were the difficulties, owing to rains, &c. that Morgan had gained the upper fords on the Catawba before they could reach him.

Jan. 25.

The army was then aſſembled, on the 25th of January 1781, at a place called Ramfoure's Mills, on the ſouth fork of the Catawba. The loſs of the light troops was now ſeverely felt; and as it could only be remedied by the general activity of the whole army, two days were ſpent in the deſtruction of all the ſuperfluous baggage, as well as every thing that could

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could poſſibly retard the celerity of the troops, and which was not abſolutely neceſſary to their action or exiſtence. To this, as well as a great many other trials, the troops ſubmitted with the moſt exemplary patience. They beheld the deſtruction of their moſt valuable, and even great part of their neceſſary baggage, without repining: They ſaw their ſpirituous liquors ſtaved at a ſeaſon when they would be moſt wanted, and when no proſpect of a future ſupply remained. Theſe hardſhips, however, ſeemed the leſs grievous, as the example was ſet by the commander in chief with the utmoſt rigour; ſo that his quarters were incapable of affording either a glaſs of wine, or any ſtrong liquor whatever; and his table was as deſtitute of any kind of furniture as the common ſoldiers.

Deſtroys his baggage.

Having thus cleared himſelf of every incumbrance, Lord Cornwallis ſet forward in queſt of the enemy. The north fork of the Catawba had been for ſeveral days rendered impaſſible by the rains, and all the fords for more than forty miles above the fork were vigilantly guarded by the enemy, compoſed not only of Morgan's corps, but the militia of the counties of Rowen and Mecklenburg, under the command of a General Davidſon. Having ſpared no pains, however, to procure proper information, his lordſhip diſpatched Colonel Webſter, with a part of the army, and all the remaining baggage, to a ford called Beattie's, where General Davidſon was poſted with about 500 men.

The Britiſh troops were not in the leaſt diſordered by being expoſed during their paſſage over the river, to the cool and deliberate aim of the enemy. Being arrived at the oppoſite bank, they quickly routed and diſperſed thoſe who oppoſed them with conſiderable loſs. General Davidſon himſelf, who had unexpectedly arrived at this ford the preceding evening, with about 300 militia, was killed, with ſeveral other officers; while the loſs on the Britiſh ſide, except that of Colonel Hall of the guards,

Defeats Gen. Davidſon, who is killed.

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was exceedingly trifling. On this diſaſter the enemy abandoned Beattie's Ford; but the continual fall of rain, and the ſwelling of the river, had rendered the paſſage both difficult and tedious to Colonel Webſter. It was accompliſhed, however, towards the evening; and he was enabled to join the commander in chief ſome time after dark, at about ſix miles diſtance from the ford.

Intelligence being now received that Morgan was on his march at no great diſtance, he was eagerly purſued by the whole army; nor was the commander without hopes of being able to overtake and retaliate upon him for Tarleton's defeat, while he was entangled among the rivers with which that country abounds. This, however, was prevented by the difficulties of bad roads, bad weather, and ſwelled creeks; and his lordſhip being obliged to make ſome ſhort ſtay at Saliſbury, in order to procure proviſions, he there received intelligence that Morgan had quitted the banks of the Yadkin, and that Greene was marching with the utmoſt expedition to join him at Guildford.

The oppoſite armies now vied with each other in diſpatch, but at laſt the Britiſh ſucceeded, and cut off Greene froom the upper fords. As his lordſhip was aſſured that the lower fords were now impracticable, and that the country could not afford any number of boats ſufficient for the paſſage of Greene's army, he thought he could not now eſcape without a deciſive blow, and accordingly purſued him with the utmoſt expedition. This was, however, impeded by great and numerous difficulties. Intelligence was not only very difficult to be obtained, but ſeems to have been intendedly falſe. The want of light troops was again very ſeverely felt; and the enemy, by having a great number of them, were enabled to break down all the bridges in the line of march, and to throw many other impediments in their way. At laſt, when they arrived at Boyd's Ferry, on the 15th of Feb. they diſcovered, to their great mortification, that all

Feb. 15.

their

their labour had been in vain; the enemy, notwithſtanding the aſſurances they had received to the contrary, had been furniſhed with boats ſufficient for the purpoſe of conveying their whole army and baggage over the river.

By reaſon of the difficulties and hardſhips which had attended Lord Cornwallis's army in this march, they were now in no condition to think of invading the powerful province of Virginia. His lordſhip, therefore, after giving his wearied forces one day's reſt, led them, by eaſy marches, to Hillſborough, where he ſet up the royal ſtandard. This ſoon produced the uſual effect of raiſing a number of people in arms; but the ſame bad ſucceſs with which they had been originally attended, ſtill waited upon them.—Theſe unfortunate Royaliſts, who had notice of Tarleton's approach, miſtook the enemy for his detachment, and thus ſuffered themſelves to be ſurrounded without the leaſt effort to extricate themſelves; and moſt of them were ſaid to have been inhumanly murdered, not only without reſiſtance, but while they were crying out for quarter.

A party of loyal Americans cut off.

During theſe tranſactions, Colonel Balfour, who commanded at Charleſtown, equipped a ſmall force for an expedition to Cape Fear River, not only to co-operate with Lord Cornwallis, by a diverſion on that ſide, and gaining poſſeſſion of Wilmington, but to eſtabliſh by that way a conveyance for furniſhing the army with thoſe neceſſary ſupplies, which, in the preſent ſtate of the war, could ſcarcely be done by any other method. Major Craig, with about 300 men, was diſpatched on this ſervice towards the end of January; and the men were convoyed and ſupported by Captain Barclay, who had under his command a frigate and two ſloops of war. In order to ſupply the weakneſs of the land force, Captain Barclay landed all the marines about nine miles from Wilmington. The town's people propoſed terms, which were not liſtened to; and the town being abandoned by its defenſive force, conſiſting of about

January.

Lord Cornwallis takes Wilmington.

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150 men, was taken without reſiſtance. The batteries being cloſed in, and the works repaired or completed, Wilmington was made a poſt of ſome ſtrength, and continued to be of importance while Lord Cornwallis remained in that country.

In the mean time, the Britiſh commander, having received intelligence that Greene, being reinforced in Virginia, had repaſſed the Dan, thought proper to recal Colonel Tarleton; and forage and proviſions growing ſcarce in the neighbourhood of Hillſborough, as well as for other reaſons, made a movement to the Haw River, which he paſſed, and advanced towards the Allemance Creek; having puſhed Tarleton a few miles towards the Deep River, with the cavalry, the light company of the guards, and 150 of Webſter's brigade. Greene's light troops ſoon made their appearance; upon which orders were ſent to Tarleton to move forward, and, with proper precaution, to make what diſcovery he could of the motions and deſigns of the enemy.

March 2. This officer had not advanced far when he fell in with a conſiderable corps of the enemy, whom he inſtantly attacked and routed; but being ignorant of their force, and how they were ſupported, he did not think it prudent to purſue them. From the priſoners, however, he learned, that the body he had engaged conſiſted of Lee's legion, 300 or 400 Back Mountain Men, and ſome militia, under a Colonel Preſton.

The diſtreſſes of the army being now become almoſt inſupportable, Lord Cornwallis was determined at all events to fight the enemy, if their army approached; being well convinced that nothing but a decided ſuperiority in arms could anſwer the purpoſe of their exceedingly arduous and toilſome winter campaign, which was to draw forth into action the ſuppoſed numerous Loyaliſts who inhabited that province. In conſequence of this plan, the army

March 13. encamped on the 13th of March at the Quaker meeting-houſe, within the forks of the Deep River.—

The

The following day his lordſhip received intelligence that General Butler, with a body of North Carolina militia, together with the expected reinforcements from Virginia, had all joined the American commander, whoſe force was now repreſented to be no leſs than 9 or 10,000 men; at the ſame time, that he was in full march to attack the Britiſh army; and the ſame evening he was informed, that Greene had advanced to Guildford, about twelve miles from the Britiſh camp.

Battle of Guildford, in which Greene is defeated by Cornwallis.

Cornwallis being now fully perſuaded that the enemy intended to venture an engagement, thought it neceſſary to ſend the waggons and baggage under a ſtronger eſcort than he could well ſpare to Bell's-Mills, a place conſiderably lower down on the Deep River, in the heart of the well-affected country.—Next morning, March 15th, at day-break, he marched with the remainder of the army, either to meet the enemy by the way, or to attack them in their camp. About four miles from Guildford the advanced guard, under Colonel Tarleton, fell in with Lee's legion, and the other light troops, whom they had formerly engaged and defeated. Their ſucceſs was not leſs on this occaſion, the latter being routed at the firſt onſet; after which the main body of the enemy was diſcovered drawn up in order of battle, on a riſing ground, about a mile and an half from Guildford Court-houſe.

March 15.

The country in general was a wilderneſs, covered with tall woods, and theſe rendered intricate by ſhrubs and thick underwood, but interſperſed here and there by a few plantations and cleared fields.—It is probable that the whole force of the American army at this time was little ſhort of 6000 men; nor is it likely that the army under Cornwallis was more than one-third of the number.—The American general had drawn up his army in three lines. The front line, which was only viſible to the Britiſh army, was compoſed of the two brigades of North Carolina militia, under their own Generals, Butler and Eaton.

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The ſecond, drawn up in the wood, conſiſted of two brigades of Virginia militia, commanded by the Generals Stephens and Lawſon. But the hope and main ſtrength of the army was placed in the third line, which conſiſted of two brigades of Virginia and Maryland continental or regular forces, under the command of General Hugar and Colonel Williams. Colonel Waſhington, with his dragoons, a detachment of continental light infantry, and Lynch's regiment of riflemen, formed a ſeparate body to cover the right flank; while Colonel Lee, with his legion, a detachment of light infantry, and Campbell's riflemen, were appointed to cover the left.

The Britiſh commander diſpoſed his troops in the following manner:—On the right were the Heſſian regiment of Boſe, with the 17th Britiſh regiment, led on by General Leſlie, and ſupported by the firſt battalion of guards. On the left were the 23d and 33d regiments, led on by Colonel Webſter, ſupported by the grenadiers and ſecond battalion of guards, under the conduct of Brigadier General O'Hara. The German Yagers, with the light infantry of the guards, remained in the wood on the left of the guns; and the cavalry, under Colonel Tarleton, were drawn up in the road, in order to be in readineſs to act as circumſtances might require.

The action began about half an hour after one in the afternoon, and, owing in a great meaſure to the embarraſſed ſituation of the ground, was one of the moſt obſtinate and much diverſified which perhaps ever happened in any age or country; for while the Britiſh carried all before them in one part of the wood, they were ſurpriſed or overpowered by numbers in another. At laſt, after various bloody conflicts, in which the greateſt bravery and good conduct were diſplayed, the victory clearly belonged to the Britiſh. Too much praiſe cannot be beſtowed on the officers and troops engaged in the action, particularly on the noble commander himſelf, who, notwithſtanding an exceeding bad ſtate of health, ſeemed

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ſeemed to be every where preſent. Two horſes were ſhot under him. This victory, however, was attended with all the bad conſequences of a defeat. The loſs, indeed, comparatively ſpeaking, was very moderate; but with regard to the abſolute number of the army, its ability to bear the loſs, or the intrinſic value of the troops, was great indeed. In whole it exceeded 500 men. It is certain, that by this action the army was deprived of a full fourth part of its number, and thoſe by no means the leaſt valuable. Colonel Stuart of the guards, with the Captains Schutz, Mynard, and Goodricke, beſides ſubalterns, were killed. Colonel Webſter, a brave and experienced officer, who commanded the brigade on the left, died of his wounds, to the no ſmall regret of the general *, as well as of the whole army. Among the wounded were alſo the Brigadier Generals O'Hara and Howard, as well as Colonel Tarleton, and ſeveral other officers.

Loſs on both ſides.

Col. Webſter killed.

The Americans having given no fair ſtatement of loſs, no proper eſtimate of it could be made by the Britiſh, as the action happened in the woods; but it muſt have been very conſiderable. It was alſo well known, that the houſes for many miles round were filled with their wounded.

After the defeat at Guildford, the American commander, according to his own account, retreated three or four miles from the ſcene of action; but by Lord

* This gentleman was ſon to the late Rev. Alexander Webſter, one of the miniſters of Edinburgh, to whom the Britiſh commander ſent the following letter of conſolation on his death.

Wilmington, April 23. 1781.

"DEAR SIR,

"It gives me great concern to undertake a taſk which is not only a bitter renewal of my own grief, but muſt be a voilent ſhock to an affectionate parent.

"You have for your ſupport the aſſiſtance of religion, good ſenſe, and an experience of the uncertainty of all human happineſs. You have for your ſatisfaction that your ſon fell nobly in the cauſe of his country, honoured and lamented by all his fellow-ſoldiers; that he led a life of honour and virtue, which muſt ſecure him everlaſting happineſs. When the keen ſenſibility of the paſſions begins a little to ſubſide, theſe conſiderations will give you real comfort.

"That the Almighty may give you fortitude to bear this ſevereſt of trials, is the earneſt wiſh of your companion in affliction, and moſt faithful ſervant, CORNWALLIS.

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Lord Cornwallis's account, he did not ſtop till he arrived at the Iron-works on Troubleſome Creek, eighteen miles from the field of battle. However this might be, it is certain, that the royal army were in no condition to purſue their victory. So diſtreſſed indeed was Lord Cornwallis at preſent, that for two days the Britiſh troops continued at Guildford after the battle, they were entirely deſtitute of bread.

Diſtreſs of Lord Cornwallis.

March 18. On his removal to Bell's-Mill, he was obliged to leave 70 of the worſt of his wounded men in the power of the enemy. At this place he continued two days, in order to refreſh the troops, and procure a ſcanty ſupply of proviſions; but the neceſſities of the army in general, with the diſtreſſed ſituation of the ſick and wounded, rendered it now abſolutely neceſſary to retreat to Wilmington; thus abandoning the country in a great meaſure to the mercy of the enemy.

April 7. Having arrived there on the 7th of April, the army began to enjoy a ſhort repoſe only to fit them for further misfortunes and fatigues.

Exploits of Arnold in Virginia.

During theſe tranſactions in the Carolinas, General Arnold had been diſpatched by Sir Henry Clinton to make a diverſion in Virginia. His force on this occaſion conſiſted of the Edinburgh regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Dundas, eſtimated at 600 men; of a mixed American corps, compoſed of horſe and foot, about the ſame number, under Lieutenant Colonel Simcoe, called the Queen's Ranger's; of Colonel Robinſon's Provincials; and a ſmall corps of 200 men, which Arnold himſelf had been able to raiſe at New York; the whole force amounting to near 1700 men. The expedition was ſupported by a naval force ſufficient to enable this general to do infinite miſchief on the rivers, and along the coaſts of Virginia.

Diſcontents of the Americans.

The Americans all this while were torn by internal diſſenſions and diſcontents. Theſe, in a great meaſure, proceeded from the ſlowneſs of ſeveral of the States in furniſhing their reſpective quotas, whether of men, money, proviſions, or clothing, for the ſupply

ſupply of the army. This was the more intolerable, on account of the little hope there was of redreſs, as the nature of their government did not as yet admit of a ſufficient degree of coercive power.

Pennſylvania Line in the American ſervice revolts, January 1.

Theſe grievances had at laſt become ſo intolerable, that, on the firſt day of January 1781, the Pennſylvania Line, who were hutted at Morris Town, in the Jerſies, quitted their camp, to the number of 1300 men, declaring that they would ſerve no longer, unleſs their grievances were redreſſed.

Refuſe to negociate with the Britiſh Commander, and deliver up the agents ſent for that purpoſe.

In this ſituation of things, Sir Henry Clinton, naturally concluding that he might turn this revolt to the ſervice of the cauſe in which he was engaged, ſent three agents, natives of America, to make propoſals to them.—The invincible averſion of the Americans to Britain, however, never appeared more evident than in this tranſaction. Every propoſal from Sir Henry Clinton was rejected. But a Committee of Congreſs, of whom General Sullivan and Dr Witherſpoon were members, being at laſt ſent to treat with them, matters were ſoon finally adjuſted; the affairs relating to pay, clothing, and arrears, were ſettled; thoſe who had ſerved out their time were diſcharged; and the unfortunate emiſſaries from New York were delivered up and hanged.—A ſimilar meeting of the New Jerſey line was ſoon after accommodated in much the ſame way.

Virginia terribly ravaged by Arnold.

Mean time General Arnold having committed ſuch ravages in Virginia, as threatened the deſtruction of the very ſources of war, and the annihilation of every hope of independency, General Waſhington, notwithſtanding his weakneſs at preſent, was obliged to detach 2000 men, under the conduct of the Marquis de la Fayette, to its relief; and the French at Rhode Iſland now thought an opportunity offered of atoning for their paſt inactivity, by cutting off Arnold's retreat from the Cheaſapeak. They were further encouraged to make this attempt, by having lately acquired ſome addition to their own naval force, and the Britiſh

The Marquis de la Fayette comes to its relief.

fleet

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fleet having ſuffered much by a dreadful tempeſt, in which the Culloden, a fine new ſhip of 74 guns, was totally loſt; the Bedford, another of the ſame force, was diſmaſted; and the America, ſeparated from her companions, and driven ſo far out to ſea, that ſhe was, for ſome time, ſuppoſed to be loſt.

Scheme for the capture of Arnold fails.

The ſcheme, however, ſeems now to have failed, through the delay of putting it in execution. Inſtead of inſtantly blocking up the Cheaſapeak while it was in their power, the French only ſent thither a ſhip of the line, with ſome frigates, with a view to ſurpriſe the ſmall marine force of Britain lying there at that time, as well as to obtain certain intelligence of the ſtate of the country; ſo that, though they had the good fortune to ſurpriſe the Romulus, a 44 gun ſhip, the Britiſh Admirals, Arbuthnot and Graves, had time to repair their damages. Accordingly, Count Rochambeau having afterwards embarked with the land forces, and ſailed from Rhode Iſland, on the 8th March, in the fleet commanded by M. de Ternay, they were intercepted in the paſſage to Cheaſapeak,

March 16.

and obliged to ſtand an engagement. This, however, the French managed ſo prudently, that they not only came off without much loſs, but ſo diſabled three of the Britiſh fleet, by deſtroying their rigging, that no purſuit could be made; nor was it, during any part of the time, in the power of the Britiſh Admirals to force them to a cloſer action. The eſſential conſequences of a victory, however, were obtained; the enemy were cut off from the Cheaſapeak, and obliged to return without landing their troops, or affecting any one of the purpoſes of their expedition.

March 26.

A few days after this engagement, a convoy arrived from New York, having on board General Philips, with 2000 choſen troops. This officer, with his companions who were taken at Saratoga, had been, after long confinement, at laſt releaſed by a new cartel concluded ſome months before, and he was now appointed Commander in Chief of the Virginia forces.

Generals

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1781. Great ravages in Virginia by Arnold and Philips.

Generals Philips and Arnold, having joined their forces, carried every thing before them in Virginia. The beſt troops belonging to that colony, indeed, had gone to the ſouthward, ſo that only the militia remained to defend their own country, and theſe were defeated in every encounter. The long navigation of James's River, and its numerous dependent branches and creeks, laid the country open to them, in every direction, for a very great extent, and the miſchief they did was in proportion. At Peterſburg, on the ſouthern branch of this river, called Appomatax, 4000 hogſheads of tobacco were deſtroyed. The damage done by the deſtruction of ſhipping, and veſſels of every ſort, as well as of barracks, warehouſes, and ſtores of every kind, was almoſt incredible.—About four miles above a place called Oſborne's, on the ſame branch, a State ſhip of 20 guns; another of 26 guns; a State brigantine of 14 guns, beſides many other armed veſſels, were deſtroyed. Two ſhips, and ten ſmaller veſſels, loaded with 2000 hogſheads of tobacco, cordage, and flour, fell into Arnold's hands.—At Mancheſter, which lies up the Fork, on the north branch of the river, at leaſt 150 miles from its mouth, they deſtroyed 1200 hogſheads of tobacco; the Marquis de la Fayette, with his army, who had arrived at Richmond, on the oppoſite ſide, being ſpectators of the conflagration, without attempting to put a ſtop to it. A magazine of flour, with a large range of rope-walks, were deſtroyed at Warwick, together with the ſhips on the ſtocks and in the river. Along with theſe, a number of warehouſes filled with tobacco and other commodities, tan-houſes full of hides and bark, together with ſeveral fine mills, were all conſumed in one general conflagration. After which, the troops having reimbarked on board their ſhips, fell down towards the mouth of the river.

We muſt now return to take a view of the operations in the Carolinas, after the battle of Guilford,

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ford, and the retreat of Lord Cornwallis to Wilmington.

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Operations in the Carolinas.

This unfortunate retreat left South Carolina expoſed to the attempts of the enemy, who did not neglect to make a good uſe of the opportunity. The communication betwixt the two provinces had been ſo totally cut off, that Lord Rawdon, who had been left at Camden with a conſiderable body of troops, had obtained no intelligence of Cornwallis's motions after the battle of Guilford. It was not without great ſurpriſe, therefore, that he received the news of General Greene, whom he believed to be ruined, or at leaſt fled to Virginia, being in full march

April 19. to South Carolina, with a force greatly ſuperior, in order to attack him. He was alſo informed, that Colonel Lee had affected a junction with Marion, and was about to enter the province on the eaſtern quarter. At this time his Lordſhip was ſo much diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, that he found himſelf obliged, merely on that account, to refuſe the aſſiſtance of a body of Loyaliſts, who had come from a conſiderable diſtance to offer their ſervices.—In theſe circumſtances, he received intelligence from Colonel Balfour, Governor of Charleſtown, of the ſituation of Lord Cornwallis, with directions to abandon Camden without loſs of time. This, however, though apparently very neceſſary, was not now in his power.

General Greene defeated by Lord Rawdon.

In ſuch an unfavourable ſtate of things, ſome bold or deciſive ſtroke appeared the only method of preventing much greater evils than any which had yet befallen him; and luckily the injudicious conduct of Greene, at this critical juncture, afforded a better opportunity than could have been expected. With a view of making a general aſſault on the Britiſh poſts, that officer had ſent off his artillery and baggage a day's march in the rear of his army; but ſoon after he abandoned that reſolution, and detached all his militia to bring them back.—Lord Rawdon inſtantly perceived the advantage offered,

fered, and determined to ſeize it. For this purpoſe he armed the muſicians, drummers, and every perſon in the army capable of carrying a firelock, by which means he muſtered a force of about 900 men, including 60 dragons, with whom, and two ſix pounders, he boldly marched, April 25. to attack the enemy in their camp about ten o'clock in the morning, committing the care of the redoubts, and every thing about Camden, to the militia and a few ſick ſoldiers.—His ſucceſs was anſwerable to the boldneſs and judgment with which the enterprize was conducted. The enemy were ſo much off their guard, that they had no intelligence of the army's approach, until they found themſelves ſuddenly attacked in flank by the Iriſh volunteers. Early in the action the Americans were encouraged by the arrival of three ſix-pounders, which was ſoon announced to their enemies by ſhowers of grape-ſhot. The attack on that ſide was conducted with great ſpirit by Colonel Campbell at the head of the 63d, and the King's American regiment; but the extent of the enemy's line ſoon obliged the Commander in Chief to bring forward the Iriſh Volunteers from the reſerve. Theſe three corps puſhed the enemy with ſuch reſolution, that they drove them to the ſummit of a hill called Hobkirks, on which they had poſted themſelves; and having made room for the reſt of the troops to come into action, their rout quickly became total.

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April 25.

This victory, though in itſelf not inferior to any that had yet been gained by the Britiſh in that country, as the enemy were computed to have loſt no fewer than 500 men, was yet attended with the ſame ill conſequences which had followed the action at Guildford. The killed, wounded, and miſſing, were computed at 258, a loſs by far too great to be born in the preſent ſituation of affairs.—Greene retired behind the farther part of a creek about 14 miles from Camden, where he took poſt in order to collect his ſcattered forces. The conſequence, in other reſpects,

Ill conſequences of the battle.

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reſpects, was the revolt of the whole interior country at the back of the Britiſh army, ſo that the ſituation of Lord Rawdon, inſtead of being any way relieved by his victory, became ſo much embarraſſed, that his difficulties ſeemed now to be abſolutely inſurmountable He, therefore, determined to wait in his poſt at Camden for the reinforcements he had ſo long expected, and which, at length, under the conduct of Colonel Watſon, joined him on the ſeventh of May.

May 7. Moſt of the Southern Colonies recovered by General Greene.

On the day that Colonel Watſon arrived, intelligence was received, that the enemy had inveſted and opened batteries againſt the poſt of Motte's Houſe, in the rear, ſituated near the junction of the Congaree with the Santee. The relief of this poſt, as well as other cauſes, determined Lord Rawdon to make a retreat to Nelſon's Ferry, upon the Santee, which was 60 miles from Camden, and not much lower than the poſt which had been inveſted.

May 9. Lord Rawdon abandons Camden.

The day following the army were made acquainted with the deſign of abandoning Camden. Such of the militia as choſe to accompany him were offered all poſſible aſſiſtance. The night was ſpent in deſtroying the works, and in ſending off the baggage under a ſtrong eſcort.

Retires to Nelſon's Ferry. May 13.

The army paſſed the Santee on the 13th, when his Lordſhip received the unwelcome intelligence, that the poſt at Motte's Houſe had fallen into the hands of the enemy, after a gallant defence. This was a heavy ſtroke, as here they had made a depoſit of all the proviſions intended for Camden. But this was not the only misfortune; for, though intelligence was not yet received of it, another poſt named Orangeburg was at this time likewiſe in their hands, and Fort Granby ſoon after.

The Britiſh Commander was met at Nelſon's Ferry by Colonel Balfour, commandant of Charleſtown, by whom he was now informed, that the revolt of the Province was almoſt univerſal; that, from the little reaſon there had been to apprehend ſuch a ſerious and alarming turn of affairs, the old works in Charleſtown

Charleſtown had been in part levelled to make way for new ones which were not yet conſtructed; that he had full conviction of the diſaffection in general of the inhabitants; and that, under theſe circumſtances, his garriſon was inadequate to its defence againſt any force of conſequence that might make an attempt upon it.

His Lordſhip, however, being juſt now joined by Major M'Arthur, with about 300 foot and 80 dragoons, he conceived he might endeavour to check the operations of the enemy on the Congaree.—— From a number of vague, and, in many reſpects, contradictory reports, it was concluded, with ſome certainty, that Greene had paſſed that river, and was marching down the road from Orangeburg with a conſiderable army; by which intelligence the Britiſh commander found himſelf not only obliged to relinquiſh his deſign of advancing to the Congaree, but to fall back a conſiderable way for the protection of Charleſtown, and the rich country which intervened.—By this unfortunate retreat, the poſt of Ninety-Six was now expoſed to the aſſaults of General Greene, who beſieged it in form. The garriſon, however, conſiſting of about 400 regular troops, made a gallant defence, from the 22d of May to the 3d of June, when the fortunate arrival of three regiments from Ireland, under the conduct of Colonel Gould, to the aſſiſtance of Lord Rawdon, once more turned the ſcale of fortune in favour of the Britiſh.

Ninety-Six beſieged by General Greene. June 3.

As his Lordſhip's force was now augmented to 1700 foot and 150 horſe, he loſt no time in ſetting out for the relief of Ninety-Six. On his way he was joined by Colonel Doyle, with ſome troops he had left at Monk's Corner, when he retreated from Camden. His Lordſhip deviated from the ordinary road ſo much, that an opportunity was given Colonel Middleton of harraſſing his army on its march, and particularly of obſtructing the parties which were neceſſarily engaged in collecting cattle for the ſupport of the army. After giving ſome trouble of this nature,

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however, Middleton, being decoyed into a well-concerted ambuſh, was ſo totally routed, that he never afterwards ventured to appear.—On the 21ſt of June his Lordſhip arrived at Ninety-Six, where, having received intelligence that General Greene had halted in a ſtrong poſition behind Buſh River, at about 16 miles diſtance, he determined to make an attempt to ſurpriſe or attack him in his camp, eſpecially as he knew that his antagoniſt was ſtill encumbered with ſome baggage and waggons. He therefore croſſed the Saluda on the following night, leaving behind him, at Ninety-Six, every kind of baggage, even the men's packs. Greene, however, was now ſo well acquainted with the character of his enemy, and ſo well guarded againſt a ſurprize, that the Britiſh troops had ſcarcely paſſed the Saluda, when he moved with the utmoſt expedition from Buſh River. Lord Rawdon purſued him rapidly, and arrived at the Fords of Ennoree, 40 miles from Ninety-Six, only two hours after Greene's army had paſſed them. The troops, however, were ſo ſpent with fatigue, and overcome by the heat of the weather, that nothing more could be done; though Greene was ſo apprehenſive of his enemies, that he continued his flight without ceaſing, till he had paſſed both the Tyger and Broad Rivers.

Is relieved by Lord Rawdon. June 21.

Notwithſtanding this apparent ſucceſs, the Britiſh commander found it neceſſary to abandon the poſt of Ninety-Six.—Accordingly, having left Colonel Cruger behind with the beſt part of the troops, he himſelf, with only 800 infantry and 60 horſe, proceeded for the Congarees, in expectation of being ſpeedily reinforced from Charleſtown by Colonel Stuart.

Ninety-Six abandoned.

The expected reinforcements were appointed to meet Lord Rawdon at Orangeburg, on their way to which they were to form a junction at the Congaree on the 3d of July; but no ſooner were they ſet out from Charleſtown, than the ſuppoſed appearance of a French fleet off that coaſt occaſioned their immediate recal; and as they had fallen back as far as Dorcheſter before the miſtake was diſcovered, his Lordſhip

Further operations of Lord Rawdon.

Lordſhip was thus again expoſed to the moſt immi- CHAP. XX.
nent danger.

The day after his arrival at Orangeburg, Lord Rawdon was joined by Colonel Stuart with his own regiment; but was greatly diſappointed at finding, that he had not brought a body of cavalry which had been promiſed, and which were at preſent ſo much wanted. At the ſame time advice was received, that Greene had paſſed the Congaree, and was in full march to attack the Britiſh army. But that commander, having collected all the force of the neighbouring country, and cloſely reconnoitred the ſituation of the Britiſh army, at laſt abandoned his camp, and retreated with ſuch expedition in the night, that he had ſecured his paſſage acroſs the Congaree before Lord Rawdon had any notice of his motions. This retreat, with an unſucceſsful attempt made by Sumpter, Marion, and Lee, upon the 19th regiment ſtationed at Monk's Corner, cloſed the campaign in South Carolina, the violent heat of the climate for ſome time putting a ſtop to all military operations. The American Generals having joined their forces, took poſt on the high hills of Santee, to the eaſtward of that river; the Santee, the Congagree, and the Ediſto, being then the eſtabliſhed boundaries on the Britiſh ſide. 1781.

In the mean time Lord Cornwallis remained at Wilmington in a very difficult and diſtreſſed ſituation. The force he had with him was not now greatly above 1000 effective men; ſo that it appeared equally impoſſible to return to the aſſiſtance of Lord Rawdon, of whoſe misfortunes he had heard, or to maintain his ground in the ſtation he then occupied. He, therefore, took the bold and hazardous reſolution of marching into Virginia, and affecting a junction with General Philips. This, though the beſt he could have taken in the circumſtances in which he was, muſt be owned to have been a very perilous adventure. The troops had already experienced the miſeries of traverſing an inhoſpitable

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country, for above 800 miles, in different directions, and they had ſtill 300 more to travel under circumſtances worſe than ever. Notwithſtanding the ſupplies they had received at Wilmington, they were ſtill ſo deſtitute of neceſſaries, that, according to the commander's own account, his cavalry wanted every thing, and his infantry every thing but ſhoes—"Neither," ſays he, "are in any condition to move, "and yet they muſt march to-morrow."

To provide againſt all events, inſtructions were diſpatched to Colonel Balfour, deſiring him to ſend proviſions and tranſports to Wilmington, in order to receive the troops in caſe of any misfortune; after which, his Lordſhip began his march on the 25th of April. The Marquis de la Fayette, who kept on the north ſide of James's River, being informed of his deſign, made a rapid movement, in order to get before the Britiſh. In this, however, he was diſappointed by the vigilance of his Lordſhip, who arrived at Peterſburgh in Virginia in ſomething leſs than a month. Here he received intelligence of the death of General Philips, who had been cut off by a fever a few days before; after which the command had devolved on General Arnold, and now of courſe on Cornwallis. Sir Henry Clinton, who had determined to ſend General Robertſon, governor of New York, to aſſume the command of the troops in this country, now diſpatched a reinforcement of 2000 men, in order to enable his Lordſhip to carry on the war with the greater vigour.

April 25.

Lord Cornwallis arrives in Virginia.

Death of General Philips, May 13.

Operations of Lord Cornwallis in Virginia.

Lord Cornwallis having taken upon himſelf the command of the army, and having received ſuch a conſiderable reinforcement, found no enemy capable of oppoſing him in the field. The country people, therefore, being at his mercy, daily came in in great numbers, in order to receive protections, and give their paroles. Having ſtationed a body of troops at Portſmouth under General Leſlie, he advanced from Peterſburg, on the Appomatax, to the River James; which having croſſed, he paſſed through

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Hanover county, and croſſed the South Anna or Pomonky River. From thence he diſpatched Colonels Simcoe and Tarleton with ſeparate bodies to ſcour the country. Theſe officers, beſides deſtroying ſeveral thouſand ſtand of arms which were under repair, with large quantities of gun-powder, ſalt, harneſs, and other matters which were either deſigned for, or capable of being applied to military ſervices, were very near cutting off the Baron de Steuben with 800 men, and who with difficulty prevented his rear-guard from being deſtroyed. On their return, his Lordſhip retreated to Richmond on the River James; and afterwards, ſtill proceeding towards the ſea, arrived, near the end of June, at Williamſburg, the capital of the province, which lies about mid-way between York and James Rivers. In the courſe of his march to the capital, beſides other articles, upwards of 2000 hogſheads of tobacco, with ſome braſs, and a great number of iron ordnance, were deſtroyed; and a few of the moſt valuable of the former, with a quantity of ſhells and ſhot, were brought off; all of which was performed without any oppoſition, excepting that as the army approached Williamſburg, Simcoe's corps, which brought up the rear, was warmly purſued and attacked by a ſtrong body of the enemy, who, however, were at laſt repulſed.

Paſſes the Rivers James and Anna.

Arrives at Williamsburgh.

This expedition concluded the ſucceſs of the Britiſh army. The Marquis de la Fayette having been ſtrongly reinforced by the arrival of General Wayne with ſuccours from Pennſylvania, by the corps under the Baron de Steuben, as well as by a conſiderable number of the militia of the province, became ſo powerful, as not only to prevent all diſtant operations on the part of the Britiſh commander, but even to render it dangerous to make any movement whatever.—The ultimate purpoſe of the campaign, indeed, and to which Lord Cornwallis was now obliged to direct his attention, had been to eſtabliſh ſome poſt in the province, furniſhed with a good harbour, or having

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having the command of ſome of the large navigable rivers, which might at once ſerve for a place of arms, and facilitate the future operations by ſea and land.—For this purpoſe his Lordſhip examined the town of Portſmouth perſonally; likewiſe another poſt, named Point Comfort; both of which being found to be altogether incapable of anſwering the end, York-Town, on the river of that name, and Glouceſter Point, on the oppoſite ſide of the river, afforded the only remaining choice.

That nothing might be left untried, however, Lord Cornwallis, during the hot and ſickly ſeaſon, which it was ſuppoſed would ſuſpend all military operations, departed from Williamſburg, with a view of croſſing James's River, in order to examine every place on that ſide which might be thought capable of being converted into a poſt. The army, upon this movement, having encamped in an open field near James Town, but under the cover of their ſhipping, preparatory to their paſſing the River, the French commander determined to purſue them, and if, poſſible, to derive ſome advantage from their ſituation, or to interrupt their deſign.

Encamps at James Town.

Attacked by Fayette and Wayne, who are repulſed. July 6.

On the 6th of July, about noon, Lord Cornwallis received intelligence that the enemy were approaching; and, about four in the afternoon, they had made a vigorous attack upon his out-poſts with conſiderable force. As his Lordſhip was perſuaded that they would not venture a ſerious attack, excepting under the apprehenſion that only the rear-guard were left on that ſide of the river, he accordingly uſed all means to encourage them in that belief. This ſtratagem had the deſired affect. About ſun-ſet a body of troops, with artillery, began to form in his front; upon which he immediately ordered the army to advance in two lines upon the enemy. The attack was begun by the firſt line with great vigour, and there being only militia oppoſed to the light infantry on the right, the action was ſoon over on that ſide. But Colonel Dundas's brigade on the left, conſiſting

conſiſting of the 43d, 76th, and 80th regiments, meeting the Pennſylvania line, with a detachment of continentals from the corps of De la Fayettte, with two ſix-pounders, under the conduct of General Wayne, a very warm action enſued, in which however the Americans were ſoon repulſed, and obliged to abandon their cannon. The darkneſs prevented any purſuit, and the Britiſh army paſſed the river in the night.

Fortifies York Town and Glouceſter Point. Auguſt.

Lord Cornwallis, not being able to find any place on the ſouth ſide of the river that would anſwer the purpoſe of a permanent poſt, returned, in Auguſt, with the army to that peninſula which lies between the great rivers James and York, and compoſes one of the richeſt and moſt beautiful parts of Virginia. York Town is ſituated on the river of that name, on the narroweſt part of the peninſula, where it is about five miles over; Glouceſter Point is on the north and oppoſite ſide, and projects ſo far into the river, that the diſtance betwixt the two is little more than a mile. They entirely command the navigation of the river, which here is of ſufficient depth to admit ſhips of a very large ſize and burthen. Both theſe poſts, therefore, were now fortified with the utmoſt care and diligence, and every method taken to make them equally ſtrong on the ſides of the land and water; the whole of his force amounting to about 7000 excellent troops.

Plan laid by General Waſhington for the capture of the Britiſh army

But while his Lordſhip was thus exerting himſelf to render his poſt impregnable to the enemy, General Waſhington was concerting a plan for his total ruin, and that with an addreſs ſcarcely to be equalled. This artful General wrote letters to Greene, and other officers on the Southern department, informing them of his utter inability to relieve Virginia by any other method than a direct attack upon New York in concert with the French forces. The difficulties of this enterprize were ſtated in their fulleſt point of view; and he ſeemed to adopt the meaſure, not ſo much from any great hope of ſucceſs, as merely from

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neceſſity, and becauſe it appeared to him to be the laſt reſource for the protection of Virginia.

Theſe letters, with others of the ſame nature to the French reſident at Philadelphia, were ſent off in ſuch a manner as to enſure their being intercepted; and it is not to be doubted that they very much influenced the Commander in Chief at New York, particularly in his inſiſting ſo much upon the recal of the troops from Virginia.

Junction between the French and American forces.

In the beginning of July, Waſhington, having broke up his camp at New Windſor, proceeded towards the White Plains, where he joined the French forces, under Rochambeau, on the New England ſide of the river. The better to carry on the deception, the allies encamped at Philipſburg, in ſuch a ſituation as might keep the troops at King's-Bridge, and other out-poſts of New York, in continual alarm, during the remainder of the month of July, and that of Auguſt, amuſing the Commander in Chief with the daily expectations of an attack.

Combined army ſets out for Virginia. Auguſt 19.

At laſt the time arrived when deception could no longer be practiſed.—On the 19th of Auguſt, Waſhington ſuddenly croſſed the Croton, and ſoon afterwards the North River; taking, at the ſame time, ſuch a poſition as ſeemed ſtill to indicate that Staten Iſland was the object. Every thing, however, being in readineſs, the combined army took its courſe towards Trenton on the Delaware; but ſo ſtrongly was the Commander in Chief impreſſed with the belief of an intended attack upon New York, that he conſidered this movement only as a feint, until the allies had actually croſſed the Delaware. They

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paſſed through Philadelphia on the 3d and 4th of September, whence they marched directly to the head of the Elk, at the bottom of the Cheaſapeak Bay. Here they found all the tranſports and veſſels that could be collected in readineſs to tranſport them to Virginia.

Sir S. Hood arrives off Cheaſapeak.

In the mean time Sir Samuel Hood, one of the Britiſh Admirals, had arrived from the Weſt Indies

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off the Cheaſapeak, on the 25th of Auguſt, with fourteen ſail of the line, ſome frigates, and a fire ſhip. Here he expected to have met Admiral Graves with the ſquadron from New York; but, being diſappointed, he firſt diſpatched a frigate with intelligence of his arrival to that commander, and afterwards followed with the ſquadron to Sandy Hook, where he arrived on the 28th of the month. The reaſon of this diſappointment was, that, through ſome misfortune, the diſpatches ſent by Admiral Rodney had not arrived at New York in time to give any intelligence of Admiral Hood's deſtination to the Cheaſapeak; and beſides, the ſquadron under Admiral Graves had been ſo much deranged by a tempeſt, that ſome time was neceſſary to refit. CHAP. XX. 1781. Auguſt 25.

On the very day of Sir Samuel Hood's arrival, the commanders at New York received intelligence, that M. de Barras, who ſucceeded M. de Ternay in the command at Rhode Iſland, had ſailed three days before to the ſouthward, in order to join M. de Graſſe. On the 28th the latter arrived at the Cheaſapeak from the Weſt Indies; and within an hour after the combined armies had reached the head of the Elk, their commanders received the welcome news of his arrival and ſituation in the bay. M. de Barras, however, did not arrive in the Cheaſapeak till near a fortnight after; having been obliged to take a circuit by the Bermuda Iſlands, in order to avoid falling in with the Britiſh fleet, who he knew would endeavour, if poſſible, to intercept him. In the preſent caſe this was abſolutely neceſſary, as this commander had under his care ten tranſports employed in carrying from Rhode Iſland the heavy ordnance, and other materials, without which the ſiege of York Town could not be carried on.

Expedition into Connecticut, under Arnold.

In the mean time, as the paſſage of the Delaware had left no room to doubt of the real deſtination of the combined armies, the Commander in Chief determined to make a diverſion in Connecticut, in order, if poſſible, to recal part of the enemy's force to the defence

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defence of that country. The conduct of this expedition was committed to General Arnold, and its object was the thriving town of New London on the River Thames.—The troops embarked at Long Island

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on the 6th of September, and were landed in two detachments on each side of the harbour in the morning; that on the one side being commanded by the General, and on the other by Colonel Eyre.—

He takes New London, with Forts Trumbull and Griswold.

Arnold met with little difficulty on his part; the town being entirely defenceless, and a fort called Trumbull, with a redoubt intended to cover the harbour and town, being taken with little trouble.—On the other side, however, affairs became more serious. The garrison in Fort Griswold made a most desperate defence, and fought, hand to hand, with long spears. With one of these Major Montgomery, who had taken the command on Colonel Eyre being wounded, was killed as he entered the works. At last, however, the garrison were compelled to yield to superior numbers, after having lost their brave commander Colonel Ladyard, with 85 of his men, besides 60 who were disabled, and the greater part mortally wounded. About 70 others were made prisoners. On the part of the British 46 private men, and two commissioned officers, were killed on the spot, besides eight missing, who probably likewise shared the same fate; eight commissioned officers, some of whom died, and 135 non-commissioned privates were wounded. Sixteen of the Americans ships escaped up the river, and 12 others were burnt. An immense destruction succeeded. The quantities of naval stores, European goods, as well as of East and West India commodities, are said to have been almost incredible. The town, with every thing in it, was destroyed by fire; nothing being carried off, excepting such small articles of spoil as afforded little or no trouble in the conveyance.

The first step taken by Count de Grasse, after his arrival at Cheasapeak bay, was to block up York, and take possession of James's Rivers; the latter of which

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which he filled with his armed veſſels and cruizers, to a conſiderable diſtance, as well to prevent Lord Cornwallis from retreating to the Carolinas, as to cover the boats of the fleet which were to convey the Marquis de St Simon, with 3300 land forces from the Weſt Indies, eighteen leagues up the river, to form a junction with the Marquis de la Fayette. Admiral Graves, on the firſt news of M. de Barras having departed from Rhode Iſland, ſet out in queſt of him; but failed in his attempt, by reaſon of the delay in refitting his fleet, which had given his antagoniſt the advantage of ſix days ſailing before he could ſet out. On his arrival at Cheaſapeak, on the 5th of September, he was ſurpriſed by the appearance of the whole French fleet, to the number of 24 ſail of the line, lying within the mouth of the bay. The enemy, who were evidently thrown into ſome diſorder by their unexpected appearance, immediately ſlipped their cables, and turning out from the anchoring ground, the French admiral threw out a ſignal for the ſhips ſeverally to form the line of battle as they could come up, without any regard to their particular ſtations. Though the Britiſh fleet amounted only to 19 ſail of the line, the French commander did not think proper to venture a cloſe engagement; as, on the other hand, Admiral Hood, notwithſtanding his inferiority, would by no means have declined the combat. By reaſon of the various manœuvres on both ſides, therefore, the battle did not begin till four in the afternoon, and even then only the van of the Britiſh fleet found means to engage the enemy, the centre not being able to come up till long after, and ſeven ſail of the line never coming within cannon-ſhot of the enemy. The conſequence of all this was, that the Britiſh van, having to do with a great part of the French fleet, ſuffered ſeverely; and though little was loſt, the ſlain amounting only to 90, and the wounded to 230, the ſhips were found incapable of renewing the engagement next day. The two fleets continued five days

Cheaſapeak blocked up by De Graffe, who engages Admiral Graves.

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in ſight of each other; but at laſt the damage of the Britiſh fleet was ſo much increaſed by a ſtorm, that after burning the Terrible man of war, as being unfit for ſervice, it was found neceſſary, in order to refit, to return to New York, where they arrived on the 20th of September, leaving the army in Virginia to its fate.

Combined army proceed to Williamsburg.

In the mean time, General Waſhington, then at the head of the Elk with the combined French and American army, loſt no time in preparing to co-operate with his allies who had been ſo ſucceſsful by ſea. It had been his firſt intention to proceed by ſea from the head of the Elk to the place of his deſtination; but the immenſe deſtruction of the Virginia ſhipping by the Britiſh troops had not left a number of tranſports ſufficient for the conveyance of the whole forces; on which account it was neceſſary for the greateſt part to travel by land. The French light troops were complimented with this eaſy mode of conveyance, while General Waſhington, with the bulk of both armies, purſued their march by land to Baltimore and Annapolis in Maryland. But the French being now entirely maſters of the bay, the tranſports brought by De Barras were employed to convey the troops from Annapolis; which was accompliſhed with ſuch good fortune, that they arrived at Williamsburg before the end of September.

Cornwallis beſieged at York Town and Gloucester Point, Sept. 30.

During the three laſt days of the month, the combined armies cloſely inveſted Lord Cornwallis in York Town. Their whole numbers amounted to about 8000 French, as many Continentals, and 5000 militia. They had a numerous and powerful train of artillery, excellently ſupplied with ammunition. It conſiſted of 15 twenty-four pounders, 18 eighteen pounders, 8 ſixteen pounders, 11 twelve pounders, 26 mortars, and 13 howitzers of different ſizes. On the other hand, the fortifications of York Town conſiſted only of earthen works as yet by no means complete, and at any rate incapable of reſiſting the impreſſion of ſuch a powerful artillery.

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The Britiſh general found it neceſſary to contract his poſts and defences, which having been extended for the purpoſe of commanding the Peninſula, were now too remote to be maintained, and were of courſe ſeized by the enemy as faſt as they were abandoned. The poſt of Glouceſter Point, on the oppoſite ſide of the river, which was occupied by Colonel Tarleton, with the cavalry and ſome infantry, amounting to about 600 men, was at the ſame time cloſely inveſted by the Duc de Lauzun with his legion, and a body of Virginia militia under General Widen. On the other ſide, the French extended from the river above the town to a moraſs in the centre, where they were met by the Americans, who occupied the oppoſite ſide from the river to that ſpot.

On the Glouceſter ſide a warm ſkirmiſh took place, which ended in driving in the outpoſts of the Britiſh army, without any other attempt being afterwards made; but, on the night between the 6th and 7th of October, the batteries were opened againſt York Town. The attacks were carried on with ſuch vigour, and accompanied with ſuch dreadful diſcharges of their numerous artillery, as the works were by no means able to reſiſt, being in ſuch an imperfect ſtate, that the beſieged were not leſs employed in their conſtruction than in defending thoſe which were completed, and which were ruined almoſt as ſoon as finiſhed. In a few days, therefore, moſt of their guns were ſilenced, the defences in moſt places utterly demoliſhed, while the enemy's ſhells not only pervaded every part of the fortifications, but reached the harbour, where the Charon of 44 guns, with ſome tranſports, were burnt.

October 7.

In the mean time, as the fate of Cornwallis was no longer dubious, unleſs ſuccours were very ſpeedily ſent, every endeavour for this purpoſe was made at New York. By the arrival of Admiral Digby, with three ſhips of the line from England, with the Prudent man of war, and ſeveral frigates from the Weſt Indies,

Sir Henry Clinton reſolves to relieve Cornwallis.

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Indies, the fleet now amounted to 25 ſail of the line, two 50 gun ſhips, and eight frigates, having on board Sir Henry Clinton, with 7000 of his beſt troops, all determined to ſubmit to the moſt deſperate deciſions of war, rather than ſuffer the brave general and his army to fall into the hands of the enemy.

The allies, ſenſible that every effort would be uſed for the relief of the beſieged, and unwilling to riſk a matter of ſuch importance on the event of a naval engagement, even with all the ſuperiority which the French fleet at preſent poſſeſſed, made ſuch exertions that nothing could ſtand before them. On the night of the 11th of October they began their ſecond parallel within 300 yards of the place, being juſt half the diſtance of the former, and carried it on with unremitting induſtry. Nothing leſs than the expectation of ſpeedy relief could have induced Lord Cornwallis to attempt the defence of a place which he deemed ſo incapable of reſiſting the force oppoſed to it as that which he now occupied; otherwiſe he would rather have attempted a retreat, however difficult and dangerous; or, as he himſelf ſaid, have tried his fortune in the field, notwithſtanding the great diſparity of numbers, leaving the reſt to the deciſion of fortune. His hope was farther confirmed by a letter from Sir Henry Clinton, dated September 24th, by which he was informed, that the intended relief would ſail from New York about the 5th of October. His lordſhip, therefore, could not think himſelf authoriſed to abandon his poſt, in order to run ſuch deſperate riſks as muſt have in that event enſued. So many difficulties, however, occurred, that the fate of Cornwallis and of America was decided.

October 11.

Two Britiſh redoubts taken.

The enemy had been greatly incommoded by two redoubts which were advanced about 300 yards on the left, and which ſtill continued to retard their progreſs; for which reaſon it was determined to attack both at the ſame hour, on the evening of the 14th, as ſoon as it was dark. To accompliſh their reduction

reduction as ſoon as poſſible, and to excite an emulation, as well as to prevent any jealouſies from ariſing between the two nations, the attack of the one was committed to the conduct of Colonel Hamilton, Waſhington's aid-de-camp, with a detachment of Americans; of the other, to a detachment of French. The former marched to the aſſault with unloaded arms, and paſſing the abbatis and paliſades without waiting to remove them, attacked the redoubt on all ſides, and carried it in an inſtant, with very little loſs; the commanding officer being taken priſoner by young Laurens, ſon to the former Preſident of the Congreſs. The French were equally ſucceſsful, but with a greater expence of men, having loſt, according to their own account, 100 in killed and wounded.

The taking of theſe two redoubts reduced the Britiſh army to the moſt deplorable ſituation. Their condition at this time can be beſt explained by a letter from Cornwallis himſelf to Sir Henry Clinton, written the day after this misfortune:—"Laſt evening," ſays he, "the enemy carried my two advanced redoubts on the left by ſtorm; and during the night have included them in their ſecond parallel, which they are at preſent buſy in perfecting. My ſituation now becomes very critical. We dare not ſhew a gun to their old batteries, and I expect their new ones will be open to morrow morning. Experience has ſhewn that our freſh earthen works do not reſiſt their powerful artillery; ſo that we ſhall ſoon be expoſed to an aſſault in ruined works, in a bad poſition, and with weakened numbers. The ſafety of the place is therefore ſo precarious, that I cannot recommend that the fleet and army ſhould run great riſk in endeavouring to ſave us."

Their brave commander, however, left nothing untried in order to procraſtinate the fate which he could not avert. Being ſenſible that his works could not ſtand many hours after the opening of the batteries of the ſecond parallel, he took every poſſible method

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method to interrupt that work. New embraſures were made for the guns; a conſtant fire kept up with the howitzers and ſmall mortars; and a vigorous ſally was made on the morning of the 16th.—

Succeſsful ſally of the beſieged, October 16.

On this occaſion, the party, conſiſting of 350 men, under Lieutenant Colonel Abercrombie, were ordered to attack two batteries which appeared to be in the greateſt forwardneſs, and to ſpike up their guns. The attack was made with irreſiſtable impetuoſity: the two redoubts which covered the batteries were inſtantly forced, and the guns ſpiked up, the French troops who had the guard of that part of the entrenchment being defeated with conſiderable ſlaughter. No eſſential advantage, however, was obtained by this ſervice. The cannon, having been haſtily ſpiked, were ſoon rendered ſerviceable; and the induſtry of the enemy was ſo great, that, before night, the whole parallel and batteries ſeemed nearly completed; at the ſame time, the works of the beſieged were ſo completely ruined, that there was no part of the whole where they durſt ſhew a ſingle gun; and their ſhells, on which they depended as their laſt reſource, were nearly expended. In theſe unfortunate circumſtances, Lord Cornwallis had no other choice left but to prepare for a ſurrender on the following day, or to endeavour to eſcape with the remaining part of the troops by conveying them over to Glouceſter Point.

In this laſt precarious and almoſt deſperate enterpriſe, he was diſappointed by the weather. Having prepared, on ſome other pretences, boats for conveying the troops to the other ſide of the river, he made his arrangements with the utmoſt ſecrecy. It was his intention to abandon the baggage, and leave a detachment behind to make a capitulation for the town's people; for which purpoſe, a letter was to be left for Waſhington: but after the firſt embarkation had got over, and the troops were already landed, the weather which hitherto had continued moderate and calm, inſtantly changed to a violent ſtorm of wind

Unſucceſsful attempt to carry the troops acroſs the river.

and

and rain. The boats, with the remaining troops, were all driven down the river, and the deſign of paſſing them over not only fruſtrated, but the abſence of the boats rendered it impoſſible to bring back the troops from Glouceſter. Thus weakened and divided, the army, by this untoward accident, was involved in a ſtate of the moſt imminent danger. To increaſe the dangers and diſtreſſes of their preſent ſituation, the enemies batteries were opened with great vigour at day-break; and the paſſage to Glouceſter was much expoſed to their fire.

The fatal criſis, therefore, could now no longer be delayed. The works were every where ſinking under the prodigious diſcharge of artillery, which had been kept up in ſuch a manner as to exceed any thing remembered even by veterans in the ſervice. The engineers were of opinion, and Lord Cornwallis himſelf could not help concurring in the ſame, that they were already aſſailable in ſeveral places; ſo that by a continuance of the dreadful fire, which now took place from the new batteries, only for a few hours longer, they muſt be reduced to ſuch a ſituation that it would be a deſperate attempt to defend them, at the ſame time that the French ſhips ſeemed to be preparing for an attack by water alſo.

Cornwallis obliged to capitulate.

In ſuch deplorable circumſtances, his lordſhip could not but conſider it as extreme cruelty to expoſe the remains of that gallant army, who had encountered ſo many dangers, to an aſſault, which muſt certainly prove ſucceſsful. He, therefore, wrote a letter to General Waſhington, propoſing a ceſſation of hoſtilities for twenty-four hours, and that commiſſioners might be mutually appointed to ſettle the terms of capitulation. In the preſent ſituation of affairs, few terms could be inſiſted upon by the beſieged; however, they were as favourable as could have been expected. The troops, with the ſame honours which had been granted to the garriſon at Charlestown, became priſoners of war. Their number, excluſive of 1500 ſeamen, amounted to between 5000 and 6000;

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6000; but they had been ſo much reduced by ſickneſs and the caſualties of war, that only 3800 were now fit for ſervice. The Guadaloupe frigate of 24 guns, with a conſiderable number of tranſports, and a fine train of artillery, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The land forces became priſoners to America; but the ſeamen, with the ſhips and furniture, were aſſigned to M. de Graſſe, as a compliment to and return for the French naval power and aſſiſtance.

The Britiſh general ſtrove in vain to obtain better terms; particularly, that the Britiſh and German troops might be returned to their reſpective countries, as priſoners on parole, on condition of not ſerving againſt France and America during the war, or until they were exchanged. Some favourable conditions which he wiſhed to obtain in behalf of the inhabitants of York Town, and other Americans who were under the protection of the Britiſh army, were likewiſe refuſed, on the footing of their being civil matters, and without the juriſdiction of the commander in chief. To ſet at liberty theſe Americans, however, who would have been expoſed to the moſt imminent danger, Cornwallis made it a point that the Bonetta ſloop, which was to convey his diſpatches to New York, ſhould paſs without ſearch or examination; he being only anſwerable, that the number of perſons ſhe conveyed ſhould be accounted for as priſoners of war upon an exchange. It was alſo provided, that no article of this capitulation ſhould be violated under pretence of repriſals, or on any account whatever. The general himſelf, with all civil and military officers, excepting only thoſe who were neceſſarily retained for the protection and government of the ſoldiers, were at liberty to go upon parole, either to England, or New York; and the troops, divided as much as poſſible into regiments, were to remain within the governments of Virginia, Maryland, or Pennſylvania.

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This capitulation, concluded on the 19th of October, was conſidered by all parties, whether in America or Britain, as deciſive of the independence of the colonies, and thanks were offered up in the churches as if that event had already happened, and the independence of America been ratified by the Court of Britain. The preachers pointed out the extraordinary combination of circumſtances which had led to this great event, as evidently demonſtrating the ſpecial interpoſition of Providence in their favour. Waſhington manifeſted his exultation by a general releaſe of all who lay under arreſt, from whatever cauſe, that there might not, as he expreſſed himſelf, be a ſingle American who ſhould not partake of the univerſal joy. Two days after the capitulation, divine ſervice was performed in all the brigades of the American army, in order to return thanks to the Almighty for this deciſive event; and the general recommended to all the troops that were not upon duty, that they would aſſiſt at divine ſervice "with a ſerious deportment, and with that ſenſibility of heart, which the recollection of the ſurpriſing and particular interpoſition of Providence in their favour claimed."

No bounds were ſet to the congratulations of the commander in chief. The Congreſs reſolved that their thanks ſhould be preſented to his Excellency General Waſhington, for the eminent ſervices which he had rendered to the United States, and particularly for the well-concerted plan againſt the Britiſh garriſons in York and Glouceſter; for the vigour, attention, and military ſkill with which the plan was executed, and for the wiſdom and prudence manifeſted in the capitulation.—Addreſſes of congratulation were alſo preſented to him by all the different public bodies in America.—To the French commanders by ſea and land, the thanks of Congreſs were likewiſe voted.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM